

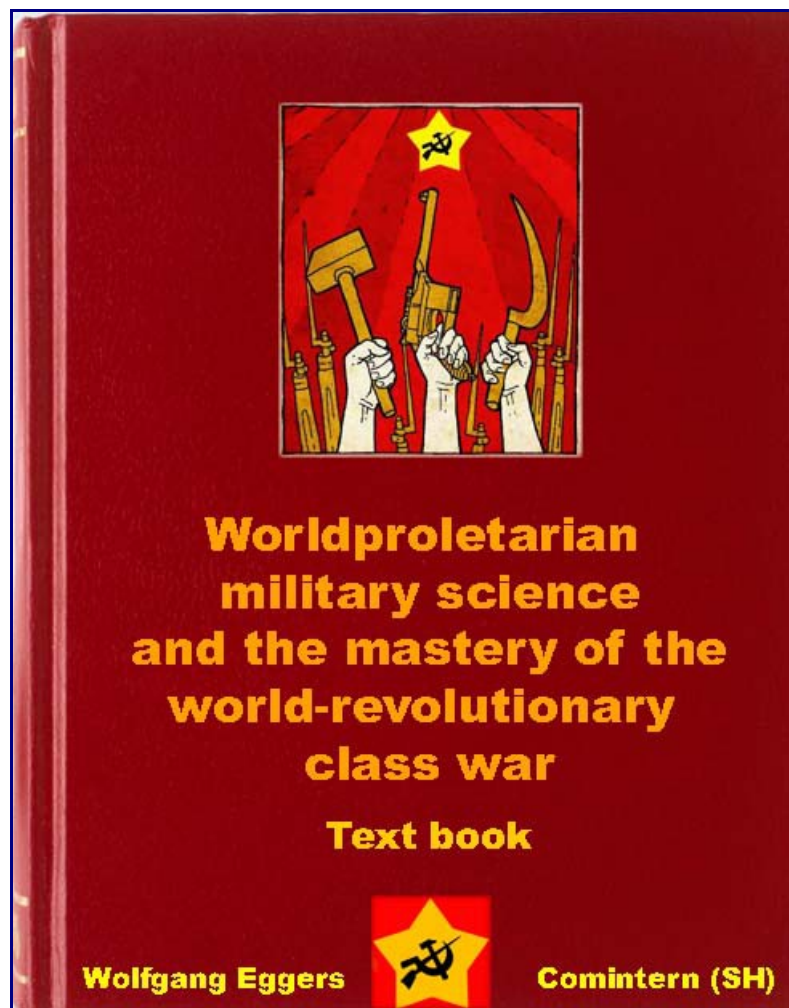
Military Course of the Comintern (SH)

Comrades! Translate and spread this training text in all languages of the world!

Note from 16. 4. 2005

Unfortunately, this is still not the finished version - until the final completion, the extensive text here on the homepage will be supplemented and improved from time to time.

- Wolfgang -



Part I

Textbook

on the Marxist-Leninist foundations of

World proletarian Military Science

and on the Art of

World revolutionary Class Warfare

and its application

**for the international liberation and emancipation of the working class,
for the conquest of the dictatorship of the world proletariat through the armed
overthrow of the rule of the world bourgeoisie and its disarmament,
for the confiscation, expropriation and socialisation of all world imperialist
wealth and the complete international abolition of private property,
for the repulse of the international counterrevolution, the defence of the
dictatorship of the world proletariat and of world socialism.**

August 2004

written by Wolfgang Eggers

The most resolute communists are the most courageous soldiers!

**Hail to the revolutionary tradition of the armed struggle of the workers and
peoples of all countries!**

**Immortal world glory and world honour to all fallen revolutionary freedom
fighters and soldiers ! Their blood has not flowed in vain. We draw from their
heroism all the revolutionary strength of our iron will and flaming hearts to
bring their struggle to a victorious end!**

**For world revolutionaries, there is no struggle without sacrifice. World
revolutionaries fall - long live the world revolution!**

**This is our last
And decisive battle;
With the International
The human race will rise!**

(from: Hymn "The Internationale")



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Note in advance "about different circles of readers"

Before reading this training text, I will take the liberty of dividing the possible readers into three categories and ask for a small moment of (patient) indulgence.

A brief word in advance to the reader of the first category:

Dear Sir or Madam! Should the rare coincidence have allowed you to hold this still closed book in your hand, its contents will probably remain rather closed to you even when you open it. You do not (pardon, "thank God" not) belong to the modest international readership of over a billion people for whom it was written. They are currently still in the fortunate position of belonging to a smallest, finest (and, pardon me again, that rhymes so nicely: meanest!) excluded class that does not need to be satisfied with reading material that will never be approved by them anyway as cheap mass-produced goods, as cheap propaganda of the masses. In short: follow my well-intentioned advice and do yourself (and me) a favour - please put the book aside again without worrying (you will find out soon enough what it says!). Goodbye (never) ! Respectfully - the author.

A word of encouragement in advance to the reader of the second category:

Dear investigators from the Office for the Protection of the Constitution, from the secret services, dear terrorist investigators and executors of the goals of the world revolution!

My dear informers, denunciators and traitors in the ranks of our revolutionary movement!

Whether you rejoice that with this textbook there are new sensational, alarming and highly dangerous and suspicious "findings" for you, with which you can earn golden laurels and shine with your superior - or whether you curse the strenuous study of this book, because you have chewed through this , In short, I am terribly sorry to have caused you so much inconvenience and, to make matters worse, to have had to disappoint you because nothing concrete could be found to help you. But perhaps these personal words addressed to you will help you to spice up your zeal a little and not let your time with the book become too boring.

I can't write or bomb the revolution to your order. I cannot, even if I wanted to, hand myself over to you on a silver platter and thus transfer you from watching me to ditching me. I am not dropping a bombshell, but merely summarising what has already been written, which anyone can get anywhere in the world without knowing me. What I am describing and what you are so afraid of does not come from me, but from millions of people, and all by itself, without my having to make myself suspicious in any way, by any "anti-state activity".

And I have all the time in the world, and I am only waiting for the moment when you have ridden yourselves into the mud like your colleagues from the Stasi, who - once your rivals, now reunited nationally - are serving you well because you took them in mercifully and did not let them become unemployed. In all the hours of this work of mine, I did not feel like prolonging your expiring lifespan with unnecessary occupation.

The own political experiences of the masses of millions with you are the basic law that sets them themselves in motion revolutionarily against you, the military organisation of which will be discussed here, and not the basic law of bomb-throwing by a handful of conspirators to be globalised. You can chase them all over the globe for all I care, but not the masses of millions, you can't! If you informers in the people go so far as to want to create a "people in informers" for yourselves as in the former social-fascist GDR, then the people will not only chase the informers away as happened there, but - as will still happen - the inevitability of your existence will be eliminated forever - easier for you to understand: unemployment for informers for all eternity! Whether you understand this at all, whether you want to take note of it or not, you'd better look around for a new job now, before we have to get it for you.

You will see that a constitutional protection that protects the constitution of a state that protects nothing other than capitalist private property, with all its drudgery, ultimately only provides us with 'protective assistance' for the constitutional protection of the future state that abolishes capitalist private property together with capitalist constitutional protection; in short: the constitutional protection itself provides us with the means with which we protect ourselves from it.

If you have really grasped this textbook, then you will certainly have abandoned the hasty belief that you have discovered here secrets that have been freely divulged. This is not the "sewing box talk" of a "terrorist". You can be sure that the million-strong adversary mentioned in my book will not reveal his secrets to everyone, and certainly not to you. But if you have nevertheless succumbed to the delusion that one or the other hint will help you to save your head and that of the class you serve from the noose, then send me - but please, if possible, beforehand - your letter of thanks.

This to protect the author....

Continue to have fun with your 'investigations'.

To an open and honest word in advance to the "target person", the reader of the very best category a book author could wish for:

Workers, all over the world!

Have you recognised your weapon yet?

Your weapon is directed against the bourgeoisie in defence of the existence of your proletarian class - for the sole reason of creating your power, without which you cannot *destroy* the economic foundations of the existence of *all enemy classes*. You must first emancipate your class with your weapon before you can emancipate yourself as a human being. Only then will you finally have ceased to be only a "worker" and nothing else.

Only in this way can you create a classless and weaponless society in which you as a human being can simply be "only" a human being, where you are truly free, where you can be free without ever again being condemned to being only the living appendage and alienated instrument of your class.

All human beings are only equal to you when, through you, they can finally step out of the shadowy existence of their class membership, emancipate themselves as real human beings and never again have to encounter each other as members of this or that class in the struggle of their own class against the members of this or that other class. And to whom alone in this whole world does the honour of accomplishing this greatest work in the history of mankind - communist society - belong?

This honour belongs to you alone - only to you!!! And how do you realise this dream? Only in the only possible way - in the hard, sacrificial way of your armed struggle against the ruling weapons !!!!

This is the whole purpose for which you must use your own proletarian military theory - the military theory of Marxism-Leninism. And how can you use it?

You can use it only under the condition and at the moment when you yourself enlist as a soldier in the great army of the world proletariat ! If you prefer an end with horror to horror without end, then the blood of the workers of all your previous generations will not have flowed in vain for your liberation and for the liberation of humanity in general.

We soldiers, we workers, we peasants are waging our own common international war of liberation, a revolutionary world war for our freedom, for the freedom of *all* the oppressed and exploited in this world!

The world proletariat as a class does not ultimately die in bondage, but only through its own victorious liberation from world capitalism.

So sit down and study this book so that you know why and how to use the gun.

Workers, forward to the world proletarian revolution! Long live the Red World Army of the proletariat!



Foreword to this textbook

This textbook serves the world proletariat in the struggle for its liberation. It is intended to awaken in the revolutionary world proletariat an understanding of the fact that it must theoretically arm itself for its military struggle for liberation and thus to understand Marxism-Leninism as a guide also to its *military* action, since otherwise the real fulfilment of its historical world mission is impossible. In particular, it is the task of the Communist International and its sections to convincingly demonstrate, through agitation and propaganda, the necessity of the link between the armed struggle of the revolutionary workers' world movement and international Marxist-Leninist military science, not only to the workers but also to the peasants and especially to the soldiers all over the world, so that the hammer, sickle and rifle may grow into a concentrated international force, strong enough to win the victory of the world proletarian revolution.

As a party politician, I look at Marxist-Leninist military science in this textbook mainly from the party point of view, from the point of view of the class-bound nature of world proletarian partisanship. The textbook thus tries to correspond to the objective connection between military science and partisanship for the armed interests of the world proletariat.

I cannot satisfy the military expert because I am not a military expert and have not yet fired even a single shot with a gun. Anyone who is somewhat familiar with military life from his own experience, that is, not only the military expert, will immediately notice this shortcoming in every line. Those who can *nevertheless* derive some benefit from this textbook will hopefully forgive me for this shortcoming. When we emphasise the military benefits, we should not be maliciously accused of overestimating military theory or even of attributing miraculous universal powers to it. If this impression should arise, it was certainly not intended. Military theory is only *a part* of Marxism-Leninism *as a whole* and can therefore only contribute its limited part, but to dispense with this part, to exclude it, would mean to mutilate Marxism-Leninism, to deprive it of an essential element, to make it unsuitable, which is something that has been tinkered with by its enemies, especially by the revisionists, ever since Marxism-Leninism existed. The problem at present is not the *overestimation* but the *underestimation* of Marxist-Leninist military theory, its weakening, indeed its vegetation for decades. The textbook therefore wants to contribute to raising military theory back to the place it deserves - no more and no less.

Above all, *those* readers will appreciate this textbook who know how to *think their way into it* even further, who will thereby penetrate to the *actual* core, to the actual value of this textbook: *the utilisation of Marxist-Leninist military theory for the formation of the Communist International as a world struggle party*, as the sharpest *weapon* of the international organisation of the class struggle of the world proletariat. The sharpest weapon of the proletarians of all countries is their organised unity - formed into a united, armed fighting party. The creation of the highest form of organisation of the world proletariat as an instrument for the realisation of the highest form of its class struggle, the endowment of the world proletariat with a political general staff, is only possible on the general basis of Marxism-Leninism, which to a certain extent also includes the foundations of the military knowledge of the world proletariat.

The creation of the world proletarian military theory for the purpose of its methodically clean application by the Communist International first of all for the Communist International itself, as the leading political weapon of the proletariat, that is the prerequisite for the Communist International to become properly combat-capable for the world socialist revolution in the first place, for it to be able to bring the world proletariat into the political position of applying the world revolutionary military theory to its actual purpose in the armed class struggle: If the world proletariat does not use its Marxist-Leninist military theory as an indispensable tool (but not as an exclusive tool, but as one of many other tools!) to forge its Communist International as a political weapon, it will not be able to liberate the world from imperialism even with the best world revolutionary military theory, the Communist International will not grow into a belligerent world party, there CAN be neither socialism nor communism in the world. Only those who have really understood this will be able to appreciate the real value of this textbook, will draw from it the greatest possible benefit for the world proletariat, will be able to develop into world revolutionary Marxist-Leninists, into real leaders of the armed socialist world revolution. One cannot be a serious leader of the world proletariat, there cannot be a real Communist International, if it is not equipped with the Marxist-Leninist military theory, if it does not know how to master this theory, that is, how to apply it victoriously. Thus, the textbook has been written especially for the Marxist-Leninist world revolutionary, for the builder of the Communist International, for the fighter of the world socialist revolution.

If the world proletariat creates its world professional revolutionaries to build the Communist International, then the world will be unhinged! But to want to unhinge the world without arming oneself with the armoury of Marxist-Leninist military theory is and remains an empty revolutionary phrase! Those who hold the view that the Communist International can do without Marxist-Leninist military theory, who - like Kautsky - reduce it to the role of a "peaceful" instrument and do not also recognise it as the leading instrument of war of the revolutionary world proletariat, have not understood why the world proletariat needs its Communist International.

So, as far as the foundations of Marxism-Leninism, the ideological-party side of the armed struggle, the ideological-political pillars of Marxist-Leninist military science are concerned, this textbook is hopefully useful, especially as a military-political basis for the strategy and tactics of the proletarian, socialist world revolution. This textbook therefore aims to be a modest contribution to supplementing the general line of the Comintern/ML in the field of military policy. The textbook already contains the most important ideas for a yet to be formulated military programme of the Communist International. This textbook is the first comprehensive treatise on world proletarian military science anywhere in the world. It will be impossible to avoid it in the future, it must be dealt with, and this means that from now on its opponents and supporters will confront each other in principle as well as in concrete terms. With its birth, so to speak, world proletarian military science hereby declares war on world imperialist militaryism!

The textbook explores the question of what the armed revolutionary struggle is based on, what purpose it has to fulfil, what aims it serves and what we can learn from the classics today in military terms - and that is why the classics "have their say" through many quotations.

This also has to do with the principled differentiation from neo-revisionism, from military opportunism, which is completely impossible without strong backing from the classics' quotations. Thus, with this textbook, a gap is "incidentally" and inevitably closed on the "military-scientific battlefield" against neo-revisionism, which will certainly contribute to the independent development and strengthening of the unity of the Marxist-Leninist world movement. After all, it has to be started from the present situation where the Marxist-Leninist world movement of today still has big gaps in its knowledge of the treasury of the military teachings of the classics and of its military outlook in general. However, the Marxist-Leninist world movement cannot lead the world proletariat to the armed world socialist revolution if it has not comprehended, not learned and, above all, not mastered its theoretical foundations created by the classics. The Marxist-Leninist world movement is condemned to ruin if it does not organise and centralise the international class struggle by means of a central organisation, the Communist International. In order to go this way, the Marxist-Leninist world movement must first of all free itself from the neo-revisionist bacillus that keeps it stuck in the past, does not see the characteristic features of the proletarian socialist world revolution in the new period of globalisation and does not understand the necessity of the international centralised organisation, the necessity of new international methods and means of struggle. Globalisation has created objective conditions for international links between the proletarians of all countries, and right now in the present situation, these conditions must be translated into international revolutionary actions. The internationalisation of the workers' movement must go hand in hand with the revolutionisation of its international forms of struggle, methods of struggle and organisations of struggle.

Before we can shoot, we must seek the most accurate clarification of the main currents and directions in contemporary internationalist communism and then seek to have the masses of workers acquainted with these currents, discuss them in a comprehensive manner and test them on the basis of the practical experience of armed struggle. The world proletariat must be informed about all the armed actions in the world. The world proletariat, whether war or peace, must build its own (illegal, if banned by military censorship) news system, a common platform of discussion to debate the burning questions of the international armed class struggle, must confront hostile currents in its own camp by creating a common forum, a common agitator, propagandist and organiser. If the world proletariat does not recognise its enemy in its own ranks, if it is not apprehended, it will not even give us the opportunity to shoot. It will not even give us the opportunity to create our Communist International, our General Staff, will maintain the fiction of unity with neo-revisionism in order to keep the back door open to revisionism. The greatest harm is when actual unity is disrupted by a fictitious unity, when we are thereby disunited and not equipped in time for the approaching battle, when the manufacture and provision of arms is delayed and the enemy beats us to it. Any delay in breaking completely with neo-revisionism can cost us our heads and necks. We will have a clear field of fire against the imperialists only when we have removed the revisionists from the field of fire - and this is precisely what the neo-revisionists are trying to prevent us from doing. This textbook serves the international unification of socialist arms all over the world, whose bearers have broken with the lying phrase of "anti-revisionism" and participate in the propagation and preparation of the world proletarian revolution by the Communist International / Marxist-Leninists! Those who fight with arms in their hands must disperse the hypocrites and cut their international strings. The Communist International gives the strongest impetus to the rapprochement of such - and only such, revolutionary workers who have remained truly faithful to internationalist arms. To unite these workers in one international fighting section, under one command, that is what the working class of all countries needs! And the most revolutionary workers of the world, they are already looking for each other, and they will certainly find each other, they will converge together, they will unite and emerge as an international general staff, because the international bourgeoisie and its agencies in the workers' movement cannot prevent this in the long run, cannot distract them forever and preserve them in a state of separation and division, because these workers are carried by the swelling movement to the head of its crest. This current cannot be stopped by any power in the world - the current of the international class struggle of the world proletariat:

As successful as revisionism had once been in contributing to the restoration of capitalism and the elimination of socialist countries, its present process of decay and rot is having a negative effect, threatening to become an ineffectual, obsolete instrument in the hands of the world bourgeoisie. It is not only the revisionists who are aware of this. Today, revisionism has become dangerous for the world bourgeoisie in so far as both its exposure by the Marxist-Leninists and the objective dying process actually carried out in the former and today still existing revisionist countries have created a communist "vacuum" which must be filled up again absolutely by the bourgeoisie itself before new, true Marxist-Leninist parties emerge, before communism is reborn - outside the control of the bourgeoisie. - So it is forced to help revisionism give birth to neo-revisionism in order to forestall the coming renaissance of communism. With the sham battle between revisionists and neo-revisionists, the world proletariat is to be diverted from the realisation of its revolutionary mission. The bourgeoisie cannot survive today without parties with radical words, so that the masses continue to believe in radical words. That is why neo-revisionism; that is why the neo-revisionist organisations and parties at national and international level.

The touchstone for every internationalist who fights with revolutionary weapons in hand is his rejection of neo-revisionism. Only he who fights against the weapons of neo-revisionism and understands that the neo-revisionist - even after apparent swings and manoeuvres of its leaders - remains the brother in arms of the open social-chauvinists and open revisionists in questions of principle is truly an internationalist today. In words, the neo-revisionists swear their allegiance to Marxist-Leninist arms, but in deeds they subjugate our Marxist-Leninist arms to the revisionists. The typical military neo-revisionism is the renunciation of the internationalist, military basic teachings of Marxism-Leninism, is the fear and inability of the neo-revisionists to openly, directly, decisively and clearly settle accounts with the militarist revisionists. Hence the blindness, the helplessness, the panic fear of the difficulties in the ranks of the Marxist-Leninist world movement, hence the danger of being caught in the revisionists' wake and withering away in their wake. Revisionist vermin thrive everywhere in the world where Marxism-Leninism is buried, but not where Marxism-Leninism is alive. Today, one cannot successfully fight for socialism in any country if one renounces from the outset the international victory of socialism, if one does not believe in the world revolution and undermines the confidence of victory for the conquest of world proletarian power, because:

The full, the guaranteed victory of socialism in every country can only be the world dictatorship of the proletariat, this is what the past history of socialism has taught us. Hundreds and thousands of times it has been proclaimed that the military teachings of Marxism-Leninism have been refuted, and to this day they have never stopped continuing the "refutations". The revisionists differ from all other bourgeois "refutations" only in that they try to "refute" the Marxist-Leninist military doctrines with the words of the classics, by twisting the words, undialectically contrasting them with the actual military conditions and circumstances, their changes in the course of time, etc., by tearing them out of their historical context and claiming that they are no longer "up-to-date" or "applicable". Such people not only call themselves "Marxist-Leninists", but dare (by force of arms) to have to "protect" Marxism-Leninism from the true Marxist-Leninists, which means nothing else than continuing the futile attempt to stop and overcome Marxism-Leninism with revisionism. The neo-revisionists want to sell us the blunt weapons of revisionist socialism by declaring them to be Marxist-Leninist weapons like old wine in new bottles.

As far as the *theory of the 'globalisation of armed proletarian class forms of struggle'* in general and the *theory of the 'world army of the proletariat'* in particular are concerned, so far we can only speak of the fundamental necessity of centralised, international departments of the proletarian military organisations to be created. To make considerations in advance about when, to which concrete means and with which military international organisations, resp. how the struggles in the individual countries will be combined and coordinated internationally in order to deal the decisive blow to world imperialism, whether or not, for example, priority will be given to the international insurrection, the international political mass strike, the international civil war or some other method of attack - all this would be largely speculation today, indeed it would be doctrinarism and would only give weapons to the neo-revisionists against the proletarian world army, which the textbook would like to avoid at all costs. Let us recall Lenin, who said:

"This would be about the same as generals convening the war council before they had mobilised the army, raised it and led it into the field against the enemy. But if the army of the proletariat fights steadfastly and under the leadership of a strong social-democratic ["social-democratic" is the old term used at that time for Marxist-Leninist - author's note] organisation for its economic and political liberation, then this army itself will show the generals the methods and means of action" (Lenin, Vol. 2, page 345, German edition).

So only then can we decide on the question of how, where, when etc the decisive death blow is to be dealt to world imperialism - this depends on a thousand different conditions which we cannot yet foresee today. But what we can say with certainty, and what the textbook also tries to show and prove, is the inevitability of the common arming of the revolutionary peoples, is the compelling necessity of the unification and centralisation of all revolutionary weapons of the world in the hands of the world proletariat for the violent socialist world revolution for the conquest of the world power of the proletariat. Only with its *centrally organised* weapons can the world proletariat lead the whole world to liberation from world imperialism - and this is its historical destiny, which it cannot fulfil in any other way than with its proletarian world army. This is the decisive Marxist-Leninist, world revolutionary insight of today, which will guide the world proletariat. It is precisely the systematically armed, proletarian, socialist world revolution from which world proletarian military science must proceed *in the future* and with which this textbook is concerned. Now then: the theoretical basic preconditions of the international armed class struggle have been sketched out and laid down here - let us now prepare the practical implementation! The internationally united proletariat gives the world new forms, new methods and combinations of means of the open world revolutionary struggle - let us Marxist-Leninists lead it in this struggle on the right road to the victory of the proletarian, socialist world revolution!

No exhaustive exposition of the world proletarian, military science of Marxism-Leninism can be expected here. That would go beyond the confined scope of this textbook, which is intended only as an overview, as an orientation aid for more in-depth study, which remains indispensable and cannot be replaced by anything. Likewise, this textbook does not release us from the duty as Marxist-Leninists to continue to apply the fundamentals of military science historically anew in the future, that is, to constantly correct, supplement and perfect its foundations under new conditions of class struggle.

Of course, I would be grateful if there were friends and comrades in this world who would translate this book into their language and thereby help to translate this textbook into the language of the world proletariat, so that workers from all countries who do not understand my German mother tongue - the language of the motherland of scientific communism - can also read it (and above all use and apply it practically!).

Wolfgang Eggers

The events in the Middle East today are the spark in the oil barrel through which the international crisis is accelerated and eventually erupted. The immediate consequence of this is the spread of political revolutions in both the oppressive and oppressed countries of the world...



Chapter 1

The definition of the theory and practice of the armed international class struggle and the world proletarian, internationalist- military slogans

[Military slogans are "no guarantee of a simple and easy victory. A slogan indicates the goal that must be reached in order to fulfil the given tasks" (Lenin, Vol. 11, p. 104, German edition)].

There are enemies that can be defeated in many a battle, that can be held down for a time, but that cannot be destroyed - enemies like the working class, like the poor peasants cannot be destroyed !

Nothing on earth can stop the world masses when they have risen to revolution !

Against the world front of imperialism the united front of the revolutionary world movement!

Today we live in the epoch of the decline of world imperialism and the victory of the proletarian world revolution !

The decision on war and peace is today in the hands of the world proletariat !

The inevitable victory of the world socialist revolution is based on the inevitable mass struggle of the revolutionary peoples led by the world proletariat, arising from the economic upheavals of the inevitable world crisis.

The work of the liberation of the world proletariat can only be the work of the world proletariat itself!

The liberation of the proletariat can only be an international action! (Engels, MEW, Vol. 39, page190).

The question of the proletarian world revolution has become the immediate assault on world capitalism - on to the last stand!

The world revolution can no sooner be completed than with the international rule of the proletariat!

Proletarians of all countries, unite your international arms in the World Red Army against the counterrevolutionary army of the world bourgeoisie !

Long live the revolutionary world proletariat and its revolutionary world army!

The world proletariat has no other weapon in the struggle for world power than the world organisation. Without the leading role of the Communist International, without being guided by the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha, the world proletariat cannot triumph over the world bourgeoisie, world communism cannot triumph over world capitalism. Victory over world capitalism cannot ultimately be won by the world proletariat without its masterful application of Marxist-Leninist military theory and art/tactics of internationalist class war.

In the spirit of proletarian internationalism, therefore, the Bolshevik World Party prepares, organises and leads the armed, revolutionary class struggle of the world proletariat to smash world imperialism in the unity of theory and practice.

Preparation, conquest and defence of the dictatorship of the world proletariat over the world bourgeoisie. To serve the realisation of this goal with proletarian, internationalist-military discipline - this is the duty of all duties of the Communist International in the deepest, most comprehensive and most concrete sense.

The Communist International is and remains the soul of the army of the world proletariat, the brain that guides it along the Marxist-Leninist road, the life-giving force that makes it indomitable. In the army of the world proletariat, at the head of the international armed class struggle, the Communist International commands the centralisation and unification of the international civil war with the national liberation movements of the peoples of the whole world, in order to recapture socialism in the individual countries and thus finally to transform it into world socialism.

World Bolshevism cannot be defeated by anything or anyone, neither by the force of material weapons nor by the force of spiritual weapons.

At present, that phenomenon of Lenin's time, when the separation from the II International was followed by the foundation of the Comintern, can be seen: the completion of the separation from international neo-revisionism through the foundation of the Comintern/ML. The Comintern/ML brought down the cracked revisionist wall between the October Revolution and the world revolution. By liberating the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha from neo-revisionism, the Comintern/ML has again exposed the ideological building blocks for the highest stage goal of the unification of the proletarians of all countries:

the world socialist revolution !

On the use of military terms in the class struggle

We use the term "weapon" in everyday life and especially when we speak of class struggle. For example, we do not limit the term "weapon" to the original designation of a fighting implement alone, but in a figurative sense we speak, for example, of the "spiritual weapon", "ideological weapon", "political weapon", "economic weapon" of the proletariat, etc. These are some of the general "weapons" with which the proletariat equips itself as a combative class against the class enemy, whereby the weapons in the narrower, military sense mean those units of the armed forces which are equipped with a certain same type of weapon: "air force", "army", "navy", etc. Thus Lenin once said of the parliamentary faction of the party: "The faction is not the general staff (if it be permitted [...] to use a `military` [comparison - author's note]), but rather its trumpeter section in the one case, or a scouting force in the other, or a certain auxiliary `armament` at all". (Lenin, Vol. 15, p. 291, German edition).

The term "military" and "armed" struggle is often used as a synonym for the general struggle with (revolutionary) arms. The military struggle is - to put it more accurately and precisely - a special form of armed struggle and is, in common usage, the state form among the armed forms of struggle. In the case of the proletariat, therefore, one speaks of its military struggle in particular when one starts from the construction and deployment of military organisations, when one starts from the armed forces of the proletarian state.

The military/armed struggle is fundamentally associated with the political struggle and is a subordinate form to it, continued with armed/military means. This subordination necessarily corresponds to the nature of the political struggle, the decisive form of the class struggle of the proletariat. The political victory of the proletariat is completely impossible without the military/armed struggle, just as the subordination of the military/armed struggle to the political struggle is an important condition for victory. Since ultimately the political power of the working class can only be conquered by armed force, the armed struggle is an indispensable component, indeed a fundamental principle of Marxism-Leninism, the armed struggle, the military question has thus always been, and still is, a central ideological class question fiercely contested and fought over by the bourgeoisie, in particular, when the armed struggle turns into a military struggle, when the armed organs of struggle turn into military organs of the state, when the weapons that served to conquer power turn into military weapons that serve first to defend the conquered power, then to disarm the whole imperialist world system, and finally to disarm itself in general.

The importance of the definition is that it helps to use the military terms in an exact, precise sense. We must know the military terms with which we work in the textbook, their content, their essential characteristics. We must therefore define the basic military terms with which we are working here, knowing full well that the definition itself is not a means of military scientific knowledge and research. Definitions, as the classics have always emphasised, are always only approximate, relative; they do not exhaust the subject matter to be dealt with completely.

How do we define in detail the theory and practice of international armed class struggle?

In the "old" Marxist-Leninist textbooks, the "most important things" in this respect are already excellently defined, so why bother to redefine everything? Have we not learned from revisionism that we were led up the garden path with the "renewal" of definitions, where the old, good, Marxist-Leninist textbooks were withdrawn from circulation in order to replace them with "modern" textbooks, namely those of modern revisionism, precisely because this served the purpose of reconquering capitalism? Shouldn't we just leave the revisionist textbooks alone and go back to the "old" Marxist-Leninist textbooks? That is certainly true. But is that enough? Isn't it the case with the best, most tried and tested definitions, as with everything else, that they "get on in years" and really no longer meet the demands of the times, without wanting to fall for the arguments of the revisionists yet again. Fine, Lenin defined the period in which we still live today. Thus, the general tasks of the socialist revolution and the necessity of our armed struggle are clearly marked out for us, and they have historically proved to be correct with the proving of the real existence of socialism. Only, truth is also that socialism could turn back into capitalism, and so Enver Hoxha necessarily modified the general tasks of Marxism-Leninism by the concrete economic and political situation of revisionism in power as a particular period of the historical process with the result that socialism could hold its ground against revisionism in power, at least for some decades. Again, it is a historical truth that anti-revisionist socialism in Albania also regressed into capitalism, whereby we now find ourselves in a new historical stage where Marxism-Leninism must take this development into account and be modified accordingly. And this is where our theoretical weaknesses show themselves. Because of the fear of the revisionists, we must not be afraid of the revision of Marxism-Leninism. Where it is indeed necessary, we must not be afraid to carry it out. With the revision of Marxism-Leninism we do not leave its ground as the revisionists have done and the neo-revisionists continue to do, but we stabilise it for the coming burdens and trials, we build the reconquered, new socialism on the fortified, revised foundation of Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism does not remain young by itself; it is steeled in the fire of the daily class struggle, otherwise we would let it rust. But a rusty Marxism-Leninism is completely unfit for the working class, can even cause blood poisoning and thus put the working class in mortal danger. Marxism-Leninism thus goes through quite natural changes in the course of time and must also go through them in order to be able to correspond to the new historical conditions at all.

But just as capitalism was no longer the same after the October Revolution, it is no longer the same after the incorporation of socialism. We live in a time in which capitalism, which has assimilated socialism, has now become ripe for the rebirth of socialism. The rebirth, however, is not a simple repetition of the first birth, but the second, renewed birth will also bring forth a second, a new, better, more viable socialism than the first, for it comes into the world already equipped with the best dispositions of the first socialism. And since it is no coincidence that it comes from the womb of the globalised capitalist social order, it will also be able to brilliantly demonstrate its viability as an international socialism. Nothing else is happening with the rebirth of Marxism-Leninism, which does not cling to yesterday's theory, but takes into account the exact facts of real life, will not only reflect the revolutionary events of the socialist rebirth, but also anticipates and thus can accelerate these events. Marxism-Leninism will become even more true to its international character under the conditions of globalisation than ever before, it will be able to fully demonstrate all its military strength and superiority under the conditions of the internationalisation of the class war, it will experience its rebirth and it will give rise to new definitions of the armed class struggle which will come even closer to its international character. And so it cannot be otherwise that, not only in the military field of Marxism-Leninism, new textbooks are being created which correspond better to the requirements of the present than the old ones ever could. That is why it is necessary to redefine in detail the theory and practice of the international armed class struggle under the conditions of globalisation:

In conclusion, Lenin said of definitions, inter alia:

"But too brief definitions [or old, dogmatically adopted definitions - author's note], though convenient, for they summarise the most important things, are nevertheless inadequate as soon as the most essential features of the phenomenon to be defined are to be specifically deduced from them [especially in its historical process of change under altered situations and conditions - author's note]; Therefore, without forgetting that all definitions at all have only conditional and relative significance, since a definition can never encompass the all-round interrelations of a phenomenon in its full unfolding, one must give such a definition (. ...) which would contain [a selection of the - author's insertion] most important features..." (Lenin, Imperialism as the Highest Stage of Capitalism, Selected Works, Volume I, page 839, German edition).

What is generally meant by Marxist-Leninist military science?

First of all, Marxist-Leninist military science has been developed on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Marxism-Leninism is the revolutionary world outlook of the proletariat and their party, which represents the unity and unity of dialectical and historical materialism, political economy and scientific communism, starting from the objective laws of nature and society. Marxism-Leninism is the only scientific world outlook, that is, a world outlook based on correctly reflecting objective truth systematically-legally and ever more deeply and comprehensively through human knowledge by means of the criterion of practice, nature and actual social life.

Marxism-Leninism is the science of the world proletariat of the development of society, the science of the liberation of humanity, the science of the workers' movement, the science of the proletarian revolution, the science of the construction of communist society.

This revolutionary science has branched out widely and thus also specialised in the military field. In the meantime, it has developed into an independent Marxist-Leninist, socialist military science:

Marxist-Leninist military science is the military science of the world proletariat of the military laws of the development of class society, the science of the armed liberation of humanity, the science of the armed workers' movement, the science of the armed proletarian revolution, the science of the military defence of the proletarian revolution and finally the science of the military elimination of the inevitability of the exploitation and oppression of people by people.

Marxist-Leninist military science is thus the science of the armed struggle of the oppressed and exploited classes of all countries in general and of the workers' movement of all countries in particular. It is the science of the violent conquest of the world power of the proletariat, the proletarian world revolution, the science of the protection of the world dictatorship of the proletariat, the military defence of world socialism and finally the science of the elimination of the inevitability of all military violence by the future communist society throughout the world.

The history of science shows that the dialectical method is the only scientific method. Even in the military field, everything must be considered in movement, in becoming and passing away. For the whole epoch between capitalism and communism, the question of "who-who?" is never resolved halfway, is never straightforward, final or guaranteed, but there are periods when this question must be decided again and again by arms, there is a permanent bitter class struggle with and without arms, the armed forces of the classes never really "stand still", even the revolutionary tide is never at a complete standstill, it is continually moving, albeit more slowly than the revolutionary tide. Thus, the readiness to use arms is as important as the use of arms itself.

Marxist-Leninist military science is a great lever of world history, a world revolutionary force. The military science of the proletariat is thus an indispensable instrument of the revolutionary proletariat not only to free itself from its enslavement, but to build a new world order and advance towards communism.

Marxist-Leninist military *theory* must be conceptually distinguished from Marxist-Leninist military *science*.

The concept of Marxist-Leninist military theory must not be identified with that of Marxist-Leninist military science. Marxist-Leninist military theory has made military science into a real science, has placed military science on firm foundations and has marked out the path that must be followed in order to develop military science further and to work it out in all its details. The doctrines of the armed class struggle of the proletariat are not contrived inventions to organise conspiracy operations, but they are the doctrines of the Party to lead, organise, centralise and direct the armed class struggle of the proletariat as a means to realise the political goal of conquering and defending the power of the proletariat.

"Marxism is the theory of the liberation movement of the proletariat" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 216, German edition).

"The tremendous liberation movement of an oppressed class, the most revolutionary class in history, unprecedented in the world, is impossible without revolutionary theory. It cannot be thought up, *it grows out of the totality of revolutionary experience and revolutionary ideas of all the countries of the world.*" (Lenin Vol. 21, page 358, German edition).

The military theory of Marxism-Leninism is the military-scientific foundation, the scientifically founded summary and generalisation of all practical experiences and ideas of the armed class struggle of the proletarians of all countries, taken together in their historical and present development.

The most important components of Marxist-Leninist military theory are the objective laws and Marxist-Leninist principles of military struggle formulated in it, which serve as a military guideline, a compass on the road to the violent conquest and defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat and illuminate this road.

The power of military, Marxist-Leninist theory is that it enables the Bolshevik parties, especially their world party, to orientate themselves in the respective war situation, to understand the inner context of the events of the armed international class struggles going on around them, to foresee the course of these events, and to recognise not only how and in what direction these events are developing at present, but also how and in what direction they must develop in the future.

Military Marxist-Leninist theory is an internationalist theory, the generalisation of the art of war of the proletarians of all countries. It is the science of eliminating the inevitability of military conflict and war in general. Marxist-Leninist military science, however, is not limited to this elimination of the inevitability of military conflict, but is based on the realisation that the bourgeoisie delivers into the hands of the proletariat those weapons which it directs against the oppressed and exploited in order to maximise its profits, in order thereby not only to defeat the bourgeoisie, not only to establish its own proletarian world power, but thereby to initiate a step in human history in which never again will one human being exploit or oppress another.

The military theory of Marxism-Leninism is a powerful weapon of the world proletariat to achieve the victory of the Bolshevik world revolution. The Comintern/ML understands by Bolshevik world revolution..... the violent, armed overthrow of the world bourgeoisie and the final smashing of its international apparatus of oppression and exploitation with which it maintains its system of world capitalism. It is led by the world proletariat and its Communist International for the complete, revolutionary liberation of the world productive forces from the fetters of imperialist relations of production through the worldwide expropriation of private property, its international socialisation under the protective shield of the world dictatorship of the proletariat as a precondition for the next goal of building world socialism and the more distant goal of building world communism, the classless society. There can be no militarily strong Communist International if there is no world revolutionary military theory which unites all sections for armed struggle, from which they draw all their military convictions and which they apply concretely to the methods of their armed struggle and military activity; to protect such a military theory, which one believes to be correct to the best of one's knowledge, from unfounded attacks and attempts to degrade it, is by no means to be an enemy of all criticism. We do not at all regard the Marxist-Leninist military theory as something closed and untouchable; on the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the *foundation of the military science of the world proletariat*, which the Marxist-Leninist world movement must develop further in all directions if it does not want to lag behind the events of the proletarian world movement.

How must we *conduct* the military/armed struggle ?

We need an elaborated military strategy and tactics for this:

Military strategy and tactics, as a special part of the general Bolshevik strategy and tactics, is the science of the conduct of the armed class struggle of the proletariat, including the art of leadership.

While it is based on important principles and fundamental principles, it does not recognise universally valid, unchanging conclusions and formulas which would be obligatory, so to speak, for all periods. The military strategy and tactics of the proletariat and its party are applied historically and not dogmatically. So it changes in the different periods of the revolution. Thus, the military strategy and tactics in the period of bourgeois-democratic revolution differ from those in the period of socialist revolution, and these in turn differ from those applied in defence of socialism. We also distinguish the military strategy and tactics of individual countries from those on a world scale, the military strategy and tactics of attack and retreat, of exploiting all conditions favourable to the revolution and allies, the strategy and tactics of the military united front, etc., and so on. Military strategy and tactics must also be seen in close connection with the choice of the decisive, most important link in the chain and the choice of the time for the decisive blow. The relationship between military strategy and tactics will be discussed in detail later, so we will content ourselves here with a brief definition.

As an illustrative example of the art of war of retreat when enemy troops are advancing, let us take a telegram from Lenin to the Chairman of the Deputies' Soviet of the city of Drissa:

"Resist where possible. Get everything of value and food out of the city. Destroy everything else. Leave nothing to the enemy. Tear up the railway tracks - two versts for every ten versts. Blow up the bridges" (Lenin, Vol. 35, page 307, written on 19 February 1918, German edition).

How is Marxist-Leninist military theory and tactics applied methodologically in principle?

Marxist-Leninist military science is the best, most highly developed, most advanced and most revolutionary military science in the history of mankind. It is stronger than all bourgeois military science put together. It is the sharpest weapon of criticism against the predatory bourgeois military science. Marxist-Leninist military science has also developed in the struggle against revisionism and exposed the revisionists in the field of military science. The Marxist-Leninist military theory and tactics can therefore always be applied methodologically independently only in demarcation from the military science of the other classes , especially in demarcation from the revisionist military science, because it is precisely the aim of the class enemy to strengthen the bourgeois influence in the revolutionary workers' movement and to weaken the communist influence, to replace the Marxist-Leninist methods of applying military science with bourgeois methods.

Mastering proletarian military science means practically applying it most effectively in every military situation and at every moment of warfare, immediately generalising the experience gained from it for further development in order to use it even more effectively in the future. In doing so, the world proletariat must not shrink from replacing, on the basis of the essence of the theory, some of its guiding principles and conclusions which have already become obsolete, with new guiding principles and conclusions corresponding to the new historical situation.

Here is a brief example, a telegram sent by Comrade Stalin to Comrade Lenin (June 16, 1919), where Stalin held against the so-called "military science":

"Immediately after Krasnaya Gorka, Seraya Loschady () was liquidated. [The garrison of these two forts off Petrograd had succumbed to the counter-revolutionary agitation of the White Guards linked to Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks and began a mutiny against the Soviet power. On Stalin's orders, the ships of the Baltic Fleet set sail for operations against the mutineers. At the same time, a group of coastal troops was formed in Oranienbaum, with sailor detachments forming the core. Stalin convened a consultation to take Krasnaya Gorka by a simultaneous strike from the sea side and from the land. Under the immediate leadership of Stalin, who was in the line of battle, the coastal group and other detachments, supported by the ships of the Baltic Fleet, carried out the attack. After crushing the mutineers, the Soviet troops captured the fort and, a few hours later, finally captured Seraya Loschadj Fort - Note] (..) The naval specialists assure us that the capture of Krasnaya Gorka from the sea side throws naval science into disarray. I have no choice but to regret the so-called science. The rapid capture of Gorka is explained by the reckless interference in operational matters on my part and on the part of civilians in general, which went so far as to cancel orders at sea and on land and impose our own. I consider it my duty to declare that I shall continue to act in this way, in spite of all my respect for science" (Stalin, Vol. 4, page 231, 16 June 1919, German edition).

On 17 May 1938, a year before the outbreak of the Second World War, Stalin said something very remarkable on the question of science in his speech at the reception of the staff of the university in the Kremlin, which today should also be the leitmotif of Marxist-Leninist military science in the sense of proletarian internationalism:

"Here's to the flourishing of science, that science which does not separate itself from the people, does not keep away from the people, but is ready to serve the people, is ready to transmit to the people all the achievements of science, which serves the people not out of compulsion but voluntarily, with joy. To the flourishing of science, that science which does not allow its old and recognised leaders to complacently shut themselves off as priests of science, as monopolists of science, which understands the meaning, the significance and the omnipotence of the alliance of the old scientists with the young scientists, which voluntarily and with joy opens all the gates of knowledge to the young forces of our country and gives them the opportunity to conquer the peaks of knowledge, which recognises that the future belongs to the young scientists. To the prosperity of science, that science whose representatives, although they understand the power and importance of the traditions that have developed in science and exploit them sympathetically in the interest of science, nevertheless do not want to be slaves of these traditions, the science that has the audacity and determination to break old traditions, norms, attitudes when they become obsolete, when they become a stumbling block to the advance, and that knows how to create new traditions, new norms, new attitudes. In its development, science has known not a few courageous people who knew how to destroy the old and create the new, regardless of all obstacles, in spite of everything" (Stalin, Vol. 14, pp. 175-176, KPD/ML, German edition).

We are firmly convinced that there will also be the ordinary red soldier of the Communist International who will revolutionise internationalist military science, create new international military norms and overthrow old nationalist soldierly attitudes in order to advance the world proletariat on its road to liberation.

Marxist-Leninist military science knows no national barriers and so the creators of the imperialist world army must naturally be the creators of its gravediggers, the proletarian world army of the Communist International.

And Lenin quoted Marx to point out the harmfulness of preconceived, sectarian military doctrines incompatible with the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of world revolutionary class warfare:

"Marx once said that the merit of the Paris Communards was that they had put into practice decisions which were not borrowed from any preconceived doctrine but were prescribed by actual requirements" (see MEW, Vol. 22, pp. 195/196, German edition - quoted by Lenin in Vol. 29, p. 137, German edition).

The invincibility of the weapon of Marxism-Leninism develops only in the hands and minds of the proletariat itself, which possesses the quality of criticising itself, and of constantly bringing its actions and thought into dialectical harmony anew, in short: the quality of constantly revolutionising itself and its weapons, its operations in the class struggle. Only in the hands of a revolutionary class can the revolutionary weapons become the material force over the reactionary classes. The military science of Marxism-Leninism is the common property not only of the world proletariat but of all the peoples of the world.

We Marxist-Leninists are the revolutionaries of military science - we learn to act revolutionarily through military science!

Without military theory, there can also be no revolutionary military movement. A revolutionary line loses its raison d'être if theory is lacking, and it is inevitably - sooner or later - doomed to political bankruptcy. No serious military organisation can do without the resolution of disputes in military science. Getting rid of dogmas cannot be equated with revising the principles of military organisations. On the other hand, the military theory of Marxism-Leninism becomes irrelevant if it is not linked to military practice, just as military practice is a dud if the revolutionary goal is not targeted:

"Bear in mind that every practical step of the revolutionary movement will inevitably and unavoidably teach the young recruits precisely social-democratic science, because this science is based on the objectively correct assessment of the forces and tendencies of the various classes (...). Only do not degrade our revolutionary science into a mere literal dogma, do not trivialise it with pathetic phrases about 'tactics as process' and 'organisation as process', phrases with which to justify disjointedness, indecision and lack of initiative" (Lenin, Vol. 8, pp. 208/209, German edition).

The military science of Marxism-Leninism can become a formidable force of world revolution if it develops in inseparable connection with the international revolutionary armed class struggle of the world proletariat.

The military science of Marxism-Leninism provides the international armed struggle with security, orientation and understanding of the inner connection of the worldwide theatres of struggle of the revolution. Only with the military science of Marxism-Leninism can we see how and where the workers' armies are moving today and in the future: without mastering the military theory of Marxism-Leninism, there can be no world revolutionary army to lead the world revolution to final victory. The world Bolshevik Party can fulfil its military tasks only if it is guided by the theory of scientific socialism. The negation of the previous military writings in the light of today's military struggle is a prerequisite, a potential of experience, a historical treasury, which serves as a basis and starting point for new possibilities of development through repetition at a higher level. The negation, the questioning of what we have done right, what we have done wrong, what we must do better in the future, the utilisation and exploitation of all previous ideas, positive achievements, forces, methods, etc., even to a limited extent, is a prerequisite. This also includes, to a limited extent, the direct adoption of forms of struggle and weapons which have proved to be indispensable and immensely useful in the initial stage. This also includes the negative experiences, the military defeats, the future avoidance of which will save us unnecessary wrong turns, make the way easier and lead our forces more quickly and safely to the renewed storming of the enemy bastion. Therefore, the law of development of the Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism concerning the military theory of Marxism-Leninism is also a law of negation of negation, with which we can expose all the negative developments and mistakes of the past armed actions and revolutions in order not to have to repeat them the next time, in the world revolution, but to avoid and overcome them. Only in this way is it possible for us revolutionaries to move forward and to understand and use the progressive, ascending line of the armed, world revolutionary movement, the continuity of the world revolution. Already the VIII Party Congress of the CPR (B) pointed out the necessity to exploit the highest achievements of bourgeois military science. This is also true today for the latest and most modern achievements of bourgeois military sciences, but also for the exploitation of the military experiences of the whole epoch of the class society of mankind. Everything that serves the further development of Marxist-Leninist military science must be utilised and applied dialectically.

The presentation of the importance of the military theory of Marxism-Leninism would be incomplete without explaining the ideological importance of the leading role of the Bolshevik parties and without their unification in the Comintern/ML, because, after all, it is also a question of the theoretical armament of the leading fighting staffs. Through the party, any ideological fluctuations or fragmentation within the armed movement must be absolutely combated, because they have a harmful effect for us and an advantageous effect for the enemy, because they either cloud our clear vision or blind it, which can lead to blinded adventurism on the one hand and blind practicalism on the other. If something is wrong with the illumination of our armed movement, it irritates our field of vision, threatens to steer the armed movement in the wrong direction. Therefore, military theory must illuminate military practice without fluctuations, always safely and brightly, united action must be developed on the basis of a binding military programme, a battle plan, etc., etc. Resolutions and orders alone cannot deal with this problem within the armed movement. What is needed here is the organised political influence of the party in the armed organisations. Before we take the (ideological) gun in our hands, and in order to take it in our hands, we must of course know why and how - but first we must have in mind what for and how we must not take it in our hands under any circumstances.

How to apply Marxist-Leninist military theory and tactics methodically and correctly, that is what the communist parties teach us, that is what the 5 classics of Marxism-Leninism, the greatest military theorists and tacticians in the history of communism, teach us.

Comrade Enver Hoxha rightly characterised Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin as "world marshals". The Comintern/ML also honours Comrade Enver Hoxha with the rank of a World Marshal.

How is the military, proletarian struggle and proletarian military science related to the materialist conception of history, to the revolutionary transformation of the base and superstructure of the old, capitalist society into the new, socialist society ?

Just as one cannot judge what a soldier is by what he thinks himself to be, one cannot judge the historical epochs of wars from their consciousness, but must rather explain this consciousness from the contradictions of material life, from the existing violent conflicts and revolutionary upheavals of social productive forces and relations of production and the inevitability of certain wars inherent in this relationship.

According to Marx and Engels' materialist conception of society, *being in general determines consciousness*, and so in particular, "military consciousness", so to speak, is also determined by "military being". Military science is inseparably connected with and based on the basic materialist conception of armed conflict within a class society. Today's proletarian military science must therefore be concretely related to the social relations of imperialism and their regression to the imperialist relations of production. Only on this basis can military science be truly scientific, precisely when it is based exclusively on the laws of the historical development of society. Military science can therefore never be considered in isolation from the given social system. Let us now examine proletarian military science from the standpoint of historical materialism in the context of the basis and superstructure of the imperialist social order:

As Stalin correctly stated, "the base is the economic structure of society in the given stage of its development" (Stalin, Werke Band 17, page 192, KPD/ML, Hamburg 1973). The economic structure of imperialism, the capitalist basis in its present development, is oriented towards the worldwide socialisation of productive forces with simultaneous private appropriation for the purpose of achieving maximum profits. Characteristic as well as inevitable for this social system are the imperialist wars of conquest and robbery serving this purpose, for which a gigantic war production, a gigantic imperialist, globalised war machinery is used. The economic production conditions of imperialism are therefore inconceivable without the globalised arms economy. Globalisation means militarisation of the world economy for the purpose of maximum profits. The globalised war economy deepens the disproportion between the production possibilities and the decreasing purchasing power of the world population and inevitably leads to the world economic crisis. The globalised militarisation of the world economy accelerates the parasitic decay of the imperialist world order, because armament produces the unproductive world, which eventually destroys itself through imperialist war. The imperialist base thus inhibits the development of the productive forces, becomes its fetter, and a revolution of the base as a historical necessity takes place through the world revolution. The science of weapons, which imperialism has developed for its world domination, is transformed into an armed science for the destruction of imperialism and its world domination. Without arms, no new social formation can develop, and thus neither a new base nor a new superstructure. For Lenin, the base is "the skeleton" which has "surrounded itself with flesh and blood through the superstructure" (Lenin, Vol. 1, page 132, German edition). Globalised class antagonism, which is explained by today's imperialist relations of production, results in its sharpest consequence in military class struggles. It is now the imperialist superstructure that protects the world domination of the bourgeoisie through the military and the police, through militarist ideas, and so on.

"The superstructure - these are the political, legal, religious, artistic, philosophical views of society and the political, legal and other institutions that correspond to them. Each base has its own superstructure corresponding to it. (...) If the base changes and is eliminated, its superstructure subsequently changes and is eliminated; if a new base arises, a corresponding superstructure subsequently arises" (Stalin, ibid, pp. 192-193, German edition).

"Revolution, however, is nothing other than the destruction of the old superstructure and the independent appearance of various classes which, in their own way, strive to build a new superstructure" (Lenin, Vol. 8, page 208, German edition).

"A law of mechanics is: the effect is equal to the counter-effect. In history, the destructive force of revolution [and especially of its armed force-author's note] depends in no small measure also on how strong and persistent has been the repression [especially armed repression-author's note] of the aspirations for freedom and how deep is the contradiction between the antediluvian 'superstructure' and the living forces of the present epoch. Also the international political situation..." (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 45, German edition). This law of mechanics is of course also valid and applicable on a world scale !!!

The imperialist superstructure gradually developed into the militarist-terrorist world dictatorship of the monopoly bourgeoisie that exists today. It has become a world fascist superstructure internally and a globalised militarist-warlike superstructure externally. The militarisation of the world economy has also acquired a globalised militarist-fascist superstructure.

It is thus the imperialist war, inevitably necessary for maximum profit, that gives rise to the militarist plans of conquest and the militarist institutions necessary for their implementation. Consequently, imperialist war science is part of the imperialist superstructure that serves the economic basis of imperialism. Consequently, the war science of today's imperialism must always be understood in the context of the globalised conflict between the social productive forces and capitalist relations of production; like its base, it is parasitic, and it is a dying, decaying war science that has reached its highest and final stage. If the imperialist base decays, its superstructure also dies. This process of decay, which is also a process of decay of the military and the military science of imperialism, is taking place before our eyes a thousand times today. The military and the science of war, indeed the whole militarisation of the globalised imperialist social system, is in direct, inverse relation to the world economic crisis, to the crisis of overproduction, to the shortage of production capacities, especially of consumer goods in the civilian sector, to the shortage of scientific resources in the civilian sector, in short: the globalisation of the military accelerates the globalisation of civilian misery in the world, world unemployment, hunger, etc., etc. World militarism becomes a fetter on the world productive forces and accelerates the world revolutionary ferment, the blowing up of the world capitalist relations of production. There is a lawful and above all a world revolutionary connection between the globalised imperialist war policy and the globalisation of the impoverishment of the world proletariat. The realisation of all these connections and regularities of the world revolution are not least the result of the conclusions of the Marxist-Leninist military theory.

With the revolutionary transformation of the economic conditions of production, the superstructure was also transformed in socialism, a socialist war science was developed which served socialist society. With the restoration of capitalism by the revisionists, the socialist transformation of the economic conditions of production was reversed and the socialist war science was transformed into a war science of social imperialism. Along with the revisionist base, the revisionist superstructure also took place, which is essentially no different from the capitalist superstructure. Today, we Marxist-Leninists are concerned with understanding the globalisation of imperialism as the starting point for the revolutionary globalised revolution of the world economic conditions of production, for the creation of a socialist world economy. Our Marxist-Leninist military theory is concentrated precisely on this goal and is therefore the germ form of world socialist military science, which will be brought forth by the upheaval of the world economic base, serve it and actively work back on the new base. Once it has come into the world, world socialist war science will become a formidable active force against the old world base and the old world exploiters and oppressors, a force that will eliminate them on the road to communist society. This, in brief, is the approach of historical materialism to the question of the military and military science in relation to base and superstructure.

How does the armed struggle of the world proletariat fit into the general framework of the international class struggle?

What special role does the military proletarian struggle play in this?

First of all - what is class struggle generally?

Lenin defines the class struggle as follows:

"The workers' struggle becomes a class struggle only when all the progressive representatives of the whole working class of the whole country become conscious of being a united working class and take up the struggle not against individual entrepreneurs but against the whole class of capitalists and against the government supporting this class. Only then, when the individual worker is conscious of being a part of the whole working class, when he sees in his daily petty struggle against individual entrepreneurs and individual officials the struggle against the whole bourgeoisie and against the whole government, only then does his struggle become a class struggle" (Lenin, Vol. 4, page 210). Lenin saw the revolutionary task of the Communist Party "in organising the proletarian class struggle, in promoting this struggle, in pointing out its necessary ultimate aim, in analysing the conditions which determine the methods of conducting this struggle" (Lenin, Vol. 4, page 323, German edition).

So what is *international* class struggle?

The struggle of the workers in each country becomes an international class struggle only when all the progressive representatives of the whole working class in each country become conscious of being a part of the united world working class, and take up the struggle not only against the individual entrepreneurs in their own country, not only against the whole class of capitalists and their government in their own country, but also in all countries and against the governments of all countries supporting this international capitalist class. Only when the individual worker is conscious of being a part not only of the working class of his country, but at the same time of being a part of the working class of all countries, when the proletariat of each country is conscious of being a section of the world army of the proletariat, when the individual worker sees in his daily petty struggle against individual entrepreneurs and individual officials not only the struggle of his own working class against his own whole bourgeoisie and against his own whole government, but also in it the struggle against the whole world bourgeoisie and the whole system of rule of world imperialism - only then does his struggle, the struggle of the working class in each country, become the international class struggle. The leadership of the whole international class struggle presupposes the leadership of the class struggle in each individual country. The struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties in all countries is always the basis of the international class struggle led by the Communist International. Without this basis there is no international class struggle and there cannot be one in the sense of Marxism-Leninism, that would be Trotskyism, etc., anything else, - in any case, not Marxism-Leninism.

It is therefore the task of the international Marxist-Leninist world movement, by organising the world proletariat, by agitation and propaganda within the world workers' movement, to transform the spontaneous struggle against the international capitalist class and world imperialism as a whole international class, into the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist world party for the aims of the proletarian world revolution and world socialism, that is, to establish the link between the workers' movement and socialism on an international level, in accordance with the spirit of the Communist Manifesto. Through the individual Marxist-Leninist parties alone, through work at the country level alone, this task cannot be nearly solved. To recognise the international class struggle in words, but to conduct it only half-heartedly in deeds, or to want to limit the international class struggle predominantly to the national framework and thus leave it to spontaneity, to insist on not working beyond the national "edge of the plate", or even to make a principle out of the national limitation of work, that is not international class struggle, that does not correspond to the internationalist character of Marxism-Leninism, that is not compatible with the spirit of proletarian internationalism, that is the defence of lagging behind the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist world movement and basically nothing more than international craftsmanship. And vice versa: to want to build up the international class struggle in isolation, not supported by the class struggle in the individual countries, without the indispensable connection with it, means to deprive the international class struggle of its basis, is a hollow phrase and in the result international capitulation and liquidationism towards the political leadership of the spontaneous international mass movement. The narrowing and limitation of Marxism-Leninism to the national framework leads to the opportunist flattening of the international character of the class struggle and to the diminution of the role of the Communist International, without which the international class struggle is impossible. Opportunism on the question of the international class struggle is developing from a current of dissent to an organised tool of the world bourgeoisie outside the revolutionary world workers' movement. If this is not made clear to the masses, the "recognition" of the international class struggle remains phrased. It is clear that, depending on the concrete assessment of the individual parties, we help some of them to overcome the passive understanding of the international class struggle by activating it with solidarity and patient persuasion, whereas we wage an irreconcilable struggle against others when they deliberately harm the international class struggle with their attitude and actions and treat us in a hostile manner.

What has been said here about the international class struggle in general, of course, also applies to its particular forms, that is, also to the *armed forms* of the international class struggle:

So what is the international *armed* class struggle?

The world proletariat, which is waging its class struggle internationally, cannot be against its own international arming at the moment when the world bourgeoisie continues its class struggle by force of arms.

The armed struggle of the workers in each country becomes an international armed class struggle only when these workers join the world army of the proletariat as a section, not only to fight for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie in their own country with the support of the world army, but also to participate themselves as a section, as a squad, of this army in the common overthrow of the world bourgeoisie in order to liberate the whole world from imperialism. World imperialism can only be defeated with world revolutionary weapons, which the entire world proletariat will use under the central leadership of its world party on the basis of a united armed proletarian struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties of all countries. But in order to be able to wage a systematic, planned, organised, centralised, international, armed struggle against the world bourgeoisie, we must bring all the revolutionary organisations of the world, their discipline, etc., etc., to the highest level of perfection.

The armed class struggle

The armed class struggle comes into its own in the relatively short, revolutionarily discharging phase of the class struggle, i.e. in a tense revolutionary situation, when the antagonistic class contradictions have come to a head and the pent-up maximum tension is discharged according to law, when the classes whirl themselves into hurricane-like movements, these movements rub against each other to such an extent that they finally reach their highest melting point, when the concentrated class forces hurl themselves out with the most violent force, as if from a volcano, and the inevitable battle for power is fought by force of arms and the old or new power is defeated and smashed. These culminations thus occur when the new class wrests power from the old class or the old class regains its lost power. In all other phases of the political class struggle, its military form plays by no means an insignificant role, especially immediately before or after the revolution; sometimes even a greater role than the actual point of the change of power, that is, when the revolution is accompanied by a prolonged civil war. The main role is played by the military struggle only in those situations of class struggle in which the struggle can no longer be continued and decided by anything other than armed means. The armed insurrection is the class struggle to the last consequence. However, in the long-lasting pre- and post-revolutionary phase, in the "peaceful" periods of revolutionary ebb, in all other basic forms of international class struggle, the military struggle is mostly in the background, the revolutionary forces are concentrated and mobilised in other theatres than in the theatre of war of the socialist revolution in one country.

We internationalists always consider this theatre of war also - and above all - on a world scale, that is, not only from the one, specific theatre of war in this or that area, in this or that country, not only from the individual, concrete, but from the theatre of war of all countries, from the international theatre of war. The working class and the bourgeoisie are, by their very nature, international classes which have grown beyond their national framework in a long period of their development. And that is why they increasingly appear internationally, enter the international arena of their class struggles and finally fight the struggle for their international power. The military struggle in one country is thus subordinated to the international whole as a part. In the whole history of the class struggle, but especially in the stage of imperialism where the process of disintegration of the individual imperialist states is more and more uneven, armed class clashes and military confrontations take place continuously all over the globe, they flare up again and again in this or that part of the world, but not in order to extinguish again one day, but to unite into a great fire until the imperialist world system lies in ruins. And in order to accelerate precisely this conflagration, for this we need the *international military struggle of the world proletariat*, for this we need Marxist-Leninist military theory, we Marxist-Leninists approach scientifically the solution of the international military question, which is subordinate to the political question also - and especially - on a world scale. To unite dialectically and materialistically the military question of the socialist revolution of the individual countries with the military question of the proletarian world revolution and to draw tactical conclusions from this, i.e., to link the national military tactics into an international military tactics - precisely therein lies the special internationalist task of military science and the revolutionary class warfare of the proletarians of all countries.

What are the three basic forms of proletarian class struggle distinguished by Marxism-Leninism ?

1. the economic struggle

is the historically first form of proletarian class struggle in all countries, when the worker began to stand up for his economic interests, which are of vital importance to him, in order to alleviate the degree of exploitation and thus counteract the tendency towards impoverishment. "In order to avoid misunderstandings, let us note that (...) by economic struggle we always understand (according to our usual use of the word) the 'practical-economic struggle' which Engels (...) calls 'resistance to the capitalists' and which in free countries is called trade-union, syndical or trade-unionist struggle" (Lenin, Vol. 5, page 410, German edition).

The economic struggle, however, is important not only for the material situation of the worker, but also for his organisation as a class and the development of his class consciousness, since, as Lenin taught, "only the struggle for immediate, direct improvements in their situation is capable of rousing the backward strata of the exploited masses, of really educating them *and - in a revolutionary epoch - of forming from them, during a few months, a troop of political fighters*" (Lenin, Works, Vol. 19, page 442, German edition); [emphasis (*italic*) added by the author]. But if the political struggle is reduced to the economic struggle, this is reformism, for reforms can only be fought for within the framework of capitalism. With the economic struggle alone, however, one cannot eliminate the capitalist exploitative order, one cannot fundamentally change the capitalist property, class and power relations: "If the working class leads only the economic struggle, it loses its political independence, it becomes an appendage of other parties and practices betrayal of the great legacy: 'The liberation of the workers can only be the work of the workers themselves'" (Lenin, Vol. 4, page 367, German edition). "The trade-unionist politics of the working class is precisely the bourgeois politics of the working class" (Lenin, Vol. 5, page 441, German edition).

Globalised capital brings together the proletarians of all countries. World competition divides them in their interests, but the maintenance of wages are common interests, are the basis of the formation of the world proletariat, the unification of the proletarians of all countries against united world capital. "In this struggle - a veritable *civil war* - all the elements for a *coming battle* unite and develop. Once it reaches this point, the coalition [the unification of the economic interests of the proletarians of *all* countries - author's note] assumes a political character" (Lenin quotes Marx here in Volume 21, page 65, German edition).

In the present day, in the capitalist countries, the demonstrations and strikes against price increases, tax increases, cuts in social benefits, against the plundering of the state coffers, against arms spending, against the passing on of the burdens of the capitalist crisis, etc., etc., are not only expressions of the economic struggle, but increasingly expressions of the political struggle against the tripartite alliance of capital, state and reactionary trade union, i.e. directed against the imperialist system of exploitation and oppression, the economic struggle takes on an increasingly open political character. Thus, Marx also rightly speaks of every economic struggle being at the same time a political struggle. From the experience of the economic struggle with its inevitable class clashes, the proletariat learns for its future armed struggle. Conversely, by applying Marxist-Leninist military theory, the results of the proletariat's economic struggle can be made more effective and penetrating, the pressure on the capitalists, on the state and on the imperialist trade union leadership can be increased, and legal barriers to economic struggle can be more easily overcome. 'Every class struggle is a political struggle' (Marx and Engels- Communist Manifesto) - these famous words of Marx must not be understood in the sense that every struggle of the workers against the employers is always a political struggle. They must be understood in the sense that the workers' struggle against the capitalists necessarily becomes *political* struggle to the extent that it becomes *class struggle* (Lenin, Vol. 4, page 210, German edition). Without a truly Marxist-Leninist party, the economic struggle of the working class and the revolutionary trade union movement would fail, fall into spontaneity and submit to the bourgeoisie and become its appendage, just as without a genuine Communist International the struggle of the world proletariat as a whole and the revolutionary world trade union movement would fail, fall into the spontaneity of globalisation and submit to international finance capital and become its appendage.

Just as the economic revelations are a declaration of war on the capitalists, so the political revelations are a declaration of war on the governments. With this declaration of war, the world proletariat begins its political war against the world bourgeoisie:

2. Political struggle

Inevitably the political struggle "becomes the struggle between the hostile classes at a certain stage of its development. The most complete, strongest and clearest expression of the political struggle of the classes is the struggle of the parties. Non-partisanship is indifference to the struggle of parties (...) Indifference is tacit support for the one who is strong, the one who has the domination" (Lenin, Vol. 10, page 65, German edition).

The political struggle of the communist party is much broader and more complicated than the economic struggle of the workers against the capitalists and their government. Accordingly, the organisation of the political struggle is inevitably of a different nature from the organisation of the workers, the trade union, for the economic struggle. The political struggle is the decisive form of the proletarian class struggle, whereby the political struggle is led by the party, whose development is at the same time the condition and gauge of the political development of the class struggle in a country. As Lenin has pointed out, "The participation of the working class in the political struggle and even in the political revolution does not in any way make its politics social-democratic politics" (Lenin, Vol. 5, page 452, German edition). As a rule, the more conscious a class is, the higher is its party development and the more mature its politics. With the party, the workers fight as a class against the ruling bourgeoisie to achieve their political interests, for their political liberation, and also as champions for the political freedom of other oppressed classes - and in the last instance for the overthrow of the whole capitalist system of exploitation and oppression, for the smashing of the bourgeois state. The struggle of the working class against the capitalist class must necessarily be a political struggle, because the economic interests of the capitalists, above all capitalist ownership of the means of production, are protected by the bourgeois state. The elimination of capitalist exploitation therefore requires the smashing of political power by the working class. The proletarian class struggle aims at the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Which form of political struggle is in the foreground at certain stages of the development of the proletarian class struggle depends on the concrete historical conditions.

The armed struggle of the proletariat is the sharpest, most violent, most sacrificial and most incisive form of the political struggle of the proletariat, is its continuation with warlike weapons, with violent means of civil war, insurrection, revolution, socialist war, makes its party the belligerent party. The (spontaneous) participation of the working class in armed struggle and even in armed revolution does not yet make this struggle an armed Marxist-Leninist struggle, but only through its *leadership* by the party of the proletariat, and this applies beyond the national framework also to the international armed class struggle led by the party of the world proletariat, the Communist International, which is the *highest form of all* international armed revolutionary struggles.

From the various armed forms of the political class struggle of the proletarians in the individual countries develop *internationalised*, centralised forms such as *international uprisings, international civil war, wars of the socialist camp, proletarian world revolution*. How Marxist-Leninists should fight under capitalism, how they should defend a socialist country, how they should support this struggle internationally, all this the Marxist-Leninists have already learned. What they still have to learn is how to lead the globalised class struggle of the world proletariat against the globalised class struggle of the world bourgeoisie. This is the most difficult task, and before it can be solved militarily, it must first be prepared politically. The reconquest of socialism will be much more difficult than the conquest [the class enemy has also learned its lessons!], but in return the creation of a socialist camp will proceed immensely faster and easier than in the post-war period of the Second World War, because this cannot be otherwise due to the globalisation of the class struggle today. The transition to world socialism is so difficult because we have to deal with a political resistance of such forces in our ranks, which have retired with socialism in one country and do not want anything else in the future than to retire with it, i.e.: to enjoy its momentary socialist fruits in order to then - tasted and consumed - leave it to fate, i.e. to capitalism again. They have no interest in understanding the goal of socialism in one country as a basis and lever, as a stage goal, as a prerequisite for the next goal, world socialism, and to begin practically with the building of the International. These neo-revisionists recognise the idea of the Communist International, its necessity, in principle in words, but they do nothing but stand and repeat over and over again, prayerfully, that the time is too "early", instead of helping to tackle this task now. The Comintern also failed politically because of these people. To overcome this paralysing condition is the most decisive question of today's political class struggle. The political class struggle for socialism in a country must always be *subordinated* to the political class struggle of world socialism, even and especially if for this purpose everything must first be done again to reconquer socialism in a country. The whole difficulty of the political struggle, and its whole art, is to understand the transition from a single socialist country to the socialist camp, to world socialism, as a long period with multiple transitions, in which retreats and defeats are inevitable. Socialism can only be reconquered when it has once again become the goal of the political struggle of the proletariat.

3. The ideological struggle

This is the third basic form of the class struggle. The content of the ideological class struggle is to attack the ideology of the bourgeoisie - especially the ideology of revisionism, to push it back and finally to smash it and thereby to develop or reactivate the socialist class consciousness in the proletariat, to (re)link Marxism-Leninism with the workers' movement and to (re)anchor it in the proletarian masses so that the proletariat can (re)recognise and fulfil its historical mission. Socialist ideology is carried into the workers' movement by the Marxist-Leninist party. The party is thus the embodiment of the unity of the workers' movement and scientific socialism. The ideological struggle can only be successful if it is conducted in the closest connection with the economic and political struggle: "The real education of the masses can never take place separately and apart from the independent political and especially revolutionary struggle of the masses themselves. Only the struggle educates the exploited class, only the struggle gives it the measure of its forces, broadens its horizon, increases its capacity, clears its mind, hammers its will" (Lenin, Vol. 19, page 441, German edition). What Lenin teaches here is not confined within the national framework. The ideology of the proletariat is international and so is the ideological struggle waged internationalistically by the world proletariat against the ideology of the world bourgeoisie. Here the Communist International plays the international role that the party plays on a national scale. A component of scientific socialism is also the military science of socialism, which thus also has an international character and must be anchored accordingly in the world proletariat in order to equip it for the armed world socialist revolution with the internationalised, ideological weapons.

As far as today's concrete situation is concerned, we must also understand the defeat of socialism as the defeat of socialist ideology, if it is measured by its present extremely low influence among the masses - and it must be measured by this. To the extent that the struggle for socialist ideology diminishes, that is, the more mass influence it loses, the more offensively the counter-revolutionary ideology goes on step by step to eradicate socialist thought, socialist traditions, class consciousness itself completely from the brains of the world population. If we want to reconquer socialism, we must also reawaken class consciousness, reconquer socialist ideology, we must wage the ideological class struggle against those who try to drive socialist consciousness out of the masses, or try to ensure that it does not penetrate the proletariat, or who ensure that only bourgeois consciousness penetrates, especially that which is passed off as "socialist consciousness", in order to prevent the penetration of Marxist-Leninist ideology, in order not to allow a vacuum to arise into which Marxist-Leninist ideology can flow. Therefore, first of all, the struggle against the revisionist ideology of the world bourgeoisie must be waged, the values, characteristics, traditions of socialism that have been trampled into the dirt must be cleaned, cherished and cultivated, the revolutionary class consciousness must be developed in a new way. Of course, this also applies to the military-revolutionary class consciousness. We must always uphold the old fighting traditions of the military socialist organisations, but especially in ultra-reactionary times when the counter-revolution is trying to totally wipe them out. We must make the masses understand clearly that the lessons of the defeat of socialism are always drawn by antagonist classes, that they serve the interests of antagonist classes and are diametrically opposed to each other. When the Marxist-Leninists talk about mistakes, it is not the same as the bourgeois intelligentsia and the revisionists, for example, talk about the mistakes that led to the defeat of socialism. In doing so, the neo-revisionists are at pains to glue together these antagonistic contradictions in the root causes of our mistakes in order to reconcile them with revisionism. This whole complicated confusion must be clarified by us to the last, must be made transparent to the masses. The revolutionary class and then the revolutionary masses will only be able to decide in favour of socialist ideology when the essential difference with revisionist ideology has become completely clear to them, when they can not only distinguish the complete bankruptcy of revisionism from the inevitable victory of socialism (which has only suffered a temporary defeat!), but can also use the lessons of the bankruptcy of revisionism as an extremely important revolutionary lesson for themselves in order to take up the struggle for the reconquest of socialism. The real gain for the world proletariat from the bankruptcy of revisionism is the loss of its revisionist illusions, which will make the continuation of the socialist victory march on a higher level concrete again. This struggle for the liberation from revisionist illusions will be brought to a victorious end by the Marxist-Leninists today, firstly, because they can and must prove much more convincingly than before where (!!) revisionism in power has led and is leading - precisely on the basis of historical and present experiences - namely deep back into capitalism - and

secondly, because they must at the same time show the world proletariat where Marxism-Leninism is leading, where the way out of the revisionist maze can be found. For the masses, revisionism has visibly raped, prostituted and ruined socialism 1000 times, lied to the masses, deceived and betrayed them, exploited and oppressed them in a social-fascist and social-imperialist way and then - in accordance with the counter-revolutionary nature of revisionism - left them to be eaten by the imperialists who, like vultures, have been and are still eating the carcass of socialism! Ideological worms find their living conditions only on the corpse of socialist ideology, not on the living body of Marxist-Leninist ideology. The hegemony of the revisionists, the influence of intellectual opportunism united with the labour-aristocratic ideology affected the socialist consciousness of the world proletariat, decomposed its revolutionary organisation, blunted the knowledge of socialist construction. With the help of revisionism, world imperialism (temporarily) erased socialism! The reconquest of socialism can only be the work of the working class itself! The revival of Marxism-Leninism can only be the work of the vanguard of the world proletariat! The revival of world proletarian military science can only be the work of the world proletarian military scientists themselves! But the basic form of the ideological class struggle can only develop further in the class struggle under the leadership of the true communist parties, if it is filled with new content by them and this new content is correctly linked with the old traditions of the ideological struggle. The specific feature of the new basic form of ideological struggle is its international character. The development of this specific ideological basic form of the class struggle to a new flowering will come all the faster, the deeper the world crisis of imperialism digs the gap between capital and labour !!!! The globalisation of the ideology of the bourgeoisie is the best impulse for the globalisation of the ideology of the world proletariat! The ideological globalisation of imperialist warfare necessarily generates the globalisation of world proletarian warfare!

These three basic forms

of the class struggle form an *inseparable* unity, they merge *into each other*, they are three *different* sides of the *united* struggle of the proletariat:

"... If the struggle is conducted in unison and coherence and according to plan on its three sides - the theoretical, the political and the practical-economic (resistance against the capitalists)..." (MEW, Vol. 7, page 541, German edition), the world proletariat, the unity of the international revolutionary workers' movement, is invincible. Marxism-Leninism has combined the three basic forms of the workers' class struggle into an indivisible whole and will bring this combination to its highest form in its international unfolding. In particular, to separate the international forms of class struggle or to equate them or even to use one at the expense of the other is one of the worst and saddest deviations from Marxism-Leninism. As a component of the political struggle, the military and armed forms of the class struggle must always be integrated into the unity of the basic forms of the class struggle and never used in isolation from this unity, never limited to themselves.

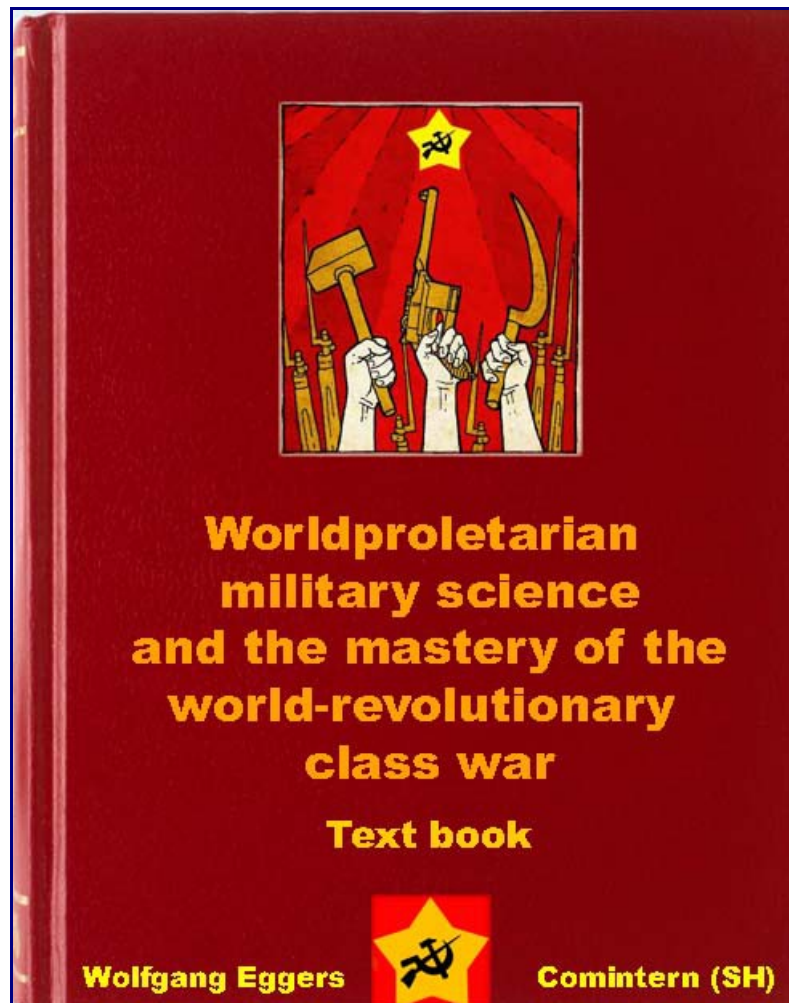
Out of the three basic forms, struggle committees, strike committees, workers', peasants' and soldiers' councils, etc.etc., are formed among the masses as *immediate* organs of the proletarian mass struggle. "Such organs cannot be formed at any arbitrary moment, whereas trade union federations and political parties *are always and absolutely* necessary and can and must be formed under all conditions" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 77, German edition). Lenin pointed out that what matters is not only the formation of organs of struggle, "but their co-ordination, *their co-ordination* with the struggle organisations of the peasantry, etc. [and, for example, the soldiers' councils - author's note] (...) because there is still a new *precondition for success* to be taken into account, which is now becoming particularly evident," namely "the joint action of revolutionary peasants and workers" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 78) ... and *soldiers* on an *international* scale.

The class struggle does not stop in socialist society,

but is a permanent process which extends over the *whole transition period* up to communism, lasts as long as it does and is formed and changed differently according to the historical conditions and the temporal stages of development of the revolutionary transformation of the world and in particular in the individual countries. This is also true of the political class struggle and its continued and sharpest form, the military class struggle. "Class struggle is the main driving force not only in a society with antagonistic classes, but in every class society, including the socialist society. As long as the question of 'who is whom' has not been completely and finally decided, since the basic contradiction up to communism remains the contradiction between socialism and capitalism, between the socialist and the capitalist road, the definition of class struggle by the classics of Marxism-Leninism does not change in essence. Class struggle is the soul of all other driving forces of socialist society. Only a deep understanding and the emphatic and unceasing development of the class struggle creates the possibility for the other driving forces of socialist society to work with all their strength" (Nexhmije Hoxha, "Some Basic Questions of the Revolutionary Policy of the Party of Labour of Albania for the Development of the Class Struggle, page 7, German edition, Tirana 1977).

The class struggle must also be continued by violent means under socialism when this becomes unavoidable, namely to prevent the revisionist elements from seizing power. It is a Marxist-Leninist principle: If the socialist working class cannot prevent itself from losing power, then it must carry out a renewed revolution to recapture its dictatorship, it must overthrow the dictatorship of the revisionists with an insurrection, with a civil war, with all anti-revisionist means at its disposal, with all violent and non-violent forms and organisations of struggle. Until communism, the army remains an organ of the revolution, an organ of the revolutionary class struggle, an instrument of struggle for the creation of a classless society in the hands of the working class.

- End Part I -



Part II

Textbook

on the Marxist-Leninist foundations of

World proletarian Military Science

and on the Art of

World revolutionary Class Warfare

August 2004

written by Wolfgang Eggers



PART II

How does the military form of struggle relate to the basic political form of the proletarian class struggle ?

The military form of struggle is the continuation of the political form of struggle by armed means.

For the revolution, which makes a continuation of the political struggle by violent means inevitable, the working class inevitably creates military organs of struggle and inevitably uses military forms of struggle, which will be discussed in detail later. Thus, when the classics of Marxism-Leninism use military terms in a *political* sense, they do not merely want to add more revolutionary spice to the *political* content, it is not a militant-sounding, ornamental accessory, but the classics are expressing a historical truth that a workers' army, a reserve army, a fighting staff, an international proletarian workers' army, strategy and tactics, attack and defence, etc., etc., are potentially present and can be used. etc., is *potentially* present and will legally emerge more and more clearly and sharply in the class clashes, i.e., it will first emerge or has emerged *politically*. In this political process of development of the class struggle, the point inevitably occurs where, in a revolutionary situation, the *political* character of a workers' army, a reserve army... etc., etc., takes on a military quality and this materially, independently forms, that all military terms actually regain their original meaning in the narrower military sense, become "objectified" in the small and large class wars which the working class and the party *has already waged, is waging and will wage* concretely in its history. This, then, not only corresponds to the general insights of historical materialism, but has also been proved a thousand times over by the whole history of the revolutionary workers' movement. For this reason, for the greatest, international class war, it is not only permissible to use, for example, the term "proletarian world army" in the broadest sense, i.e. politically, but it corresponds completely and consistently to Marxism-Leninism, (if one has the courage to think consistently to the end!) that the world proletariat, if it is going to continue its policy by armed means, will then also use military forms of struggle and create military organs of struggle for this purpose, of which a proletarian world army is certainly likely to be the possibly decisive one.

The military terms thus stand for the *defensive, militant* essence of Marxism-Leninism. Military terms express the military programmatic nature of Marxism-Leninism, for example, that political power in the decisive phase of the change of power can only be realised through the use of military means, the military terms of Marxism-Leninism remind us already in pre-revolutionary times that we are heading towards military goals, that the revolutionary movement will take military forms if revolution is a serious matter to us. They also remind us that in the post-revolutionary period we must remain vigilant to defend our socialist gains by all means, and finally they remind us that until the transition to communism, for the whole period of socialism, the proletariat must never lay down its arms, that it must use arms to regain a lost socialism, and that even after that the proletariat must take up arms a hundred times before its liberation is actually guaranteed.

And as far as, for example, the term "world proletarian army" is concerned, Marxism-Leninism does not use it to express an "invented", abstract, doctrinaire, "megalomaniac", revolutionary, petty-bourgeois-radical spinning, but firstly a form of struggle of the revolutionary class, namely of the world proletariat, and secondly a form of mass struggle which is to be waged "only" on the scale of a world army. We Marxist-Leninists do not think out our military forms of struggle and organisations of struggle, but only learn from mass practice, we observe that the world proletariat begins to form, organise and centralise itself against the globalisation attack of the world bourgeoisie and does not stop there, but that it will consequently develop new, international forms of struggle, which do not need to be worked out by some stub systematist. If the working class of each country "is a component of the world army of the proletariat." (Lenin, Vol. 2 (page 332, German edition)

If the world proletariat is an international class, its policy will also be an international policy, namely, directed towards conquering world power, it will logically be prepared to want to continue its international policy even with international armed means, and because the international counterrevolution will seek to prevent the world proletariat by force from conquering its world power, the world proletariat must therefore create for itself international, military organs of struggle in order to fulfil its historical world mission by forcibly removing the international counterrevolution from the way. What this will look like in concrete terms, what name the whole thing will be given, we do not yet know exactly, but we already know very well that this is not exactly a trivial task, but the inevitable Marxist-Leninist task to be organised in a planned and conscious manner, which must be theoretically watertight, i.e. an imperative necessity for which we must prepare the world proletariat - and this is our damned duty and obligation towards its just cause. What is not Marxist-Leninist about this? It is not Marxist-Leninist to doubt, to refute and to distort this standpoint, because this harms and does not help the world proletariat at all, because: without accepting this standpoint, it will be impossible for the world proletariat to fulfil its historical mission! We Marxist-Leninists fight against the denial of the international character of Marxist-Leninist military science. We Marxist-Leninists distinguish ourselves from revisionism because we do not only recognise the international military struggle in words, do not only use the military terms in form (because this form was chosen by the classics and therefore one does not dare to criticise it openly), but also put the international military struggle into practice and use the military terms in content, i.e. for ours, the real international military struggle for the socialist world revolution. To consciously carry out this demarcation from the revisionists in word and deed is how the world proletariat recognises the political honesty and sincerity of our principled stand against revisionism, and only by this will the class measure its vanguard before it can entrust itself to its (political and then military) leadership on a world scale.

Lenin admitted: "Of course, a comparison of revolutionary classes with armies is correct only in a very limited sense" (Lenin, Vol. 15, page 203, German edition). Lenin specially emphasised this so as not to confuse or equate the two, but this did not at all prevent him from making extensive use of military terms in comparing class and army, quite the contrary. It is neither coincidental nor surprising that the classics deliberately borrowed military terms for Marxism-Leninism. Thus Lenin characterised party discipline as a discipline close to military discipline, and so on and so forth. The whole party structure is tightly organised according to the basic principle of democratic centralism. Thus, for example, there is no difference in principle between the disciplined execution of party decisions and the disciplined exercise of military command in the Red Army, but there is a difference in the qualitative gradation. As Marxist-Leninists we know, of course, that the military struggle serves the political struggle, that the party decision thus has absolute priority over all the decisions that the working class takes, implements, controls, corrects, etc., etc., in its class struggle. Of course, the party does not lead its military struggle alone, independently or even against the will of the working class. Conspiracy actions by the party are adventurism, alien to the nature of a proletarian fighting party, harmful and doomed to failure (see Mao's Cultural Revolution). The party achieves military success only if it does not rely on itself alone, but on the working class and its allies, on the revolutionary people, and is equally *supported* in reverse by the working class and the revolutionary people.

Under no circumstances must the matter be understood in terms of division of labour, isolated and separate from each other, that the party, so to speak, leads the political struggle and the army the military one - independently "in its own direction". It is rather the case that the party, as the highest form of class organisation of the working class, decides accordingly on "everything military" in terms of military policy and is also organically closely connected with "everything military". The Communist Party is and remains at the time of its birth a political *FIGHTING* party of the whole working class, and therefore it must - adapted to the respective, changing conditions of the class struggle and depending on the front on which it fights - also take into account and use more or less military points of view in its politics, but proletarian politics must not be "militarised" or even militarily remodelled, one must not impose the "military" on it. Then, for example, the danger of a putsch, a "palace revolt" cannot be ruled out. It would therefore be a mistake to equate party and army, political and military struggle, or even to fundamentally subordinate the political to the military points of view. The military struggle and the army are subordinate to the party and its political struggle - as already pointed out several times. Undoubtedly, the military struggle of the party is the continuation of its political struggle with military means, but the military struggle is therefore by no means a means that may be imposed on proletarian politics and the military is in no case "the last instance of power", so to speak, *above* politics.

Proletarian politics must always decide over the guns and the party over the army; the guns never over proletarian politics, and the army never over the party.

If, however, the guns should try to impose their "will" on proletarian politics and thus turn into counter-revolutionary means, then proletarian politics cannot continue here otherwise than by continuing its struggle by violent means against the violent means of counter-revolution in its own ranks as well as outside its ranks. The political party must never be taken by surprise by guns and certainly not by guns from within its own ranks. Therefore, it must be vigilant, must be militarily prepared (also!) for this possibility - . The disarmament of its political fighting staff always means the disarmament of the whole working class and thus the danger of the restoration of capitalism. Therefore, the party must always keep a good eye on the army and the army must also keep a good eye on its own troops and leaders. Above all, the working class must keep a good eye on both party *and* army. The dictatorship of the proletariat determines politics - including military politics and the military struggle itself. The military struggle is politics through and through. The working class only continues its previous policy by violent means in order to be able to continue its policy again without violent means. The struggle for the power of the proletariat cannot be victorious without taking into account the role of the army in this struggle. This does not mean that a military dictatorship of the army will automatically result. The victorious revolutionary army of the people must not be turned into a spectre that is held up against the political struggle, because power must be conquered by force, must be conquered in struggle, must be conquered *militarily*, and for this we need a *political* party that *mobilises, organises, forms and leads the revolutionary forces militarily*.

According to its nature, the party must fight politically during the whole period of its existence, whether in times of ebb or flood of the revolutionary movement. It cannot do without militant action even in times of low tide, but its military struggle is central only in the time and situations of the open battles of the revolution and its defence, the open and conspiratorial blows of the internal and external counterrevolution, in war and civil war. Thus, the military struggle of the party depends on very specific, on intensified, violent, temporary conditions of struggle, but the political struggle, in contrast to this, is to be waged permanently and always with priority under all conditions of struggle. Victory and defeat of each class, victory and defeat of the world outlook of a class, etc., etc., everything is ultimately decided politically, even if politics is temporarily forced to resort to military means for this purpose in order to be able to assert itself and hold its ground. The character of the Leninist party is political and not military, even if some military characteristics are adopted. Conversely, the army is military in character, even if it sees itself as a politically conscious army and must also see itself as politically conscious. Lenin always called the doctrine: *"The army must remain outside politics" a "tasteless, hypocritical and mendacious doctrine"*. It "is particularly convenient for masking the real aspirations of the bourgeoisie (...)" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 72, German edition). "The army cannot and must not be neutral. Do not involve the army in politics - this is the slogan of the hypocritical lackeys of the bourgeoisie and tsarism, who in reality have always involved the army in reactionary politics and turned the Russian soldiers into stooges of the Black Hundreds, into abettors of the police. One cannot and must not stand aside in the general struggle for freedom of the people. Those who are indifferent to this struggle support the outrages of the police government, which has promised freedom in order to make a mockery of freedom" (Lenin, Vol. 10, page 41, German edition).

Both the party and the army must rely together on the whole class, just as in wartime, in the epoch of civil war, the whole class must unreservedly rally behind the party and act under its leadership. Stalin drew a comparison with the struggle of the working class in general and its military struggle in particular in terms of the degree of complexity of its conditions: "I have already spoken about the difficulties of the struggle of the working class, about the complexity of the conditions of struggle, about strategy and tactics, about reserves and manoeuvring, about attack and retreat. These conditions are no less complicated - if not more complicated - than the conditions of war" (Stalin, Vol. 6, page 151, German edition).

This cannot normally be otherwise, for the political conditions of struggle are generally more varied and comprehensive than the military conditions of struggle, which are, after all, only a part of the political conditions of struggle, even if they are sometimes in the foreground of the struggle. In this respect, the military terms which we Marxist-Leninists apply to the political conditions of struggle are to be understood more generally and in a broader sense than when we use them for the particular military conditions of struggle, that is, in a narrower sense. This should be reminded here to the "critics" who, on the one hand, "overlook" this different use of military terms in order to gum up the differences and, on the other hand, "overlook" the unity and dialectical connection of the political and military conditions of struggle in order to draw artificial, unbridgeable trenches between the unity of the different uses of the military terms and turn them against each other or exclude one with the other.

Finally, we would like to give a detailed account of Lenin, who was a master in contrasting the *military organisation* of the army with the *political organisation* of the working class (at the beginning of the First World War) and in presenting their inseparable dialectical connection in a very practical, convincingly popular form. We quote from one of his very most important articles, "The Collapse of the II International", Volume 21, page 249:

"Take the modern army. Here we have a good model of an organisation. And this organisation is good only because it is elastic and at the same time capable of directing millions of people according to a unified will. Today, these millions are still sitting at home, in various corners of the country. Tomorrow the mobilisation order will come - and they will gather at the appointed points. Today they lie in trenches, sometimes for months. Tomorrow they will advance in a new order of battle for the assault. Today they work wonders in providing cover from bullets and shrapnel. Tomorrow they will work miracles in open combat. Today their vanguards lay mines under the ground, tomorrow they advance dozens of versts above the ground according to the instructions of the airmen. *Yes, this is called organisation when, in the name of a goal, animated by a will, millions of people change the form of their intercourse and their actions, change the place and methods of their activity, change tools and weapons - according to the changed circumstances and requirements of the struggle.*

The same applies to the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie. Today is not a revolutionary situation, the conditions for a fermentation among the masses, for the increase of their activity, are lacking. Today a ballot paper is put in your hand - take it, know how to organise yourself to beat your enemies with the ballot paper, but not to give a warm place in parliament to people who cling to their chairs for fear of prison. Tomorrow your ballot paper will be taken away from you, you will be given a rifle and an excellent rapid-fire gun constructed with the last word in mechanical engineering - take these tools of death and destruction, do not listen to the sentimental Greiners who are afraid of war; there is still all too much in the world that must be wiped out by fire and sword for the sake of the liberation of the working class, and when bitterness and despair grow in the masses, when a revolutionary situation is given, then get ready to create new organisations and turn the tools of death and destruction that are so useful against *your own* government and *your own* bourgeoisie."

If we spread these simple words of Lenin over the globe today, they already form, so to speak, the very core of this whole textbook, namely, the world revolutionary line of the international, centrally organised class war of the world proletarian army for the political overthrow of the world bourgeoisie and the smashing of the armed international rule of all its governments throughout the world.

"Certainly, this is not easy. It will require difficult preparatory actions. It will require heavy sacrifices. This is a new kind of organisation and struggle, which also *has to be learned*, but the science cannot be mastered without mistakes and defeats. This kind of class struggle is in the same proportion to participation in the elections as the assault is to manoeuvres, marches or lying in the trenches. This kind of struggle is *not* on the agenda *too often* in history, but its significance and consequences extend over decades. The days when such methods of struggle can and must be put on the agenda are equal to *twenty-year spans* of other historical epochs" (Lenin, *ibid.*, page 250, German edition).

What is meant by the military policy of the world party, the Communist International?

What is politics?

"What is to be understood by politics? Politics - that is the struggle between classes; politics - that is the relations of the proletariat fighting for its liberation against the *world* bourgeoisie [emphasis (italic) added by the author]" (Lenin, Vol. 31, page 365, German edition)

The *content* of politics has a class character - the political *form* is the *essential way* in which the class struggle is organised and conducted.

Politics - this is the decisive means, the main instrument of parties, states, confederations of states, their institutions and organisations, etc., etc., for the enforcement of class interests with the aim of conquering, maintaining, defending, strengthening the power of classes, etc., etc. *The politics of violence in the proper sense is the organised violence of one class to oppress another.*

Proletarian politics is the decisive means of asserting the proletarian class interests with the aim of creating with its power those conditions by which the classes "abolish themselves". Proletarian politics is the decisive means of freeing politics from the shackles of its class character.

The politics of the working class led by the Marxist-Leninist Party, in contrast to the politics of all previous classes, is thus a politics for its own liberation and *at the same time* for the liberation of humanity from exploitation, crises and wars, a politics for the shaping of socialist and communist society. The proletarian policy of the Marxist-Leninist Party is the creative application of the theoretical and methodological foundations elaborated by the Marxist-Leninists and is thus the only scientific policy.

The politics of proletarian violence is in the real sense the organised violence of the working class for its liberation from the oppression of the exploiting classes, for the oppression of the exploiting classes.

Politics is determined by the prevailing relations of production and corresponding class relations. Since Marx, we have known that proletarian politics is based on the materialist science of political economy, that the roots of politics lie in economics, that behind politics lie tangible economic interests of the classes, that "politics is concentrated economics" (Lenin, Vol. 33, p. 302, German edition). Thus, just as Marxist-Leninist political economy reveals the lawful downfall of capitalism, the economic policy of the Marxist-Leninist party to conquer the power of the proletariat through socialist revolution is derived from it. And just as political economy was developed by Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha into the scientific basis of the economic construction of socialist society, so too the socialist policy of the Marxist-Leninist parties is the concentrated expression of socialist economy, and so too socialist weapons are the concentrated expression of socialist policy, just as all weapons are the concentrated expression of policy in general.

But politics is not exhausted in its economic roots, foundations, aims, etc. The dialectical unity of politics and economics consists in the fact that the class structures of a society are derived from economics, and thus also the fundamental interests of the classes, which in turn determine the decisive contents and aims of the politics of the classes. (see: Lenin, Vol. 7, page 48, German edition).

The Marxist-Leninist party thus directs its policy towards the *assertion of the interests of the working class*, with the elimination of its exploitation ultimately eliminating all exploitation of man by man - in communist world society.

In order to achieve this, however, neither a mere improvement of the economic conditions of existence nor the development of the economy is sufficient. This requires the conquest and assertion of political power by the working class, it requires the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, according to Lenin, politics necessarily has primacy over economics. Since the working class can only comprehensively assert its basic interests by means of politics, the economy must be subordinated to the respective political goals. Without a politically correct approach, the working class will not be able to assert its leadership and, consequently, will not be able to solve its production task; the economy is thus inversely determined by politics. This does not mean, however, that the laws of political economy, which usually operate for a certain historical period, can be arbitrarily or forcibly suspended by politics, not even by military policy. Stalin said: "But (...) these laws are not abolished, but lose their force by virtue of the new economic conditions and give way to new laws which are not created according to the will of the people, but arise on the basis of the new economic conditions" (Stalin, *The Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, Moscow 1952, page 7, German edition). And referring to the laws of military action of class society, let us quote here the well-known Engel quote:

"The laws of their own social doing, which have hitherto confronted them as alien laws of nature dominating them, are then applied by men with full expertise and thus dominated" (Engels, "Anti-Dühring"). The working class is therefore not powerless in the face of economic laws, is not a slave to these laws, but can exploit them in its interest and bring violence under control. If politics is therefore not based on objective laws, it cannot fulfil its task.

What is military policy?

Military policy is the policy of militarily organised violence by classes to oppress other classes. It is the policy of a class or a class alliance, its party or party alliance, its state or its alliance of states to safeguard and enforce its/their class interests for the conquest or maintenance of class rule also by military means. The content of military policy is thus the conquest and maintenance of power and is determined by its armed class struggle character. The military-political form of the class struggle is the way in which it is organised, conducted and enforced - with which armed means, forms and organisations.

Marxist-Leninist military policy is, on a national scale, the policy of the proletariat and its Bolshevik party against the bourgeoisie in a country, and on a world scale, the policy of the world proletariat and its world party against the world bourgeoisie, in order to liberate itself from capitalism, from world imperialism, by military means. It is the militarily organised violence of the working class to suppress the exploiting classes. This military-political task can only be solved by the Soviet power, as Lenin defined it as follows: "Only the Soviet power as a permanent state organisation of precisely the classes oppressed by capitalism is capable of abolishing the subordination of the army to the bourgeois command and of really merging the proletariat with the army, of really carrying out the arming of the proletariat and the disarming of the bourgeoisie, because otherwise the victory of socialism is impossible (Lenin at the 1st World Congress of the Comintern).

The military policy of the world proletariat is a political instrument to achieve and secure the victory of the world socialist revolution by military means - a task of struggle which is *before us* for *practical* solution and is already no longer a purely theoretical-programmatic or a purely propagandist-agitational task.

As is well known, the bourgeoisie is not prepared to accept the policy of the proletariat voluntarily. It does not subordinate itself unconditionally to the policy of the hostile, antagonistic class, but relies on its own policy, namely to maintain the system of rule for economic exploitation - and in doing so does not shrink from violent military means when this system of rule is attacked and endangered.

The military policy of the bourgeoisie is militaristic by nature.

What is militarism ?

Karl Liebknecht described militarism as the sum and extract of "all the peace-disturbing tendencies of capitalism" and Lenin and Martov, together with Rosa Luxemburg, as "a main tool of class subjugation" [see their amendment to Bebel's resolution against militarism at the 1907 Stuttgart International Congress of Social Democracy]; (on this: Lenin, Vol. 13, page 84, German edition).

In bourgeois historiography and in a wide variety of bourgeois dictionaries, militarism is dismissed as a kind of "predominance and overemphasis of military sentiment and a strong military influence on politics". It also speaks of "one-sided decisions of political questions by military instead of state-political considerations and also of the predominance of military traits in the basic political attitude of a state or statesman". With this kind of trivialising definition, the term militarism is robbed of its actual reactionary, class-political and expansionist roots and social-economic basis, which today is world imperialism. We can and must speak today of world militarism, of rotting, parasitic and dying world militarism, which means nothing else for the world proletariat to wage an internationally organised, armed anti-militarist class struggle (without ignoring the peaceful forms of struggle!).

What is anti-militarism?

Lenin understood anti-militarism to mean "that militarism can never and under no circumstances be overcome and abolished in any other way than through the victorious struggle of one part of the people's army against the other part. It is not enough to curse militarism, to curse it, to 'reject' it, to prove its harmfulness with the critique of arguments, it is foolish to refuse to serve peacefully - it is necessary to keep alive the revolutionary consciousness of the proletariat, not only in general, but also to prepare its best elements in the concrete to place themselves at the head of the revolutionary army at the moment of the highest ferment in the people" (Lenin, Works, Vol. 23, page 254, German edition). "Special anti-militarist propaganda must be carried on all the more vigorously because the cases of the interference of armed forces in the struggle between labour and capital are becoming more and more frequent and the importance of militarism is becoming more and more evident not only in the present struggle of the proletariat but also in the coming one - in the moment of social revolution (...) Not only considerations of principle but also significant historical experience speak in favour of special anti-militarist propaganda" (Lenin, Vol. 15, page 192, German edition).

Proletarian anti-militarism uses only those methods and means of struggle which serve the aim of socialism, and at the same time rejects those methods and means of struggle which are opposed to this aim. The aim of anti-militarism is to eliminate the inevitability of militarism by eliminating its causes and foundations, the smashing of imperialism. The aim is "not merely the replacement of war by peace, but the replacement of capitalism by socialism (...). It is not merely a question of preventing the outbreak of war, but of exploiting the crisis caused by the war to hasten the overthrow of the bourgeoisie" (Lenin, Vol. 13, page 71, German edition). In terms of proletarian internationalism, anti-militarism is about "creating a more vivid consciousness among the masses of the international solidarity of the workers and of the mendacity of bourgeois patriotism" (ibid., pp. 71-72) , because globalising bourgeois patriotism today serves world imperialism as one of the essential ideological bases for the armed intervention of international counterrevolution in the struggle for power between labour and capital - that is, on a world scale.

How did Lenin define militarism?

"Modern militarism is a result of capitalism. In its two forms it constitutes a `living phenomenon` of capitalism: as a military power used by the capitalist states in their external clashes (`outward militarism`...) and as a weapon in the hands of the ruling classes to suppress all (economic and political) movements of the proletariat (`inward militarism`)" [Lenin, Vol. 15, page 187, German edition]. Modern militarism (as distinguished from the old [for example, Prussian] militarism) is not only embodied by the imperialist/social-imperialist army, by armed organs of power; rather, it is a system that permeates all spheres of capitalist society ("Now militarisation permeates all public life", Lenin).

Militarism internally is thus the implementation of capitalist military policy through the means of *civil war*, *armed counterrevolution*. Moreover, according to Lenin's definition, the military policy of the bourgeoisie serves not only to defend the rule of its system of exploitation against the revolting oppressed classes, but also to *wage wars in foreign policy* and thus follows the economic law of imperialism, i.e. to launch imperialist predatory wars in order to hunt for maximum profits and to redistribute the world's spoils. The imperialist military policy is thus a concentrated military expression of the imperialist economy. Military policy thus encompasses not only the military relations and relationships of the classes and strata within a state (internal military policy), but also the military relations and relationships between states and nations (area of foreign military policy), whereby foreign military policy is essentially the continuation of internal military policy. It also includes military political ideology.

The military policy of the proletariat is the policy of the proletariat to continue and resume its struggle for liberation, for the conquest and defence of its power by military means for as long as is necessary within the framework of the complete fulfilment of its historical world mission.

The military policy of the proletariat uses force in a limited way for the realisation of its class interests, that is, according to the rule: as "short and painless" as possible, and only as many victims as are absolutely necessary. Proletarian military policy never accepts sacrifices, knowing full well that the revolutionary struggle cannot proceed without sacrifices - it all depends on the respective objective and subjective conditions, on the *military policy of the ruling classes*, the balance of forces between the antagonistic classes, etc., etc., in other words, on a series of factors which we have to take into account. - in other words, on a number of factors which we cannot enumerate all here. In any case, it is a special characteristic of *imperialist military policy* that the escalation of its violence leads to the imperialist coalitions growing over their heads, that *imperialist military policy* gets into a whirlpool of the course of the war that can no longer be steered, that the "powers it conjured up" now seize military policy and the military instruments slip out of their hands. He who sows the wind will reap the whirlwind. Also a peculiarity of bourgeois military policy is that it serves only the interests of a few thousands who actually hold this world in their hands, the international finance capitalists, while the military policy of the world proletariat serves the overwhelming majority of the population: "It is not where one has to do with thousands, but where one has to do with millions, that serious politics begins" (Lenin, Vol. 27, page 86, German edition). "In politics it is not so important *who* directly represents certain views. What is important is *who* *benefits* from these views, these proposals, these measures.

Let us take 'Europe' as an example: states that call themselves 'civilised' are now organising a great obstacle race for armaments. In thousands of tones, in thousands of newspapers, from thousands of pulpits, people are shouting and clamouring about patriotism, culture, homeland, peace, progress - and everything to justify spending new millions and millions of roubles on all kinds of weapons of destruction, on cannons, on 'dreadnoughts' (armoured cruisers of the latest type), etc. Ladies and gentlemen, dear public! - one would like to say when one hears all these phrases of the 'patriots' - do not trust their phrases, rather *look at whom it benefits!*" (Lenin, Vol. 19, pp. 34-35, German edition). It is the *global* war profiteers, especially the *international arms mafia*, who benefit from the imperialist military policy.

The military policy of the imperialists is based on the military division of labour, the contradiction between physical and mental labour, which largely explains the hatred of the enlisted ranks for the officer class. The imperialist military policy is not able to overcome this gap, but rather deepens it. The proletarian military policy, on the other hand, while only overcoming this contradiction in a longer process, actually creates comradely relations where all operate as "one man" - regardless of military ranks and grades - and where all feel connected to the common cause as comrades and comrades, where all are jointly interested in the successful completion of the revolutionary combat orders and commands. This process takes place all the faster and all the more thoroughly, the better the soldiers qualify themselves, raise their level and take on officer activities themselves, and thus the old norms and structures can be overcome.

The *military policy of the bourgeoisie* further differs from the proletarian military policy in that it is *in conflict* between word and deed, whereas the word and deed of the *proletarian military policy coincide*, i.e., it is honest and sincere. Revolutionary military policy is a matter of the people, a matter of the proletariat, a matter of the soldiers. Imperialist military policy barter its principles, haggles with them; proletarian military policy, on the other hand, is a straightforward, principled policy which morally condemns unprincipledness, because only in this way will it be accepted and supported by the masses in the long run. The whole military-political activity of the Communist Party has serious significance only to the extent that it succeeds in rousing the working class, arousing its military interest, raising its military consciousness and mobilising it for active, leading participation in the armed class struggle.

The military policy of the imperialists must never be judged by its solemn declarations and displayed intentions, but always by its class content, by the class interests it serves. The "peace policy" of world imperialism is therefore only the continuation of its war policy, its "disarmament policy" only the continuation of its rearmament policy, its "defence policy" only the continuation of its errobation policy, its "détente policy" only the continuation of its aggression policy, its "conflict avoidance policy" only the continuation of its policy of unavoidable military conflicts, its "convergence policy" only the continuation of its global, counter-revolutionary policy against the liberation struggles, against revolution and socialism, etc. etc. What is true of politics in general, is especially true of the propaganda machinery of imperialist military policy when Lenin said: "The cleverer and more educated the classes are who keep lackeys, the more systematically and deliberately they carry out their policy, they exploit the lackeys to spy among the labourers, to divide the labourers by making concessions to a certain section of them, to consolidate their own position, to interest the 'servant' in the increase of the master's wealth by the hope of receiving a pittance, etc. etc.", (Lenin, Vol. 29, page 533, German edition).

The imperialist military policy is thus directed towards the concealment of the real robbery interests of the imperialists, towards a justification of their counter-revolutionary activity vis-à-vis the peoples struggling for their liberation. But it belongs to the proletarian military policy to expose and denounce these lies and to enlighten the masses about the true character of the imperialist military policy and to wake them up.

The military policy of the bourgeoisie is also aimed at preventing the socialist revolution by force. Thus, the imperialists supported the Russian counterrevolution by instigating a civil war immediately after the October Revolution. This made it difficult for the Russian people to recover economically from the consequences of the burden of war. In the foreground was the military policy of the Bolsheviks to wage military struggle in defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The military front cost strength that was lacking on the economic front, so economic policy was subordinate to military policy. Lenin's military policy, however, was directed towards creating the best possible and quickest possible conditions to reactivate economic policy:

"Our policy must now be mainly the economic construction of the state (...) so that no one starves. That is what our policy consists in. And all agitation and propaganda must be built on that. It is necessary to drone less phrases, because you will not satisfy the labourers with phrases. As soon as the war gives us the opportunity to shift the centre of gravity from the struggle against the bourgeoisie, from the struggle against Wrangel, against the White Guards, we will turn to economic policy" (Lenin, Vol. 31, page 366, German edition).

What is clear here is Lenin's integration of military policy into the overall policy of the party and the shift from the military to the economic front at a particular moment in the revolutionary struggle. Thus, following the law of the revolution, Lenin also accepted the imposed peace treaty of the German imperialists at Brest-Litovsk in order to save the revolution through the breathing space thus bought, in order to be able to turn to the urgent tasks of economic policy, without the solution of which the dictatorship of the proletariat would not have been able to hold on for long.

The revisionist military policy [on this *in great* detail later! - author's note] is in its essence a capitalist-militarist policy which hides behind a mask of Marxist-Leninist military policy and which serves the restoration of capitalism by using militarist means. It is that form of bourgeois military policy which more or less uses the proletarian military policy to beat it with its own weapons, to force it to submit to the global military aims and purposes of the rule of world imperialism, to achieve its capitulation, to finish it off, or to absorb it by transforming the proletarian military policy into a social-imperialist military policy in order to delay the downfall of imperialism. The revisionist military policy is the policy to save militarism in the field hospital of imperialism. The neo-revisionist military policy is the anti-revisionist shroud with which it covers the victims of its predatory war.

What do we mean by the military programme of the world party, the Communist International?

The general, political programme is a brief, clear and precise statement of everything the party aspires to and fights for, while the military programme in particular is a brief, clear and precise statement of everything the party aspires to and fights for *militarily*.

Lenin has said "that the essence of this [general, political - author's note] programme (Lenin, Vol. 4, page 206, German edition) is to organise the class struggle of the proletariat and to direct this struggle, the ultimate aim of which is the conquest of political power by the proletariat and the establishment of socialist society".

The essence of the *international military* programme is thus to continue to organise and direct by military means the international class struggle, the ultimate aim of which is the conquest of world political power by the proletariat and the establishment of world socialist society .

In this way Lenin made it clear that a military programme must not be confused with a textbook declaration of principles, not with a military programme of a mere propaganda party, but that it is the programme of an *armed fight* party.

The Military Programme is adopted by the Party Congress and is the concise summary of the scientifically formulated basic military views of the Marxist-Leninist Party, or the Communist International. It outlines its basic military-political demands, tasks and aims, and specifies the main forces, ways and means for their implementation and fulfilment in the most general sense (whereby the forces, ways and means in detail and concretely are the matter of the decisions of the fighting organisations and their tactics. Because of the absolute duty of secrecy before the class enemy, explosive questions of tactics can hardly be included in the military programme, except, of course, for answering the most fundamental questions, such as Bolshevik tactics against imperialist war; transformation into civil war; turning over the guns; decomposition of the bourgeois army, its conversion to proletarian revolution, etc., etc.).

The military programme of a party is limited to the individual country. The military programme of the Communist International, on the other hand, must encompass what is militarily essential and fundamental to all parties, countries, peoples and nations. The military programme is not a string of empty formulas, but (thesis-like) formulated *military guiding principles*, which are *tailored to all* and can be used and applied *by all*. The scope of an international military programme thus far exceeds that of a military programme drawn up for the national framework - but the scope of a military programme is of course also smaller than that of the general party programme or the programme of the Communist International.

There is no room in a military programme for repetitions, explanations or concrete, tactical-military instructions, nor for commentaries: "Anything superfluous in the programme weakens it" (Engels in his Remarks on the Erfurt Programme, MEW, Vol. 22, page 228, German edition).

Between the chapter on the class wars under capitalism and the role of the armed struggle in the socialist transition period belongs the chapter on communism. "One cannot speak of the transition period without first (...) speaking of the communist (...) system to which the transition is demanded in the programme. (...) But transition to what, to what kind of system - this must be spoken of before the transition period itself is characterised. The programme must lead from the unknown to the known, from the less known to the more known (...) should facilitate and not complicate (...) the introduction of the reader (...), to which the draft programme must also correspond (...) " (Stalin, Vol. 11, p. 127, German edition).

The military programme would not have an internationalist character if it suppressed the common military task of the world revolution. Without a military programme, the world revolution cannot be achieved. The military programme must deal with the basic question of what military obligations the proletarians of all countries have to fulfil mutually for the revolution. We derive this basic military question from the basic political question that Stalin posed for the programme of the Comintern at the time:

"What value would a programme of the Comintern dealing with the world proletarian revolution have if it passed over the fundamental question, the question of the character and tasks of the proletarian revolution in the USSR, the question of its duties towards the proletarians of all countries and the duties of the proletarians of all countries towards the proletarian dictatorship in the USSR?" (Stalin, Vol. 11, page 135, German edition).

Of course, today we have different conditions, old military programmes cannot be transferred in a template-like manner, thus the military programme of the Communist International must never be conceived in order to correspond to these new conditions.

If a phase of war communism is imposed by a possible war situation and intervention of the policy of the dictatorship of the proletariat, then its special military character must be brought out, for example, in the "direct exchange of products between town and country with the aim of organising the distribution of products in such a way as to ensure the supply of the revolutionary armies at the front as well as the workers in the rear" (Stalin, Vol. 11, page 129, German edition).

An important political question - which must not be left out of the military programme, lest we disarm ourselves - is the military *counterrevolutionary role of revisionism*, especially in preventing the conquest and defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but above all in its reconquest.

The Party's military programme is always related to a particular military struggle, or to a particular period of that struggle, for example, the military programme of the proletarian revolution; the military programme for the defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the military programme of the war of national liberation, etc. With a completed historical period and the transition to the next period, the old military programme expires or undergoes a necessary revision or is replaced by a new one, which is to be adapted to this new historical period of struggle. The present period of struggle is directed towards the goal of reconquering the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The military programme is built on scientific foundation, on the theory of Marxism-Leninism, especially on the Marxist-Leninist military theory, the Marxist-Leninist military science, as well as the political strategy and tactics of the (international) class struggle laid down in the Political Party Programme/Programme of the Communist International and in the General Line of the Party/General Line of the Communist International. Ultimately, all communist programmes in the world are consistent with, or derive from, the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels.

The main components of a military programme are:

- a) Characterisation and assessment of the political and military situation in a country/world situation in the respective stage to which the military programme is to apply (for example, the nature of the inevitability of imperialist wars and their transformation into civil war and socialist revolution, the inevitability of the communist world revolution arising from the nature of capitalism), the Party's basic position on this, as well as the military-political lessons and conclusions for the revolution to be derived from this in brief form;**
- b) Determination of the most important military-political tasks and aims in derivation from the general political tasks and aims of the party (party programme/programme of the Communist International);**
- c) Determination and definition of the internationalist character, tasks and equipment of the armed revolutionary forces, their military organisations and their leadership;**
- d) Fundamental critique of the imperialist military programmes which serve to wage predatory wars and defeat the revolution, i.e. which have an international, counter-revolutionary character; Determination of the most important principles and criteria in the position towards the class enemy and its counter-revolutionary, military forces (including its revisionist forces);**
- e) Determination of the military tasks and aims of proletarian internationalism and the proletarian world revolution.**

Basically, one would also need a military-political work programme for the implementation and "control of the implementation" of the military programme, but its organisation is a matter of party work in the party bodies provided for this purpose and their cooperation with the military organisations and their corresponding bodies, and: the successful implementation of the military programme is, after all, not possible without the participation and involvement of the whole class and the whole mass.

A military programme alone is not enough: "A Marxist must on no account forget that the slogan of the imminent struggle cannot be derived simply and directly from the general slogan of a particular programme. It is not enough to refer to our programme (...). To do this, one must take into account the concrete historical situation, follow the whole development and course of the revolution step by step, and derive our tasks not only from the principles of the programme, but also from the preceding steps and stages of the movement. Only such an analysis will be a truly historical analysis, to which the dialectical materialist is committed" (Lenin, Vol. 11, pp. 102-103, German edition).

There are times when it is necessary to develop a military programme, when it is necessary to call upon the proletariat to put the programme into practice, but these times will eventually pass when the proletariat will measure us not by the military programme but by *our armed actions themselves*, whether we are also willing and able to prove our programmes and promises by deeds and ultimately actually keep them. If we have not built up armed organisations to implement the military programme, everything else becomes superfluous. The time will come when it will be necessary to *shift the focus of training methods from peaceful lessons to the fighting itself*.

Then comes the moment of truth when the communists will have to prove that they can not only organise, propagate and agitate better, but above all that they can shoot better than the capitalists, and when the working class will have to master its war craft better than the bourgeoisie, and then it will be a question of "who - whom?"

Every single shot of the real armed movement is more important than a dozen military programmes. (Modified form of the famous saying of Karl Marx in his "Critique of the Gotha Programme"; MEW, Vol. 19, page 13, German edition). The armed class struggle is stronger than all the military programmes in the world put together.

It is part of the ABC of Marxism-Leninism that the *fighting* proletariat learns not from definitions - what the international armed class struggle is as one learns it here from the textbook - but *from practically acquired knowledge*.

12 years later, after this textbook was created, the Comintern (SH) has published its own military programme:

MILITARY-PROGRAM



of the world soci list
revolution

"Turn the rifles around !"

20 military guiding principles of the Comintern (SH)

- adopted on September 9, 2016 -

Thus, in broad outline, the most important military concepts are briefly outlined here and their definition anticipated in order to better understand the meaning of armed class struggle and to apply it more optimally ... which is, after all, what Marxist-Leninist military theory has to start from.

Let us now turn to the military teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism
- Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha:

Chapter 2

The 5 Classics on the basics of the Marxist-Leninist Military Science and on the art of world revolutionary warfare

Marx and Engels

Lenin

(under construction)

Stalin

(not completed)

Enver Hoxha

(not completed)

**The importance of the classics for the solution of the military
question of the world revolution**

Marxism-Leninism is the closed system of world views and international teachings of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Vladimir I. Lenin, Josef. V. Stalin and Enver Hoxha. Marxist-Leninist Military Science and World Revolutionary Class Warfare as Marxist-Leninist Military Tactics is the closed, common, international work of the 5 classics. Marx and Engels founded the materialist history of war and created Marxist military science and the class war tactics of the world proletariat. It was not only further developed and masterfully applied by the subsequent classics Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha, but in the process raised to a new qualitatively higher level to become the military science of the socialist state, a scientific instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The classics of Marxism-Leninism were not only the theoretical and practical leaders of the international workers' movement in general , but also in particular the *armed* leaders of the *armed* world proletariat. Thus, they distinguished themselves as leaders of the world proletariat by masterfully linking the military theory of the proletariat with military practice, thus giving the armed, revolutionary class struggle of the united proletariat a luminous *communist* aim and a clear, *Marxist* direction. Without the criterion of an armed leader of the armed world proletariat, one cannot speak of a classic of Marxism-Leninism at all. This is a very important criterion by which we Marxist-Leninists of the Comintern (SH) clearly distinguish ourselves from bourgeois socialism, from revisionism in general and from neo-revisionism in particular. Those who exclude or falsify the *military criterion* for the rank of the 5 classics of Marxism-Leninism cannot truly struggle for the world proletarian socialist revolution, cannot win the victory of world socialism, are doomed to failure, take all kinds of standpoints, but not a Marxist-Leninist one. We can only be true anti-revisionists if we defend the military teachings and the military struggle of the 5 classics of Marxism-Leninism against neo-revisionism in word and deed. The dialectics of the classics question is not only the highest form of the ideological but also the military class struggle of the world proletariat. The correct determination of the classics question is decisive, not least in military terms, for the whole future of communism.

"We, Marxist-Leninists, who are at the forefront of the titanic struggle being waged today between the proletariat and the oppressed peoples striving for freedom on the one hand and the brutal, rapacious imperialists on the other, must understand precisely the intentions, the tactics, the types and forms of struggle of the common enemies as well as the particular enemies of each country. We cannot do this in a necessary way if we do not firmly base ourselves on the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution, if we do not see that in the present situation and in the future there exist or will exist a number of weak links in the chain of world capitalism, where the revolutionaries and the peoples must develop an uninterrupted activity, an organised, indomitable and courageous struggle to break these links one by one" (Enver Hoxha, "Imperialism and Revolution", page 79, German edition).

How long will the weakest link remain in the hands of reaction and when will it fall into the hands of the world revolution ? In any case, it will be the starting point for the further course of world history, will the revolutionary tide break through the imperialist protective wall at the weakest point.

Marx and Engels

- the founders of Marxist military theory and scientific war history -**

"The dawn of a new and better society is rising brightly for the oppressed classes of all countries. And everywhere the oppressed are closing ranks; everywhere they are reaching out to each other across borders, across different languages.

THE ARMY OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT IS FORMING".

(Engels, MEW, Vol. 22, page 477, German edition - formulated 110 (!) years ago; emphasis [big letters] by the author).

It is the special merit of Marx and Engels to have recognised the historical role of the armed emancipation of the working class and to have placed military science on the internationalist ground of this class.

Marx and Engels developed a masterly critique of bourgeois military science, analysed the civil wars and armed class conflicts of history and its present, and arrived at highly revolutionary conclusions. Not only Lenin was able to draw valuable lessons for the Russian revolution, but the military insights of Marx and Engels were also of great importance at the time of Stalin and Enver Hoxha. They are still highly relevant today and are indispensable as a theoretical basis for our practical struggle. Marx and Engels made a profound assessment of the history of war beginning with the most ancient times, the history of the formation and development of armies as well as the analysis of the organisation and condition of the armed forces of their time, the methods and forms of warfare and armed struggle. In this way, they created the basis of Marxist military science and a scientific history of the art of war. In particular, Marx and Engels' thoughts on the question of armed insurrection are an integral part of the treasury of Marxist-Leninist military science. Drawing on Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin further developed the doctrines of armed insurrection, which were brilliantly confirmed by the victory of the October Revolution. Enver Hoxha also drew on Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin in the anti-fascist liberation struggle that led to the brilliant victory of the people's revolution in Albania.

Let us begin with a short quotation in which Marx compared the value of intellectual and material (war) production. We find this passage in the supplements of volume 26.1 on page 329 - German edition, a reference by Hobbes on the economic role of science, on labour and value, which states:

"Arts of social utility, such as (...) the making of war machines and other implements of war, constitute power, since they contribute to defence and victory; but though their true mother is science, namely mathematics, yet, because they were brought to light by the hand of the artisan, these are considered as their originators(...)". And Marx added to this quotation: "The product of intellectual labour - science - is always deeply below its value. Because the labour-time necessary to reproduce it bears no relation at all to the labour-time required for its original production" (Marx, MEW, vol. 26,1, page 329, German edition). This, of course, undoubtedly applies specifically to the economic relationship between war production and war science.

The perfect unity of intellectual and material socialist war production places socialist warfare on a firm basis and makes it possible in the first place. Of course, socialist warfare presupposes the dictatorship of the proletariat. Without the dictatorship of the proletariat there can be neither socialist warfare, nor socialist war production, nor socialist war science. [Thus, Maoist warfare is not socialist for the very reason that there has never been a dictatorship of the proletariat in China]. Socialist warfare is the military expression of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The intellectual production of war, the science of war, thus represents an inestimable value for the material production of war, which far exceeds the value of the labour time required for the material production of war. On the correct use of war science depends the value of material war production and on it the victory or defeat of the revolution, of socialism, that is, the life and death of the whole social order. Engels repeatedly referred to the revolutionary effect of the science of war on the development of every new social formation; he said of the war science of the old Fritz: "The epoch-making aspect of the war science of the old Fritz consists in the fact that, within the limits of the warfare of that time, he generally rewrote and developed the old tactics in accordance with the new instruments" (Engels, MEW, Vol. 7, p. 483, German edition).

The best example is provided by the great patriotic war of the Soviet people. Stalin paid tribute to Soviet science in this difficult period with the words: "Our intelligentsia boldly acts as innovators in technology and culture, successfully develops modern science and creatively uses its achievements to produce weapons for the Red Army. The Soviet intelligentsia, through its constructive work, has made an invaluable contribution to the crushing of the enemy" (quote from Kalinin, "Vom moralischen Antlitz des sowjetischen Volkes", page 35, Berlin 1946, German). The Second World War was also a struggle of socialist war science against imperialist war science, which socialist war science finally decided in its favour under severe testing. Never before was the creative power of war science so pronounced as in the great patriotic war. This extended to all fields of Soviet science. The Soviet physicists created theoretical and experimental conditions for the construction of new types of weapons; the mathematicians worked out methods of faster calculation for the artillery, the air force and the battleships; the chemists found new methods for the production of explosives, governments and pharmaceuticals; biology explored new sources of nourishment for the Red Army and the population, the medical men saved tens of thousands of precious soldiers' lives by new methods of war medicine. The entire scientific community placed itself at the service of war science in order to provide the Red Army with the greatest possible support and assistance. In this context, it should be remembered - also in view of the centralisation of the cooperation of revolutionary war scientists in the service of the proletarian world revolution, which will one day become necessary - that all progressive scientists of the world also supported the former fatherland of the world proletariat in liberating the world from German fascism. And in doing so, they have also made a historic contribution to the defence of the centre of the world revolution.

If the classics had relied for even a moment on bourgeois war science and had not developed their own war science, the socialist state would never have seen the light of day - and it is unlikely to see it again unless we also raise socialist war science to the necessary international level and make it useful for the proletarian, socialist world revolution.

Marx and Engels were *the* connoisseurs of war history and the art of war. They dealt with almost all military theories and theorists of all times, but especially of their time. Their insights and conclusions, which Marx and Engels drew from these theories, especially their critical judgement of the theorists themselves and how far they at all recognise, comment on, and explain the materialistic character of war, the causes of war, the interests of war, the aims of war, the conduct of war, the course, end and consequences of war, etc. etc. - from all this painstakingly collected material, scientifically evaluated and tested against the yardstick of practice, Marx and Engels drew up the first ever mosaic picture of the history and art of war. If Marx and Engels formulated their view at that time, we must put it into historical perspective today. This is to say that today we must be careful not to equate the bourgeois sciences in the struggle against feudalism at that time with their struggle against socialism today. Bourgeois military science first served the liberation of the bourgeoisie and today it serves the suppression of the liberation of the proletariat. So it is our task not only to correctly assess bourgeois science from the military standpoint of the proletariat in its historical development, but also to duly criticise it - after all, it is the military science of our class enemy!

Of course, this does not prevent us from studying in particular the imperialist, militarist doctrines, the military theories of the class enemy in detail, just as we regard the study of the enemy in general as indispensable - which probably does not need to be justified in more detail here. But one must not only correctly assess the strengths and weaknesses of the enemy, one must also self-critically assess the strengths and weaknesses of one's own theoretical fighting equipment and draw the necessary conclusions from this.

Let us take Clausewitz as an example, where Stalin, asked whether Lenin's assessment of Clausewitz's military theory was outdated, answered clearly and unambiguously. Here we publish the full text of Stalin's reply to Colonel Professor Dr. Rasin to a letter of 30 January 1946 on Clausewitz and on questions of war and the art of war (23 February 1946, Stalin Vol. 17, pp. 25-27, KPD/ML, Hamburg, 1973):

"I have received your letter of 30 January on Clausewitz as well as your brief theses on war and the art of war.

1. you ask whether Lenin's standpoint in evaluating Clausewitz is not outdated.

In my opinion, the question is not posed correctly.

In posing the question in this way, one might think that Lenin analysed Clausewitz's war-scientific doctrine and war-scientific works, evaluated them from the military point of view, and left us a set of guiding principles on military questions to serve as a guide. This line of questioning is wrong, since in fact there are no such "theses" by Lenin on the war-scientific doctrine of Clausewitz and his works.

Unlike Engels, Lenin did not consider himself an expert in the military field. He did not consider himself so either earlier, that is, before the October Revolution, or later, after the October Revolution, until the end of the Civil War. During the civil war Lenin obliged us, who were then still young comrades from the Central Committee, to 'study the art of war thoroughly'. As for himself, he told us bluntly that it was already too late for him to learn the art of war. This ultimately explains why Lenin, in his judgements on Clausewitz and his remarks on Clausewitz's book, did not touch on purely military questions such as military strategy and tactics and their relation to each other, the interrelation between advance and retreat, defence and counter-attack, and so on.

But what then interested Lenin in Clausewitz and for what did he pay him tribute? He gave him credit above all for the fact that Clausewitz, who was not a Marxist and who at the time was considered an authority in the field of military theory, confirmed in his works the well-known Marxist thesis [emphasised by the author] that there is a direct connection between war and politics, that politics gives birth to war and that war is the continuation of politics by the means of violence. Lenin needed the reference to Clausewitz here to convict Plekhanov, Kautsky and others of social-chauvinism and social-imperialism one more time. He also paid tribute to Clausewitz for confirming in his works the thesis, correct from the point of view of Marxism, that under certain unfavourable conditions retreat is as legitimate a form of struggle as attack. Lenin needs the reference to Clausewitz here in order to convict for once more the 'leftist' communists who do not recognise retreat as a legitimate form of struggle.

Consequently, Lenin approached the works of Clausewitz not as a military expert but as a politician and was interested in those questions in Clausewitz's works which show the connection between war and politics. Thus, as followers of Lenin, we are not bound in our criticism of Clausewitz's military doctrine by any intimations of Lenin that might limit our free criticism. But it follows that your judgement of comrade Meshcheryakov's article (see 'Voyennaya Mysl' No. 6/7, year 1945), which criticises Clausewitz's military doctrine and calls it a 'revision' of Lenin's assessment, is mistaken.

2. Do we have any reason at all to criticise Clausewitz's military doctrine? Yes, we have. The interest of our cause and of modern war science obliges us to criticise not only Clausewitz but also Moltke, Schlieffen, Ludendorff, Keitel and the other bearers of military ideology in Germany. In the last thirty years, Germany has twice imposed a bloody war on the world and both times suffered defeat. Is this a coincidence? Of course not. Doesn't this mean that not only Germany taken as a whole, but also its military ideology has failed the test? Undoubtedly. It is common knowledge with what esteem the militaries of the whole world, including our Russian ones, looked upon the military authorities of Germany. Is it not necessary to put an end to this undeserved esteem? Absolutely. Well, and for this we need criticism, especially from our side, from the side of those who defeated Germany.

As far as Clausewitz in particular is concerned, he is of course outdated as an authority in the field of war theory. Clausewitz was actually a representative of the manufactured age of war. Now, however, we are in the machine age of war. There is no doubt that the machine age needs new military ideologists. It would be ridiculous to go to school with Clausewitz today. One cannot make progress and advance science without subjecting the outdated theses and statements of well-known authorities to critical analysis. This refers not only to the authorities of war theory, but also to the classics of Marxism. Engels once said that of the Russian generals of 1812, General Barclay de Tolley was the only one worthy of attention. Engels was mistaken, of course, for Kutuzov as a general indisputably surpassed Barclay de Tolley by a huge margin. But there could still be people in our time who rabidly defend this false judgement of Engels.

In our criticism, we must not be guided by individual theses and statements of the classics, but must keep to the famous hint that Lenin gave in his time:

'We absolutely do not regard Marx's theory as something closed and untouchable; on the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the foundation of that science which socialists must develop in all directions if they do not want to be left behind in life.' We are of the opinion that for the Russian socialists the independent elaboration of Marx's theory is particularly necessary, because this theory gives only general guidelines which are applied in detail differently in England than in France, differently in France than in Germany, and differently in Germany than in Russia' (quotation from Lenin quoted by Stalin).

Such an attitude is even more necessary for us in relation to the authorities of war theory.

3. As for your brief theses on war and the art of war, I must confine myself to general remarks because of their schematic character. The theses contain too much philosophy and abstract statements. Clausewitz` borrowed terminology (*), ...

(*)

[on this "terminology" also Engels` concurring comment - interpolated here as a note:

On 7 January 1858, Engels wrote to Marx that he had now occupied himself with Clausewitz:

"I am now reading, among other things, Clausewitz, `Vom Krieg`. Strange way of philosophising [emphasised by the author], but very good in substance. To the question of whether it should be called the art of war or the science of war, the answer is that war is most like trade. The battle is in war what the cash payment is in commerce, however seldom it may occur in reality, yet everything aims at it, and in the end it must nevertheless take place and decide" (MEW, Vol. 29, page 252, German edition); [this "Verclausolierung" of Clausewitz is a joke - author's note].]

... which speaks of the grammar and logic of war, *offends the ear* [emphasised by the author]. The question of the party character of war science is posed too primitively. The eulogies to Stalin also hurt the ear - it is simply embarrassing to read them. The section on the *counter-offensive* (not to be confused with the counter-*attack*) is missing. I am talking about the counter-offensive after a successful offensive by the enemy, but which has not brought a decision, while the one in defence gathers forces, goes over to the counter-offensive and inflicts a decisive defeat on the enemy. I am of the opinion that a well-organised counter-offensive is a very interesting type of offensive. You as a historian should be interested in it. Even the ancient Parthians knew such a counter-offensive when they lured the Roman commander Crassus and his Jeer into the interior of their country, then switched to a counter-offensive and destroyed him with his troops. Very well did our brilliant general Kutuzov know this, who destroyed Napoleon and his army by a well-prepared counter-offensive" (Stalin Werke, vol. 17, pp. 25-29, German edition, KPD/ML, Hamburg 1973).

So Stalin could not learn anything from Clausewitz with his counter-offensive, but he could learn from the Parthians and from Kutuzov - and that was the right tactic in the Great Patriotic War against the invasion of the German imperialists. In the same way, there are also the old revisionists in the GDR who rabidly defend the wrong judgement of Clausewitz and demand that we Marxist-Leninists "*go to school with Clausewitz*". It is remarkable how clearly Lenin formulated the answer to the question of attack: "But we are accustomed to answer attacks not with a defence but with a counter-attack" (Lenin, Vol. 5, page 447, German edition).

So we must not make the mistake of presenting the matter in such a way that socialist war science is exhausted in assessing how well or how badly the classics dealt with the old military doctrines - of a Clausewitz, for example - or how well or badly they drew lessons from them. As for Marx and Engels, their point of view has always been that *every* war, indeed the whole history of *war*, involves the continuation of the politics of different *classes*.

NOTE ON CLAUSEWITZ

Clausewitz should not be underestimated here at all. Lenin frequently used the well-known quotation (and in this textbook this quotation is referred to just as frequently) :

"War is a mere continuation of politics by other [namely: violent] `means'" and, of course, not only that:" Marxists have always rightly regarded this sentence as the theoretical basis of their conceptions of the meaning of any concrete war. Marx and Engels have always judged the various wars from this and no other standpoint. *Now apply this view to the present war*" (Lenin, Vol. 21, pp. 304-305 German edition). Lenin also used this Clausewitz quote in such a way as to say that imperialism "sees in war a means of diverting attention from the growing discontent within the country and of suppressing the swelling revolutionary movement"

(Lenin *ibid.*, page 307), which is, after all, what is going on today on an international scale before our own eyes in all imperialist countries in common, in some more and in others less. (See: Carl von Clausewitz "Vom Kriege", Werke, Volume I, Berlin 1834, page 28; cf. Volume III, page 139/140: "We know, of course, that war is brought about only by the political intercourse of governments and peoples; but we usually think of the matter in such a way that with it this intercourse ceases and a completely different state of affairs arises, which is subject only to its own laws. We maintain, on the contrary, that war is nothing but a continuation of political intercourse with the interference of other means." [Carl von Clausewitz, "On War", Berlin 1957, pp. 727/728.]

But is this a reason to measure Lenin against Clausewitz? The shoe is on the other foot! But there are still revisionists who like to "rejuvenate" Marxism-Leninism on this question by cunning Clausewitz injections, which is not only embarrassing but also typical of these revisionists (Mao's science of war was also based on nothing other than the science of war of the Chinese imperial dynasties, which he had poured into an amalgam mould, for the production of which he also used Marxist-Leninist material, among other things. It is an old habit of revisionists not to distinguish socialism from capitalism but, on the contrary, to integrate the two on a "higher level" (Kautsky, Bukharin, etc.).), to reconcile the antagonistic class antagonisms, i.e. to attribute "salutary" socialist forces to capitalism and "salutary" capitalist forces to socialism, but in reality to prevent proletarian socialism with bourgeois socialism and to save capitalism, or to transform proletarian socialism into bourgeois socialism in order to restore capitalism. This is precisely what explains the ideological outlook and intention of the revisionists on the question of the relationship between the bourgeois and the socialist war scientists.

Thus there are those who in their articles completely *overrate* the role of Clausewitz and wax lyrical about Clausewitz, for example, as regards the influence of Clausewitz on Lenin, but the point is that Lenin would most probably have led the October Revolution to victory even without Clausewitz, or do the revisionists want to publicly doubt that?! Lenin never left any doubt that the war scientists he quoted, including Clausewitz, were in essence bourgeois war scientists who had served the bourgeoisie, capitalism, and not the proletariat and socialism. The revisionists want to ignore this "small" difference as much as possible.

The classics of Marxism-Leninism, and in particular Marx and Engels, never confused the terms of formal military theory and Marxist military theory, but always used them differently and separately in different contexts. Marx and Engels used the military terms primarily in a political sense. For example, they spoke of the army of the proletariat as the political army of the revolution. To narrow down and reinterpret the political character of these terms in purely military terms is an expression of adventurism and doctrinarianism. It is a well-known method of both revisionists and sectarians to "prove" with various quotations exactly the opposite of what the classics actually wanted to express with them. Marx and Engels based their war-scientific insights on the concrete analysis of the wars in their time. Those who replace this concrete analysis with abstract opposites, general versions, thus blur the class opposites of that time. Nor can one mechanically transfer the insights of Marx and Engels in the field of war science to the situation today. Thus, bourgeois military science at that time played a revolutionary role in the struggle for liberation from feudalism. The proletariat could only liberate itself by the way in which the bourgeoisie liberated itself from feudalism. What was right in the science of war at that time need not be right for all eternity. Marx and Engels were aware of their different uses of all the terms of their science of war and did not confuse their simultaneous historical limitations on the one hand and their constant generality on the other, no more did they disguise the dialectics of the terms of the proletariat's science of war than they dismembered and tore them out of context. This circumstance, that in the course of time the concepts, meanings, methods etc. also change, is exploited by the revisionists through falsified analogies in order to create confusion and to divert the proletariat from the revolutionary road. This is not only in the field of Marxist-Leninist military theory, but it is a general method that has always been used by the revisionists in all fields of Marxism-Leninism. It is well known that the revisionists use Marxism-Leninism to steer the workers in a wrong direction, just as feudalism simply kept the masses ignorant. The aim is the same: to dumb down the masses of the people in order to exploit and oppress them all the better - just look at what has happened in the revisionist countries - the greatest deception of the workers since the beginning of the workers' movement! It is a survival strategy of the warmongering world imperialism and part of its ideological warfare - for which armies of military advisers and scientists are paid - to disinform the world population and to hide the true logic of the essence of militarism behind the logic of appearances, the "saving of civilisation (= of profit!) from its downfall" (just as the revisionists today pose as "saviours of socialism" in order to better exploit and oppress the masses of the people!). And the revisionists are also there to paralyse the critical thinkers, the revolutionary forces in their resistance struggle against this globalised propaganda machinery and to steer them into harmless channels. Strike the enemy with its own means - this is a tactical law of formal warfare. Applied by the revisionists, this tactic means nothing other than the paralysis of Marxist-Leninist military theory in order to disarm the world proletariat. It is therefore not a question of ignorance on the part of the

revisionists, but of deliberate deception.

The revisionist military theory is characterised by the fact that it is used to mislead the armed world proletariat, that it denies the specific class character of all war science and reduces socialist war science as part of formal war science (i.e.: classless, abstract science of the most general, universal military processes and forms, laws of motion and development, etc., etc.). Certain elements of military science are relatively constant and altogether form formal military science, which has relative validity for one class as well as for the other, i.e. is not class-specific. These constant elements (for example: "Attack is the best defence!") make possible the historical continuity of military thought, knowledge, cognition, etc. Other elements of the concepts of war science, however, are changeable: these enable the historical development of war science, its progress, thus the once revolutionary and then obsolete bourgeois military science was finally replaced by the revolutionary proletarian war science. The concept of war science was not only enriched by the historical fact of socialism, but it changed by a qualitative leap. The disproportion between outdated military concepts and the changed military world situation must be eliminated by replacing them with new concepts that correspond to the new situation. When we define the science of war, we determine what the science of war is in reality in the present period of declining world imperialism, we summarise the most important of all its features, -only in this completed context do we determine the concept of the science of war.

The meaning of *general, formal, pure* military science is contradictory, it is dead, dogmatic, pretends to be `scientific`, but it is not willing nor able to formulate scientifically real military aims, tasks and the military practice of real classes with real class interests, and hides behind abstractions far from reality (take for example the abstract concept " the enemy". Who is the enemy? The enemy is not a concept above the classes; the enemy can be the proletariat, but also the bourgeoisie or any other enemy; then feudalism was the common enemy of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, today the bourgeoisie is the enemy of the proletariat on a world scale, but it can also at the same time be the ally of the proletariat in the colonial and dependent countries in the anti-imperialist struggle against the common imperialist enemy - the enemy thus changes, but the formal science of war leaves the class-specific and historical definition of the enemy unanswered in its abstraction. Not even the dog is lured from the stove by the Maoists' meagre phrase: "If the enemy fights us, that is good and not bad!"), is impurely incomplete, etc., but it is also only a stage towards military cognition of the concrete, present, armed class struggle, because we never fully cognise it. Lenin said on this subject: "The infinite sum of general concepts, laws, etc., yields the concrete in its completeness" (Lenin, From the Philosophical Estate, page 216, German edition). Only through abstraction can we Marxist-Leninists conceptualise concrete reality, just as the revisionists also falsify concrete reality through abstraction and undermine the content of socialist concepts. Formal military science abstracts the content, makes the form independent and separates it from the class content, denies the unity of form and content of military science.

We do not deny that formal war science has a great deal of valuable to contribute, that Marxist-Leninist war science is inconceivable without it, and is therefore based on it, but we must not falsify this connection, we must not equate it, we must not subordinate Marxist-Leninist military theory to formal war science. It is not the formal science of war that can bring about the victory of the world revolution, but only the Marxist-Leninist one, by making use of the formal science of war, for example, filling it with revolutionary content. Formal war science can only be an enrichment, but it can never replace Marxist-Leninist war science. It is quite wrong to blur the fundamental methodological difference between formal and Marxist-Leninist military theory, to try to unite the two, or even to "dialectise" formal military theory, to give it a Marxist-Leninist veneer (in which the eclectic Mao was a master of his trade!). But it is precisely this military-theoretical formalism that we have to reproach the revisionists for, because with it they subjugate Marxist-Leninist military theory to the class interests of the world bourgeoisie. Formalism in military theory means limiting oneself to the laws of formal military theory in those cases where the application of Marxist-Leninist military theory is necessary (this is especially true of Mao's theory of "people's war"). In his paper "The Crisis of Menshevism", Lenin reckoned with the Menshevik Larin by convicting him of renegadeism: "To contrast the outbreaks of Russian barbarism with European regularity, that excites him as much as a child excites a new picture. He utters a truism which is valid for all times, and does not realise that the naive application of this truism to the time of the immediate revolutionary struggle transforms itself in his case into renegadeism towards the revolution" (Lenin, Vol. 11, p. 347, German edition). In this and similar ways, it becomes possible for the revisionists not only to carry out a restoration/revision of socialist war science, but also to disarm socialist war science for the future by destroying its revolutionary spirit, its revolutionary content, and by allowing socialist war science to be valid only as a formal, generalised, historical shell, thus rendering it unsuitable as a concrete instrument of the armed world revolution. This is the mission that revisionist war science has to fulfil: Marxist military theory in words - imperialist military theory in deeds. And for neo-revisionism it is: anti-revisionist military theory in words - revisionist military theory in deeds. From a reconciliation or even unification of revisionist and Marxist-Leninist military theory, only a bourgeois military theory can emerge, and this is precisely the intention of the neo-revisionists. Revisionist and Marxist-Leninist military theory are not only mutually exclusive, but one is only viable on the ruins of the other.

It is not at all surprising that these neo-Prussian hacks, who are trying to breathe new life into the militaristic spirit of the old Fritz, belonged of all things to the Prussian school of the social-fascist, former GDR and for whose resurrection they are beating their Prussian war drum on red skins, in order to deafen our Marxist-Leninist eardrums with their "socialist" drone - and to make us so deaf that we defect with flying colours to the Prussian "people in arms" - for the reconquest of their lost GDR. Renaissance of revisionist military theory for the purpose of recapturing revisionism in power - no thanks, once was already too much! Engels' prediction of the collapse of the Prussian military state came true in full with the collapse of the Prussian-socialist GDR police and military state: "Four million soldiers, 10 percent of the population! Go ahead. We can be quite happy that the system is being pushed to the extreme. It cannot be broken from the outside by another victorious military state, only from the inside, by its own necessary consequences. And the more it is exaggerated, the sooner it must collapse" (Engels, MEW, Vol. 18, page 583, German edition). We Marxists-Leninists have nothing to add to Engels, but only to note that Marx and Engels fought to infect the Prussian army with *socialism*, whereas the GDR revisionists infected the building of a first socialist German army with the *Prussian militarism* bacillus, and out came a vassal army of Russian social imperialism which disappeared as soon as Russian social imperialism dissolved into nothing.

"People who are actually convinced that they have advanced science would not demand freedom for the new views alongside the old, but a replacement of the old by the new" (Lenin, Vol. 5, page 364, German edition). So we have to choose the road of struggle for world socialist war science and not the road of reconciliation with revisionist war science! We say only one thing: if our socialist war science has defeated the imperialist war science of the whole world, then it will also be able to cope with revisionist social-imperialist war science, which is nothing other than imperialist war science dressed in a socialist camouflage uniform. The revisionist war science pretends to be socialist in words, but in reality it is bourgeois and reactionary. It is the military expression of the restoration of capitalism by revisionism in power and otherwise the military expression of counterrevolutionary "science" in the camp of revolution in general. And if social-imperialist war science challenges us to war, let it have its war! "*Nous sommes sur nos gardes!*" But more on that later ...

* * *

... After this little anti-revisionist skirmish, let us now calmly return to Marx and Engels (with whom the revisionist "war scientists" deal in principle no differently than with Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha):

Marx wrote about "war history as a science" something that still haunts many a nationalist (today=globalist) war commentator's head:

"Can one regiment of one's own nation 'drive' at will two or three regiments of another? War history as a science, in which a correct appraisal of the facts is the only and highest criterion, is still very young and has so far only very little literature to show. It is, however, a recognised branch of science and is increasingly sweeping away, like the wind sweeps away the chaff, the impertinent and silly boasting that for too long has been characteristic of works that were considered historical because they had the task of distorting every fact they cited. The time has passed when people, while writing the history of a war, can, as it were, continue that war on their own account and throw mud at the former enemy with impunity after the conclusion of peace forbids them to throw iron at him" (MEW, Vol. 11, pp. 412-413, German edition).

Engels wrote of a "strange contrast: our higher military men are usually so appallingly conservative precisely in their subject, *and yet there is hardly any other field today that is so revolutionary as the military*" (Engels, MEW, Vol. 22, page 380, German edition).

"In 1848 we said: now comes our time, and it came in a certain sense; but this time (15. 11. 1857, letter from Engels to Marx, MEW, Vol. 29, page 212, German edition) it comes completely, now it is all about the head. My military studies thus immediately become more practical, I immediately throw myself on the existing organisation and elementary tactics of the Prussian, Austrian, Bavarian and French armies (...) "

In accordance with Marx and Engels' materialist conception of society, being determines consciousness in general, and so also in particular, so to speak, military consciousness is determined by military being. Military science is inseparably related to and based on the materialistic foundation of armed conflict within a class society.

On the importance of the scientific element of the army, Engels wrote of the capture of Delhi, "that they [the insurgent Indian sepoys] completely lacked the scientific element without which an army is nowadays helpless and the defence of a city altogether hopeless" (MEW, Vol. 12, page 327, German edition) (...) "As far as defence is concerned, the attempt at offensive counter-movements (. ..) show that certain ideas of scientific warfare had prevailed among the sepoys; but they were either not clear or not strong enough *to be put into practice* with success" (ibid., page 334) ; "All armies are immensely capable of formation *after great defeats*" (Engels, MEW, vol. 22, page 397).... It is not enough, therefore, to study, develop and merely "apply" scientific warfare. What is ultimately decisive *is not whether, but how* revolutionarily it is put into practice in order to be victorious. It is not a question of interpreting world history in militarily different ways, nor is it enough to distinguish proletarian military theory from bourgeois military theory or to fight against it; what matters in the end is the practical implementation of world revolution with the help of Marxist-Leninist military theory in distinction from bourgeois military theory, to which revisionist military theory also belongs: "The philosophers have only interpreted the world differently; but what matters is to change it" (Marx on Feuerbach, famous thesis XI).

Engels was an established literary military critic of his time under the anonymous name "author of `Po and Rhine`". In his circle of friends Engels was called the "General" (Lenin called Engels "the great connoisseur of the art of war"). "I only made it as far as bombardier in the Prussian Guard Artillery Brigade as a one-year volunteer and later took part in the campaign of 1849 in Baden on the side of the insurgents. However, since my time in service I have been continually occupied with military matters" (Engels, MEW, vol. 30, p. 559, German edition). And in 1854 Engels wrote in a letter of application to the editor of the "Daily News": "For many years the study of military science in all its branches has been one of my chief occupations, and the success which my articles on the Hungarian campaign, then published in the German press, fortunately had, strengthened me in the belief that I had not studied in vain. (...) As for politics, I would mix it as little as possible with military criticism. THERE IS ONLY ONE CORRECT POLITICAL LINE IN WAR: *to set about it with the greatest rapidity and energy, to defeat the enemy and force him to submit to the victor's terms.*" (MEW, Vol. 28, pp. 601 and 602, German edition). Engels, of course, could not approach the paper openly as a communist. He didn't get the job in the end because one of the émigrés there had betrayed him just to make himself important with sensational gossip.

Engels, as a participant in the 1849 struggles, said: "The most resolute communists were the most courageous soldiers" (MEW, Vol. 7, p. 185). Engels himself was adjutant to Colonel Willich, the commander of the first corps of communist irregulars. Engels was thus fighting for communism with insurgent weapon in hand a year after he and Marx had even put the Communist Manifesto on paper !!! This revolutionary army was composed of armed proletarian forces from Baden, 10,000 line troops and 12,000 volunteers. Four big battles took place in which the counter-revolutionary army of 36,000 men could only win thanks to their numerical superiority and by violating the Württemberg border, which enabled them to bypass the revolutionary army at the decisive moment. After six weeks of fighting in the open field against the Prussian invasion, the remnants of the insurgent army retreated to Switzerland in 1849. The uprising began throughout southern Germany in May 1849, but the revolutionaries, like Paris in 1871, made the fatal mistake - *not* to attack. The troops of the neighbouring small states were demoralised and were only looking for an excuse to join the uprising; they were determined not to fight the people. The insurgents could have brought the population of these states to revolt and carried them away if they had declared that they wanted to liberate the Frankfurt National Assembly, which was surrounded by Prussian and Austrian troops. Surrendering positions to the enemy without a fight can demoralise the masses more than defeat in battle. Marx and Engels proposed to the leaders of the movement to march on Frankfurt, but they refused to listen (see: MEW, Vol. 21, pp. 489-90) just as the Social Democratic workers' and soldiers' councils in Berlin refused to listen to Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht in the November Revolution to help communism, the October Revolution, to victory in Germany. The history of the defeated uprisings also shows by this example that a stubborn resistance put up by the oppressed, outnumbered, badly organised and miserably equipped class to an army of the oppressing class, far superior both materially and in numbers and professionalism, in a revolutionary situation, is capable and able to produce great effect in changing social conditions. Every defeat of a proletarian revolutionary uprising always prepares its even more thorough victory in the future.

It is a great merit of Friedrich Engels that he was the first to apply the only scientific method, the method of dialectical and historical materialism, to the study of the history of war and the analysis of the armies of his time. Unlike the bourgeois idealist historians who were unable to present the development of the armed forces as a lawful process, Engels showed that this development is determined in the last instance by the change in the material mode of production which forms the economic basis of society. Marx wrote of Engels' work, Army: "The history of the 'army' highlights more vividly than anything else the correctness of our view of the connection between the productive forces and social relations. In general, the army is important for economic development. The whole history of bourgeois societies is also summed up very strikingly in it" (Letter to Engels, 25 November 1857, MEW, Vol. 29, p. 192, German edition). "Nothing is more dependent on economic preconditions than precisely the army and the fleet. Armament, composition, organisation, tactics and strategy depend above all on the stage of production and communications at any given time" (Friedrich Engels). To each given stage of development of the productive forces corresponds a certain character of armament, of the art of war.

Thus Engels found, and gave numerous examples of, that precisely "the fortunes of the armies reflect the true nature of civil government - in revolutionary conditions even more than in normal times" (Engels, MEW, Vol. 10, page 449, German edition).

Engels was the first in the history of the science of war to demonstrate the fact that the character and type of armed forces, their specific traits, armament and tactics, as well as the way in which the troops are recruited and trained, depend on the level of development of the productive forces, on the social order and the class structure of society. The first wars, the wars in the period of the gentile constitution, pursued - as Engels points out in his "Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State" - only the goal of expanding the insufficient territory and of defence against enemy raids. With the progressive division of labour, the stratification of society into classes and the formation of the state, however, wars become for the ruling classes a necessary continuation and a link in the chain of their policy based on the exploitation and subjugation of the masses. On the basis of private property, wars are inevitable. Engels used numerous historical examples to expose the class character of armies, beginning with the time of the appearance of the first organised armed forces in the slaveholding states of the ancient Orient. Engels considered the armed forces in their dialectical development and brought this development into concrete connection with the history of socio-economic formations. He showed that the flourishing and decline of armies is determined by the process of becoming and passing away of this or that formation. Thus, today, under the conditions of dying, decaying parasitic globalised world imperialism, we can also speak of a decaying, parasitic globalised world imperialist army under the leadership of US imperialism along with its "most modern" military doctrine, armament, "science", etc. etc. [greatest war of "civilisation" = greatest war of the rich against the poor world will end with the victory of the poor over the rich world and thus the liberation of civilisation from its phrase !], which is approaching its downfall with the world crisis. The armies of ancient Greece with their tactics of phalanges, the ancient Roman army with its more advanced system of legions, fell into decay, as Engels notes, through the growth of contradictions in slaveholding society which doomed them. The decay of feudalism led to the decay of the feudal war system, to the disappearance of the cavalry of the knights, who had lost their fighting ability. Engels singled out the peasants in particular: "in all the three great bourgeois revolutions" (the Reformation and the Peasants' War of the 16th century in Germany, the English Revolution of the 17th century and the French of the 18th century), "the peasants supply the army to beat..." (quoted in Lenin, Vol. 15, page 378, German edition).

In the epoch of the emergence of capitalism, as Engels noted, the armed forces underwent a significant evolution, from mercenary troops to mass armies recruited on the basis of universal military obligation - an evolution that reflected the process of the emergence and development of bourgeois society. Engels assigned an enormous role in the development of the military to the periods of the replacement of one socio-economic formation by another, more progressive one, the epochs of the revolutionary break with an outmoded social order and the creation of a new one. Such epochs, as Engels showed in his works, gave a particularly strong impetus to progress in the military field, the initiators and bearers of these progressive changes being the revolutionary classes who led the struggle against the outlived forces of society. Engels demonstrated this regularity using the example of the early bourgeois revolutions, first and foremost the French bourgeois revolution at the end of the 18th century, and the wars of revolutionary France against the coalition of feudal-absolutist states of Europe. He showed that it was precisely in these wars that the military creativity of the masses, the immediate actors in the armed struggle, came to the fore, who sought and found new forms of struggle and tactical action that corresponded to the new conditions.

Engels attached great importance to the liberation struggle of peoples against foreign conquerors, for example, the wars of the Swiss against the Austrian and Burgundian feudal lords, the war of the Dutch against Spanish rule in the 16th century, the war of independence of the North American colonies at the end of the 18th century, the wars of the European peoples against the Napoleonic yoke at the beginning of the 19th century, the war of national liberation of Hungary in 1848/49, and so on. Engels opposed the predatory system of subjugation and exploitation of the peoples of Asia and Africa by the bourgeoisie of the economically developed countries, the policy of the colonial conquerors and adventurers. Marx and Engels were excellently informed and oriented about the development of the national liberation movements. In some articles, Engels pointed out the material resources of various countries that aroused the greed for colonisation in the capitalist robbers who exploited the economic backwardness and semi-patriarchal order of these countries and turned them into a theatre of plunder. Engels was deeply imbued with the conviction of the growing strength and invincibility of the liberation movement against the colonisers - a movement deeply rooted in the masses of the people who hate the colonial yoke and strive for freedom. Engels acted in the spirit of proletarian internationalism by educating the proletariat in the oppressing and exploiting country to a sense of solidarity and active support for the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries struggling for their liberation: "A people that oppresses others cannot emancipate itself" (MEW, Vol. 18, page 527). And Engels prophesied that: "(...) as soon as the working class comes to political rule, all pretext for national strife is removed, for the working class is international in its innermost nature (...)" (MEW, Vol. 22, page 403, German edition).

Engels rightly assumed at the time that the preservation of national independence was the most important precondition for the further development of the international revolutionary movement, pointing out that even on the question of war and peace, the tactics of the working class had to take into account the concrete historical conditions and the state of the revolutionary working-class movement in the respective countries. Thus Lenin wrote: "In 1891 there was no imperialism at all.... and if there was no imperialist war, there could not be one on the part of Germany. By the way, there was no revolutionary Russia then either; that is very important" (Lenin, Vol. 35, p. 242, German edition).

Engels analysed the incipient development towards imperialism, the intensification of the military struggle for the division of the world, and the strategies of the great powers to gain world domination or to wrest it from each other. He was a passionate denouncer of the policy of conquest by the ruling classes, a herald of the struggle against militarism and against the secret diplomacy of the great powers. Marx and Engels harshly criticised the underhand methods of the ruling classes in setting nations against each other, intimidating and blackmailing them and brazenly interfering in the internal affairs of the smaller states. The founders of Marxism saw in the thorough knowledge of the secrets of international politics, in the uncovering of the secret diplomatic intrigue game of the ruling class as well as their plans and deeds of conquest, a very important task of the proletarian revolutionaries not only in agitational and propaganda terms, but above all in terms of their own strategy and tactics of the armed struggle of the working class for its national and international social liberation. The repeatedly emphasised how necessary it is for the working class to maintain an independent revolutionary line of proletarian internationalism of action on the international conflicts, that is, to always look at the world conflicts from the point of view of the proletarian world revolution.

Engels considered Russian tsarism to be one of the main aggressors that provoked the danger of war in Europe: "A piece of Poland was the bone that the tsarina threw to Prussia so that it could be quietly put on the Russian chain for a century. (...) No theft of land, no act of violence, no oppression on the part of the tsardom that was not carried out under the pretext of enlightenment, liberalism, the liberation of peoples" (MEW, Vol. 22, pp. 22 and 23, German edition). What else is the American "*peace*" message of the "*civilised world in the fight against terrorism in defence of Western democracy*" today with which they have soaped up the whole world, including all the other great powers! We could list many examples of the imperialists resorting to the same means in their struggle for their spheres of influence, and so it was that the imperialists threw a piece of Arab soil to the Zionists so that the latter became their most aggressive chain dog for 50 years to protect imperialist oil robbery. Also "the outbreak of the French Revolution was a new stroke of luck for Catherine. Far from being afraid of the spread of revolutionary ideas to Russia, she saw in it only a new opportunity to antagonise the European states among themselves so that Russia would have a free hand" (ibid. page 24). Through Tsar Alexander, too, "stupid Europe was made a fool of in an incredible way. (...) The attempts to restore the pre-revolutionary conditions agitated the bourgeoisie throughout the West: In France and Germany there was ferment, in Spain and Italy open revolt broke out. Tsarist diplomacy had a hand in all these conspiracies and revolts; not that it made them or even contributed significantly to their momentary successes. But what it could do through its official agents to cause discord among its legitimate allies at home, that it did. Directly, however, it protected the rebellious elements of the West (...) All this did not prevent the enlightened Tsar Alexander from (...) apparently condemning the revolt of the Greeks, while at the same time fomenting the same revolt (...) Russian diplomacy had now already survived so many West European revolutions not only without harm but with direct profit that it was able to welcome the outbreak of the February Revolution of 1848 as an exceedingly favourable event" (ibid., page 31. Tsar Nicholas "let his armies break into Hungary, crushed the Hungarian armies with superior force and thus sealed the defeat of the European revolution. (...) Not only Hungary, but the whole of Europe lay at the Tsar's feet as a direct result of the revolution. Wasn't Russian diplomacy right to be quietly enthusiastic about revolutions in the West?" (ibid. pp. 35 and 36). In principle, nothing has changed in this brigand diplomacy compared to the tsarist era, only the means have become much more refined and the loot and its victims even more gigantic - but also the forces of revolution: "This kind of diplomacy is only possible as long as the people remain unconditionally passive, have no will but that of the government, no profession but soldiers and taxes to supply for the execution of the aims of the diplomats. As soon as Russia has an internal development and thus internal party struggles (...) the previous Russian policy of conquest is a thing of the past (...) The war had proved that Russia (...) needed great industry, if only for military considerations. Thus the government threw itself into breeding a Russian capitalist class (ibid., page 38) and at the same time created with it not only its

own gravediggers - the Westernised Russian proletariat - but with it at its head the army of the world proletariat which with the October Revolution began to conquer the world. "At that time there was only one place in Europe where the situation was correctly understood, and that was in the General Council of the International Workers' Association: (...) The revolution, which stopped at the Polish border in 1848, is now knocking at the door of Russia, and inside it already has enough confederates who are only waiting for the opportunity to open the door. (...) And this would put the West in the position of being able to occupy itself, undisturbed by foreign distraction and interference, with its present historical task; with the conflict between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the transformation of capitalist society into socialist society. (...) These are the points by virtue of which the West of Europe in general, and the West European Labour Party in particular, is interested, very deeply interested, in the victory of the Russian revolutionary party and the overthrow of Tsarist absolutism.

Europe is sliding downwards at an increasing speed, as if on a slippery slope, towards the abyss of a world war of hitherto unheard-of extent and ferocity. Only one thing can stop this: a change of system in Russia. There can be no doubt that it must come within a few years. May it come in time before the otherwise inevitable happens" (ibid. pp. 39, 44, 47 and 48). Engels wrote this in 1890 - what foresight!!!

To support the weaker power against the stronger in order to capitalise on the resulting neutralisation of forces as a third party - this is a well-known and proven means. To involve competitors in a war or civil war in order to improve one's own starting point for world domination, this great power policy has not changed until today. Thus, the German Emperor also allowed Lenin to travel unchallenged through Germany in order to get a free hand to weaken the Tsarist Empire with the victory of the Russian Revolution. With this mistaken belief, however, he only dug his own grave. With the October Revolution, the world proletariat began to transform the war into its own liberation. The period in which the working class pulls the coal out of the fire on the battlefields of the bourgeoisie ends with the epoch of the socialist revolution.

To *start* a war, Engels once said, is "child's play. But what is made of it, once started, defies all calculation" (MEW, Vol. 22, p. 9, German edition) and has broken the neck of many an aggressor's blitzkrieg. "Peace exists only thanks to the never-ending revolution of weapons technology, which leaves no one ready for war, and thanks to everyone's fear of the absolutely incalculable chances of the world war that is now all in still possible. Only one thing can help: an uprising provoked by government brutality, put down with double and triple brutality, a general state of siege and a new election under terror. Even that could only obtain a few years' reprieve. But it is the only means - and we know that Bismarck is one of those people to whom every means is justified. And didn't Wilhelm also say: At the slightest resistance I'll have everything shot over? And therefore this means will certainly be used. (...) Rape, police arbitrariness, judicial perfidy, everything bounced off without effect [against the disciplined, German Social Democratic workers - author's note], forward and ever more rapidly forward moved the ever swelling attack column, until it now stands there, the second strongest party in the Reich. And so the German workers should spoil their own game by allowing themselves to be tempted into a hopeless putsch, solely in order to save Bismarck from mortal peril? At the moment when their own bravery, which is beyond praise, is supported by the combined effect of all external circumstances, when the whole social and political situation, when even all their enemies have to work for the Social Democracy as if they were paid by it - at that moment should discipline, self-control fail and we ourselves throw ourselves on the sword held out? Nevermore. The socialist law has trained our workers too well for that, we have far too many old soldiers in our ranks, and among them too many who have learned to wait out the rain of bullets gun to gun until the moment is ripe for the attack" (ibid., pp. 9-10).

Engels foresaw that the war, once it broke out, would lead in the final result to the collapse of the exploitative order, but "with what sacrifices! With what general tension - and after what many twists and turns!" (Engels' letter to Bebel, 23-25 October 1886, German edition). Engels recognised in the "localised wars" a temporary as well as introductory stage to the world war that would lead to the collapse of the capitalist system on the globe. However, he in no way made the success of the revolution dependent on war. On the contrary, he saw war as a terrible misfortune for the workers, which would demand unheard-of sacrifices from them and undo what the workers' movement had already fought for: "This much is certain, the war would first of all push back our movement throughout Europe, totally destroy it in many countries, fuel chauvinism and national hatred and certainly offer us only that among the many uncertain possibilities, that after the war we would have to start again from scratch, but on infinitely more favourable ground than even today" (Letter to Bebel, 13/14 September 1886, German edition). "The enemy himself is fighting and is condemned to fight for us" (MEW, Vol. 21, page 258, "On the 15th Anniversary of the Paris Commune, German edition). What is the "prospect when the system of mutual outbidding in war armaments, carried to extremes, finally bears its inevitable fruit" [MEW, vol. 21, page 351, German edition) ? "When they [the warmongers - author's note] have unleashed the powers which they will not be able to subdue again, it may go as it will: at the end of the tragedy they are ruined and the victory of the proletariat is either already won or inevitable" (ibid.).

And in a letter to Bebel of 11/12 December 1884 (MEW, Vol. 36, page 253, German edition), Engels hypothesised the following about the role of the army in the proletarian revolution:

"Now, however, things may go differently in Germany, and for military reasons. The impulse from outside, as things now stand, can hardly come otherwise than from Russia. If it does not come, if the impulse comes from Germany, the revolution can only come from the army. An unarmed people against a present army is militarily a purely vanishing magnitude." And he added in a letter to Paul Lafargue on 21 December 1884:

"(...) In Germany there are too many soldiers and non-commissioned officers who belong to the Party to preach insurrection with the slightest prospect of success. They know that demoralisation (from the bourgeois point of view) must spread precisely through the ranks of the army; under the conditions of modern war technology (rapid-fire weapons, etc.) the revolution must start from the army. With us, at least, it will begin in this way. No one knows better than the government how the number of conscripts who are socialists grows from year to year" (MEW, Vol. 36, page 255, German edition).

And Engels further advised: "The support of a regular army is nowadays absolutely necessary for the progress of every irregular war or war of insurrection [insurrection=uprising - author's note] against a powerful regular army" (MEW, Vol. 9, page 445, German edition). Thus, among other things, the great patriotic war waged by the Red Army against fascism made it easier for the anti-fascist liberation movement of Albania to build up a regular army against the German occupation forces and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat through a popular revolution. The invasion of Germany by the Red Army also created the possibility of German socialism, but the revisionists prevented the German working class from building socialism and a socialist army on German soil, and so the National People's Army degenerated into nothing more than a vassal army of the social-imperialist Soviet army. The revolution cannot be imported, the working class must create its own liberation army, must decompose the bourgeois army and win its soldiers for the building of a red army and this in all capitalist countries of the world. Only in this way can the divisions of the World Red Army be centralised and used for the world socialist revolution against the powerful regular army of world imperialism. Without a regular army of the world proletariat, the world socialist revolution cannot be victorious over the powerful regular army of world imperialism. "Under the conditions of modern war technology, the revolution must start from the army" (Engels, MEW, Vol. 9, page 255, German edition).

"I start from the premise," wrote Engels in 1893, "that the system of standing armies throughout Europe has been carried to extremes to the extent that it must either ruin the peoples economically through the military burden or degenerate into a general war of extermination, unless the standing armies are transformed in time into a militia based on general armament of the people (...).) I am only trying to establish that from the purely military point of view there is absolutely nothing to prevent the gradual abolition of the standing armies; and that if, nevertheless, these armies are maintained, it is not for military but for political reasons, that therefore, in a word, the army should protect not so much against the external as against the internal enemy" (Engels, MEW, Vol. 22, page 371). Today we are talking about the international civil war army, which not only keeps the "internal enemy", i.e. the proletariat of one country, but also the internal enemy of all other countries, i.e. the entire world proletariat in check, in order to protect not only the bourgeoisie of a single country, but the world bourgeoisie of all countries as a whole against the world socialist revolution.

Engels has always emphasised choosing the shortest road to revolution with the least sacrifice. The bourgeoisie needs victory to prevent revolution. The proletariat needs peace to gather and organise its forces to overthrow capitalism. In March 1887, in a letter to Schlüter, he remarked: "Our struggle is a war of siege, and as long as the trenches advance steadily, it goes well. We are now already close to the second parallel, in which we can set up the demolition batteries and silence the enemy gunfire; and once we have reached that point, without the besieged getting momentary use from a world war, then we can also calculate the objectives where we can set up the bresch batteries on the glacis ridge, shoot breaches and run storms. Until then, however, the slow, calm progress of the siege work is the best safeguard against premature storming and useless sacrifices" (MEW, Vol. 36, page 632, German edition). Engels passionately called for preventing the world proletariat from having to pave its way to world socialism through a sea of blood and tears, without thereby pouring water on the mills of bourgeois pacifism. Engels gave a lot of advice for the struggle of the proletarians against militarism and war preparations of the ruling class. And worked out a proletarian tactic in questions of war and peace. In this he included the special role of the soldiers and peasants as allies in the struggle against the military state and for socialist revolution. Engels' comments on the "German Peasants' War" (1870) are noteworthy, and Lenin was also guided by them in the victorious October Revolution. The German November Revolution, on the other hand, failed not least because the role of the peasants as allies of the revolution was *underestimated*. Without bread, the working class is too weak to turn the revolutionary gun against the capitalists. Engels described the inclusion of the rural workers in the proletarian class struggle as the "most urgent task of the German workers' movement" (MEW, Vol. 16, page 400, German edition). Those who do not learn anything here from Engels' question of land and soil will fail in the world revolution. The supply of the proletarian world army must be secured by the peasants of the whole world.

The military works of Engels refuted the conception of many bourgeois military theorists about the immutability and eternity of the principles of the art of war. By exposing the dialectical regularities inherent in strategy and tactics, Engels demonstrated that the strategic and tactical rules that were advantageous under certain historical conditions became bankrupt when applied in a changed situation. Thus, in a letter to Marx on 7 May 1852, he wrote: "Willisen's book should really be called Philosophy of the Great War. It goes without saying that the thing contains more philosophising than war science (...). What can one say to a science of war which begins with the concept of art in general, then proves that the art of cooking is also an art, goes into great detail about the relationship between art and science, and finally lets all the rules, relationships, possibilities, etc. of the art of war merge into the one absolute proposition that the stronger must always beat the weaker!" (MEW, Vol. 28, p. 71, German edition).

Engels presented the development of the art of war as a whole as a complicated, progressive process of gradual perfection. He revealed the close interrelation of the different sides of this process. In his works, Engels showed the role of the interaction of the different branches of arms and the mutual conditionality of their historical development. Engels' articles cover the most diverse areas of military affairs. They deal with the problems of the formation, organisation and arming of armies, their recruitment and training, the leadership of armed forces, strategy and tactics, the organisation and tactics of the individual branches of the army and the navy, the construction of fortifications, the material supply and equipment of troops, their quartering and resting. Engels devoted the greatest attention to war technology. With numerous examples, Engels revealed the revolutionary influence that the most important technical discoveries - the invention of gunpowder, the use and perfection of firearms, the progress in artillery science and war engineering, the use of the steam engine in the navy - had on the development of the armed forces and the art of war. The dependence of war tactics on war technology, the inevitable changes in tactical forms of combat as a result of the emergence of new types of mass armament, is, as Engels demonstrated in his articles, one of the regularities reflecting the impact of the economic development of society and the growth of its productive forces on the craft of war. On this Karl Marx remarked, "Our theory of the determination of the organisation of labour by the means of production, does it prove itself more brilliantly than in the industry of the slaughter of men?" (MEW, Vol. 31, page 234, Letter to Engels, German edition). Engels, however, did not attribute the laws of armed struggle only to the influence of war technology on the modes of combat. The condition of this or that army, of its fighting capacity, is determined, as he emphasised, above all by the social and political system, by those social conditions under which it arose and operates. The fighting qualities of this or that army are determined, apart from its armament, by its composition, the social forces from which it has been recruited, the degree of its military training, the level of consciousness and the moral attitude of its fighters, which in many ways depend on the character of the wars. Engels attached great importance to the fighting spirit of the army. At the decisive moment when the opponents clash, "the moral element, the bravery (...) is immediately transformed into material violence" (Engels, MEW, vol. 14, page 307, German edition). Engels also mentions the factors that are effective in battle: the influence of the terrain, the presence of reserves, the operational character of the high command, the art of the army commanders and the role of the soldiers and the masses. The role of the commander, Engels emphasised, consists in the wise application of those forms and methods of warfare and combat which are given by the objective historical development of the armed forces, as well as in the expedient utilisation of new technical means and those changes in the composition and fighting quality of armies which arise under the influence of changes in the social order. Engels stood up against the cult and idealisation of the military commanders characteristic of bourgeois historiography and noted in the activity of even the greatest of them traits of

narrowness and contradiction which had their class roots. In his military works, Engels analysed the experience of the entire history of the wars of all peoples, first and foremost of the pre-monopolist period, setting out all their contributions to general military science and the art of war. The monopolist period, the weapons of mass destruction, such as the atomic bomb, the automated, computerised, high-tech weapons were, of course, unknown to Engels at that time. So one cannot mechanically transfer all the contributions to military science to the present time, because we have changed conditions today.

It is the great merit of Engels that he raised and elaborated the question of national resistance in war against a foreign conqueror, of people's war, of the partisan movement and of the forms and methods of mobilising the popular forces against the aggressor. Thus he called on the Italian proletariat not to confine itself to the traditional methods of struggle against the regular Austrian troops, but to go over to mass uprisings and to wage an all-national revolutionary guerrilla war. And so - based on the teachings of Engels - today the world proletariat must also develop a new way of struggle and wage an international guerrilla war - together with the subjugated peoples - in order to put an end to the bondage of world imperialism forever.

Engels even considered that "the history of the world's greatest battles seems to prove that defensive action is the safest, when the attacked army has sufficient stamina to resist stubbornly until the fire of the attackers subsides, until exhaustion and reaction set in with the attacker, and it can then in turn go on the offensive and attack. But there have been few armies, or rarely any peoples at all, with the capacity to fight such battles" (Engels, "Attack", MEW Volume 14, page 69, German edition). Such an army was Stalin's Red Army. Such a people was the Soviet people. Such a battle was the battle for Stalingrad. (A city [formerly called Tsaritsyn] that owed its new glorious name to the one who had successfully defended it against the White Guards as a key point on the Southern Front during the Civil War, thus not only supplying food to the starving Russian cities but also saving Caucasian oil from the enemy. The Khrushchev revisionists had nothing more urgent to do than to change the honourable name of Stalingrad to Volgograd - but the name of Stalingrad is indelible. The revolutionary Russian proletariat, which rightly gave this city its name, will spare no sacrifice, together with the world proletariat, to one day recapture this once proud socialist city with its befitting name and clean out the mafia nested there!).

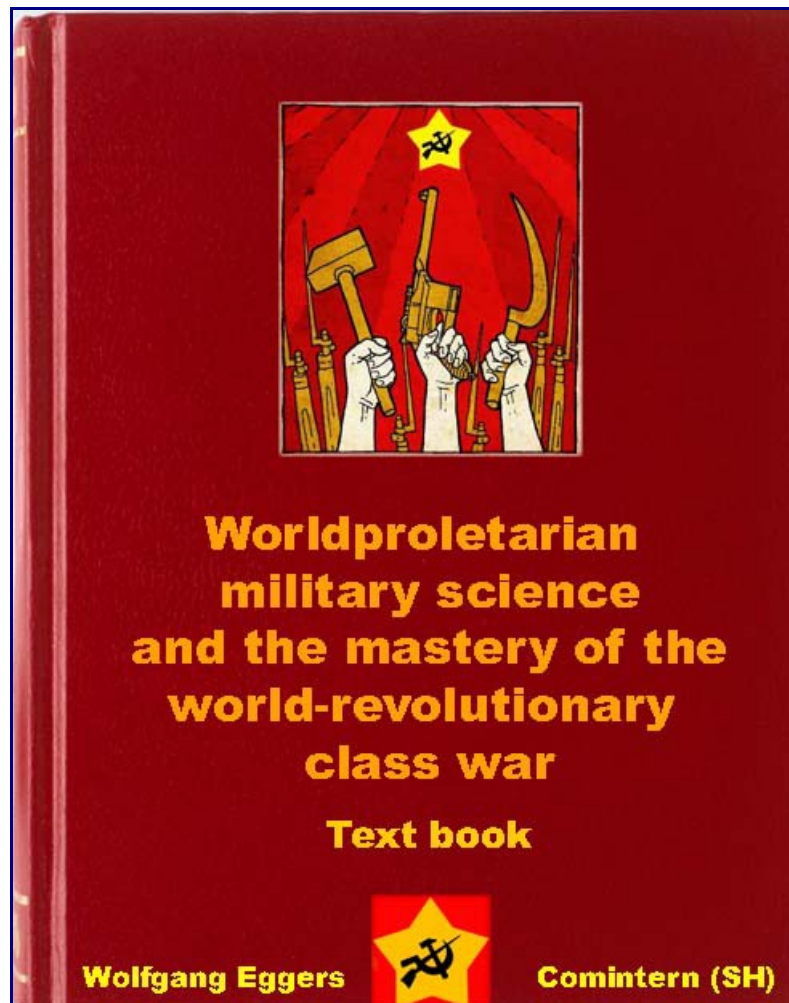
Marx and Engels regarded the national question as an integral part of the European revolution and stood up against chauvinism and every form of nationalist ideology. Starting from the higher, internationalist standpoint of in whose interest the national movement of this or that nation was led, whose weapon it objectively represented, they distinguished between oppressing and oppressed nations. In assessing this position, Lenin wrote that this standpoint was the only correct one, " for in 1848 there were historical as well as political reasons for distinguishing between 'reactionary' and revolutionary-democratic nations. Marx was right when he condemned the former and took sides with the latter. The right to self-determination is one of the demands of democracy, which of course must be subordinated to the overall interests of democracy. In 1848 and the following years these overall interests demanded in the first place the struggle against tsarism" (Lenin, Vol. 22, page 139 Russian). "We, the proletarians, have seen dozens of times how the bourgeoisie betrays the interests of freedom, the homeland, the language and the nation when the revolutionary proletariat opposes it. We have seen how the French bourgeoisie, at the moment of the most serious subjugation and humiliation of the French nation, defected to the Prussians, how the government of national defence became the government of the people's treason, how the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation summoned the soldiers of the oppressing nation to its aid in order to throw down its compatriots, the proletarians, who had dared to reach out their hands for power" (Lenin, Vol. 6, page 460, German edition)

"Nations that once [for example, France, England, Germany at the time of Marx and Engels - author's note] fought for their liberation have become oppressor nations, nations of imperialist robbery, standing on the *'eve of the downfall of capitalism'*" (Lenin, Vol. 23, page 29, German edition). And this now includes the nations of social-imperialist robbery!

With regard to Ireland, Lenin wrote of Marx:

"Marx demanded the separation of Ireland from England - 'even though after the separation may come federation' - not from the standpoint of the petty-bourgeois utopia of peaceful capitalism, not out of 'justice for Ireland' [see Marx, Engels, Werke vol. 31, pp. 222, 229 and 376 and in vol. 32, p. 414 - note], but from the standpoint of the interests of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat of the oppressing, i.e., English nation against capitalism. It was precisely the internationalism of the English proletariat which had to remain a hypocritical phrase if this proletariat did not demand the secession of Ireland [on this also compare the attitude of the Swedish proletariat towards the secession of Norway in 1905 - see Lenin, Vol. 23 "On a Caricature on Marxism"]. Without ever being a supporter of small states, of state fragmentation in general, of the federalist principle, Marx considered the secession of the oppressed nation as a step towards federation - consequently not fragmentation but concentration, political and economic concentration, but concentration on the basis of democratism. From the standpoint of Gen. P. [abbreviation for Parabellum = K. Radek - author's note] Marx was probably waging an 'illusory struggle', by raising the demand for the separation of Ireland. In fact, however, only this demand was the consistently revolutionary programme, only it corresponded to internationalism, only it represented concentration in a non-imperialist way. (...) The socialist of an oppressing nation who does not propagate the separation of oppressed nations in peace as well as in war is not a socialist and not an internationalist, but a chauvinist. (...) Just as Marx in 1869 demanded the separation of Ireland, not for dismemberment, but for the further free union of Ireland with England, not out of 'justice for Ireland', but from the standpoint of the interests of the revolutionary struggle of the English proletariat, so too we regard the refusal of the socialists of Russia to demand the right of self-determination of nations in the sense developed above as a direct betrayal of democracy, of internationalism, of socialism" (Lenin, Vol. 21, pp. 417 and 421, German edition).

- End Part II -



Part III

Textbook

on the Marxist-Leninist foundations of

World proletarian Military Science

and on the Art of

World revolutionary Class Warfare

August 2004

written by Wolfgang Eggers



PART III

The question of the defence of the fatherland

[was very different in the time of Marx and Engels than in the time of Lenin:]

"The Communist Manifesto says that the workers have no fatherland. Rightly so. But that is not all that is said there. It also says that the proletariat plays a special role in the formation of nation states. If one takes the first thesis (the workers have no fatherland) and forgets its connection with the second (the workers constitute themselves nationally as a class, but not in the same sense as the bourgeoisie), this is fundamentally wrong. What is this connection? In my opinion, precisely in the fact that in the democratic movement (in such a time, in such a concrete situation) the proletariat cannot refuse to support (and consequently to defend the fatherland in a national war) the democratic movement. Marx and Engels said in the 'Communist Manifesto' that the workers have no fatherland. But the same Marx called more than once for national war. (...) Were Marx and Engels muddleheads who said one thing today and something else tomorrow? No. In my opinion, the recognition of 'defence of the fatherland' in national war is quite in accordance with Marxism" (Lenin Letters, Vol. IV, pp. 326-327, German edition). Thus, as Lenin teaches, one must not apply the quotation from the Communist Manifesto to the point of rejecting national wars, since in doing so one leaves the ground of Marxism.

"Fatherland is a historical concept. The fatherland in the epoch or, more precisely, during the struggle to shake off the national yoke - that is one thing. It is something else at a time when national movements are far behind" (ibid, page 326). Thus, one must distinguish between the defence of the fatherland in the period of *democratic-bourgeois revolutions*, in which Marx and Engels fought in principle, and the defence of the fatherland at the time of the *imperialist wars*, in the period in which Lenin fought, and where Lenin defined the question of the defence of the fatherland as a "cardinal political question during the imperialist war" (Lenin, Vol. 22, page 319, German edition) :

"In the imperialist war of 1914-1917, between two imperialist coalitions, we must be against 'defence of the fatherland' because, first, imperialism is the eve of socialism; second, the imperialist war is a war of thieves for the spoils; third, in both coalitions there is an advanced proletariat; fourth, in both the socialist revolution has matured. That is the only reason why we are against 'defence of the fatherland', that is the *only* reason!!!" (Lenin, Vol. 35, page 250; January 1917, German edition).

[It must be known here that Lenin at that time was opposed to the so-called "revolutionary defence of the fatherland" of the Social Revolutionaries just before the October Revolution as an unusual mass current which had united the vast majority of the people against the Bolsheviks - author's note], namely, that one can defend one's fatherland in imperialist war only by waging a civil war which will hasten the elimination of capitalist class rule and which will be crowned with the victory of the socialist revolution and by nothing else!

It was the opportunists of the Second International ("prisoners of the bourgeoisie" (Lenin, Vol. 21, p. 25, German edition) who adapted internationalism to bourgeois nationalism so that the workers of one country would shoot at the workers of another country in the name of "*defence of the fatherland*"!

"One cannot speak of the fatherland - let us answer the opportunists - and ignore the concrete historical character of the war. This war is an imperialist war, i.e., a war in the epoch of the most developed capitalism, in the final epoch of capitalism. The working class must first constitute itself 'as a nation' - so declares the 'Communist Manifesto', at the same time pointing out the limits and conditions under which we recognise nationality and fatherland as necessary forms of the bourgeois social order and, consequently, the bourgeois fatherland. The opportunists distort this truth by transferring what applies to the epoch of the emergence of capitalism to its final epoch. But of this epoch, of the tasks of the proletariat in the struggle for the destruction not of feudalism but of capitalism, the Communist Manifesto clearly says: 'The workers have no fatherland.' One understands why the opportunists are afraid to recognise this truth of socialism; indeed, for the most part they do not even dare to confront it openly. The socialist movement cannot win within the old framework of the fatherland. It brings forth new, higher forms of human coexistence, in which the legitimate needs and progressive aspirations of the labouring masses of every nationality are satisfied for the first time in international unity, with the elimination of the present national barriers. The present attempts of the bourgeoisie to separate and divide the workers by hypocritical invocation of 'defence of the fatherland' will be answered by the class-conscious workers with ever new and constantly repeated attempts to establish the unity of the workers of different nations in the struggle for the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie of all nations" (Lenin, Works Vol. 21, pp. 25-26, German edition).

"We are not `at all` against `defence of the fatherland` , but against the whitewashing of the present *imperialist* war by this fraudulent slogan" (Lenin, Vol. 23, page 7, German edition). "The defence of the fatherland is (...) by no means a lie in a (...) *revolutionary* war" (Lenin, Vol. 23, page 12, German edition). "Every reasonably significant war is prepared long in advance. When a revolutionary war is being prepared, democrats and socialists are not afraid to declare in advance that they are for the `defence of the fatherland` in such a war. When, however, a reactionary war is being prepared, not a single socialist decides to say in advance, i.e., before the declaration of war, that he is for the `defence of the fatherland` in such a war. Marx and Engels were not afraid to call the German people to war against Russia in 1848 and 1859." (Lenin, Vol. 23, page 202, German edition).

Because Junius [pseudonym for Rosa Luxemburg - author's note] did not hold this view, but unjustifiably imposed the old Marxist tactics from the time of Marx and Engels on the changed situation of an imperialist war as well, Lenin criticised him as follows: "When Junius says that the class struggle is the best means against an invasion, he only half-applies the Marxian dialectic; he takes one step on the right road, but immediately afterwards deviates from it. The Marxian dialectic requires a concrete analysis of the historical situation. That the class struggle is the best means against invasion - this is correct both in relation to the bourgeoisie overthrowing feudalism and in relation to the proletariat overthrowing the bourgeoisie. Precisely because this is correct in relation to every class oppression, it is too general and therefore insufficient for the given particular case. Civil war against the bourgeoisie is also a kind of class struggle, and only this kind of class struggle would free Europe (the whole of Europe and not just one country) from the danger of invasion. The `great German republic`, if it had existed in 1914-1916, would have waged just such an imperialist war" (Lenin, Vol. 22, page 322, German edition).

Today, we now speak of international civil war against the world bourgeoisie as a form of international class struggle to free the whole world, not just Europe, from the danger of invasion. Even on a world scale, Marx's dialectics must not be half-applied, as the neo-revisionists do today, we must wage the same principled struggle against them today that Lenin waged against Rosa Luxemburg back then.

And Lenin, as here, always referred to Marx and Engels' fundamental method of approaching history Marxistically: "The whole spirit of Marxism, its whole system, demands that every thesis be considered only a) historically; b) only in connection with others; c) only in connection with the concrete experiences of history" (ibid., page 326, German edition). This is particularly true of the thesis of defence of the homeland, because if we apply this thesis to the present, US imperialism justifies its globalised predatory wars not only with the mendacious argument of "defence of the homeland" (as was still common practice in the First World War - that would be too transparent, after all!), but above all with the "defence of the civilised world against terrorism", i.e. in reality not only with the national, but also with the international defence of capital against the international class struggle of the entire proletariat of the world and not only against the class struggle of the proletariat of a single country. As far as the imperialist countries are concerned, since their development into imperialism, we Marxist-Leninists there no longer speak of defence of the fatherland, but only of their mendacious phrase of great power chauvinism. World historically, the revolutionary transition from the outlived, capitalist/revisionist overripe "fatherland" to socialism is on the agenda. In this context, an important, indispensable lever for social liberation is also the defence of the national interests of the proletarians of all countries and the revolutionary peoples against imperialist cosmopolitanism. The revolutionary peoples and the world proletariat defend the vital interests of the subjugated nations, which world imperialism violently overrides, tramples underfoot and destroys. The oppressed and exploited classes of the whole world will never renounce their national traditions, their national culture, they will never sacrifice their homeland to imperialism, neither to their "own", nor to a foreign one. They will fight for it and defend it against imperialism by revolutionarily liberating themselves from imperialism, by overthrowing imperialism and creating their own nation, the socialist nation. Proletarian internationalism does not mean the abandonment of the national question, but its solution. Only in the sense of proletarian internationalism is defence of the fatherland to be understood and not as a justification for exploitation and oppression of other countries, including those in one's own country. If we look at fatherland defence from the point of view of the proletarians of all countries and in particular from the point of view of the world proletariat, then in the capitalist/revisionist countries it can "only" be about the defence of the future socialist fatherland and the present internationalist support for the defence of the fatherland of all oppressed and dependent peoples, about solidarity with their wars of national liberation, about proletarian help in the defence of their right to self-determination, the right to break away and reunification - against the oppressive, imperialist nations. Marxist-Leninists cease to be Marxist-Leninists when they defend any - even "their own" - oppressive, imperialist nation or even the whole world imperialist system of oppressive nations. Any neo-revisionist cloak would in fact be nothing other than the defence of social-chauvinism. And so the defence of revisionist (= capitalist!) countries, cloaked in Marxist-Leninist/anti-imperialist justification,

is also nothing but neo-revisionism. What we Marxist-Leninists defend in a revisionist country is the national and social liberation struggle of the working class from revisionism, is civil war and proletarian socialist revolution!

The revolutionary world proletariat today defends the exploited and oppressed of the whole world against world imperialism and its globalised imperialist wars by *leading* the globalised struggle of the whole exploited and oppressed world for liberation from world imperialism. Only in this respect is the question of defence of the homeland today closely related to the question of world defence, has the question become internationalised, can it no longer be separated from the connection with the globalised class struggle.

World defence is pure fraud if one grants all "great" powers today the right and the duty to "save" world civilisation together. To propagate this "in the name of Marxism-Leninism" is a mockery of proletarian internationalism that cannot be surpassed. To allow and approve, in the name of world defence, one worker in the world shooting at another worker in the world is pure Kautskyanism squared, Kautskyan ultra-imperialism of the worst kind. Nothing in the world can justify workers shooting workers! The world defence of today's "great" power nations is nothing other than the defence of their common right to the spoils of the plunder of the whole world.

The defence of the world is not a fraud *only if* this defence is led by an international, revolutionary war of the world proletariat against the globalised imperialist war, through which (and only through which) the defence of all fatherlands of the world, the defence of the homeland of all peoples of the world, the world defence can really be guaranteed. So this is the situation today with the (globalised formulation of the) question of the defence of the homeland. And at some point, even this question will no longer be able to be posed in the way we have to pose it today, because it changes in the course of world history. At some point - and it may take a very, very long time! - it will no longer be possible to use today's tactics because they will already be historically obsolete, because by then the defending socialist nations will have merged and grown together into a single socialist world nation. It can only defend itself against itself. It will no longer have to defend itself against any other nation, nor will it be able to do so, because then there will be no other nation besides the world nation; and thus the concept of defence of the fatherland will dissolve by itself and will at best only be read about in historical books. At some point, the world will no longer have to defend itself from its exploitation and oppression, when humanity has liberated itself (from its inhumanity) and thus become human. We can no longer consult the Classics, but we can learn their historical approach to the question of defence of the fatherland, and practice will show whether we have learned correctly or incorrectly; and if necessary, we will then have to correct our mistakes.

The national question is also a historical category, that is, its revolutionary significance changes under the changing class relations in the course of history, in the course of wars and revolutions, or is transformed into a class-bound reactionary factor. Today, from the Marxist point of view, the national question in the capitalist countries is essentially solved, at least as far as the formation of the type of bourgeois nation-states of the 19th century is concerned. Lenin defended Marx in his paper "*What Are the 'People's Friends'?*",

"that there is no other means of combating national hatred than the organising and uniting of the class of the oppressed to struggle against the class of oppressors in each individual country, than the uniting of these national workers' organisations into an *international workers' army* [emphasised by the author] for the struggle against international capital. But as for the remark that the International did not prevent the workers from slaughtering each other, it is enough to remind Mr. Mikhailovsky of the events of the Commune, which showed the true relation of the organised proletariat to the belligerent ruling classes" (Lenin, Vol. 1, page 148, German edition). So we stand against the now reactionary bourgeois nationalism with the revolutionary fighting slogan of the creation of socialist nations, and not with the demonisation of the national question and the nation in general, which has become fashionable among the so-called "leftists". For us Marxist-Leninists in the capitalist countries, the national question is only unsolved with regard to the creation of *socialist* nations, because only these can protect the national interests of the revolutionary peoples - but only through the fact that the working class is in power. Thus, the bourgeois nations today serve only to protect the rule of international finance capital, not that of the peoples and their national interests. The fate of the bourgeois nation is inseparable from the fate of international capital. And so the monopolist maximum profit betrays and destroys the nation that the profit of early capitalism had once created. And this is one of the reasons why we can solve the national question by eliminating the bourgeois capitalist nations only by establishing socialist nations, namely, in order to overthrow the rule of world imperialism in this way. If we do not do this, but instead of defending the national interests of the workers and the labouring people defend the interests of the national bourgeoisie, if we do not understand the dialectical unity of national and social liberation of the oppressed and exploited classes, then we are only defending the piece of cake which the bourgeoisie in our own country is trying to cut off or defend from the world cake. But to participate in the robbery of foreign countries is completely incompatible with the national interests of the working class, because it is at the expense of the toilers not only in their own country (only their own labour aristocracy is fed by the imperialist booty!), but also in all other countries, especially in the oppressed and dependent countries. And this is also the reason why we call on the national-minded workers to take up arms united with us communists in order to deal the death blow to the imperialist rape of the nation, to the rotten, parasitic and dying, i.e. imperialist bourgeois nation, and to free the nation, which belongs to the people alone, from this imperialist parasite.

But we cannot fight for the "liberation" of the bourgeois nation from imperialism in national liberation - even if we wanted to - because the bourgeois nation has been capitalist from the beginning and remains so on the imperialist stage, the highest and last stage of capitalism. Consequently, one cannot ultimately liberate the bourgeois nation from imperialism, the bourgeois nation is thus irreversibly, irrevocably and lawfully doomed to historical ruin. The fate of the imperialist nations is thus bound to the fate of world imperialism. The fate of the national interests of the people is bound to the fate of the workers. But the fate of the workers is bound to socialism. And so the fate of the nation is also bound to the fate of socialism, the nation can (and will!) continue to exist at all only as a socialist nation. The working class must arm itself and take over the leadership of the nation. Only by the worker liberating himself from capitalism can the nation be liberated. Only by eliminating capitalism, which had once created the bourgeois nation - can the nation be saved as a socialist nation, as a nation of workers and labouring people. In this respect, the national question is part of the socialist revolution and the creation of a socialist state, without which there can be no future for the nation. But the workers cannot simply exchange places of power with the bourgeoisie within the capitalist nations. The working class must first smash the bourgeois state, which protects the power of the capitalists, in order to be able to save the nation from its downfall in the first place. The question of the state and the question of the nation are not the same thing, but both were and are a class question and can only be solved through the class question, that is, through armed socialist revolution. The national question is also a decisive component of the war of national liberation in the colonial and dependent countries, where social liberation is only possible through armed, national liberation from the imperialist occupiers or from the comprador bourgeoisie. Both different national questions - in the capitalist countries as well as in the countries dependent on capitalism - are interrelated and can ultimately only be solved in the united armed struggle - always in view of the world socialist revolution.

Historically, we have already seen the elimination of socialist nations - in Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union and in Enver Hoxha's Albania; even a social-imperialist superpower had emerged in the Soviet Union and consequently and consequently a disintegration of the Soviet UNION of socialist nations and finally the disintegration of the individual socialist nations within the Soviet Union, which Western imperialism today continues to promote consciously and with weapons, because they are still afraid of the resurgence of communism (rightly afraid, because we as communists will not forget this and will take out our weapons again to take back what has been taken away from us!). So, in the period of the socialist nation, the transformation into a bourgeois nation, the danger of the restoration of capitalism has become a fact, the revisionists have been ready to betray the nation, to barter it away to foreign capital, and will always be ready to do so again, in order to save capitalism and the rule of the bourgeoisie anew. So, today we are not only talking about the creation of new socialist nations, but also about the defence of the old ones (by which we mean only the aforementioned socialist and not the former revisionist/bourgeois nations, mind you!), about their reconquest. The contradiction between oppressing and oppressed nations cannot be resolved within the framework of world capitalism - neither peacefully nor by war -, nations in general can only exist peacefully under socialism when socialism has triumphed on a world scale, and all this does not take place without class wars, is a question of revolutionary armed struggle, just as the whole history of nations has been a history of armed struggle of classes.

The socialist nations, however, will perish after many armed defeats and victories, finally after a period of peaceful coexistence of nations, just as the bourgeois nations will have perished before them, which wrote a cruel chapter of mutual predatory and unjust wars. The crucial difference, however, is that with their own demise the socialist nations will eliminate any national privileges and national barriers at all, but not certain differences, which will remain, although these too will gradually change. Just as certain forms and constructions of nations come and go, the nations themselves will one day disappear again, because they will become an obstacle to the further development of society and can then no longer play a positive role. This disappearance, however, will continue for a very, very long time after the existence of the socialist world nation, whereby we do not regard the disappearance as a negative loss, as a vacuum, as the dissolution or annihilation of all national characteristics such as national cultures, for example, but as a liberation of national cultures from capitalist remnants to be striven for, as their revival, as their full free, independent and self-reliant development and maturation, as an enrichment not only for each individual culture itself, but as a cross-fertilisation of all cultures taken together, i.e., as a freely and uncoerced fusion of the best qualities of all nations, on a higher qualitative stage of human development, which cannot be hindered by any national barrier and by any nation which tries to impose its will on other nations, as was the case in the past and is still the case today. This is the society to which Marx and Engels aspired.

Just as for Marx and Engels the national movement in its historical beginnings was a prerequisite for the development of the social movements and these even emerged from them to a large extent, the same is true today for the colonial and dependent countries. The proletariat cannot free itself from the rule of the capitalists if this rule has not yet been established by means of the bourgeois states - and only these could protect capitalist private property ! In order to establish its own rule on the ruins of the rule of the bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie first had to take historical possession of its own rule. It did not exist at the beginning, and without the proletariat the bourgeoisie would not have achieved its liberation from *feudalism*. Only as a united national force, in which these two classes played the main role, could this task be accomplished. We must not forget that there was once a bourgeoisie which, with arms in hand for liberation from the yoke of feudalism, had fought republicanism and because of revolutionary acts its leaders were accused of high treason before betraying due revolution, came to the helm itself and itself bestially exploited and oppressed. Where the proletariat began to appear independently, the bourgeoisie ceased to be a revolutionary class - also and especially in the national question of the 19th century. So there is an irreconcilable difference whether we use the national question as an instrument to solve liberation from feudalism or liberation from capitalism, especially from imperialism, but also from social imperialism, colonialism, etc., from the point of view of the oppressing nations or from the point of view of the oppressed nations, etc. So historically, at the time of Marx and Engels, the struggle against the bourgeoisie could not possibly begin with the proletarian revolution. The Marxist thesis of the three main forces and basic stages of the revolution of the 19th (and 20th) century are well known:

"According to this thesis, the first stage of the revolution is the limitation of absolutism, by which the bourgeoisie is satisfied; the second is the struggle for the republic, by which the 'people' , i.e., the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie in general; the third is the socialist revolution, which alone can satisfy the proletariat" (Lenin, Vol. 8, p. 465, German edition). Marx fought with all his might against the decline of the working class and its party into an appendage of official bourgeois democracy, and he stressed the importance of arming the workers, organising an independent proletarian guard, strict control of the proletarians over the treacherous petty-bourgeois democracy, etc.

"Marx by no means proposed to begin the work of revolution in Germany of the fifties directly with proletarian power, contrary to the plans of our Russian 'permanentists'; Marx merely proposed to crown the work of revolution with proletarian state power, by ousting one faction of the bourgeoisie after another from the heights of power, step by step, and then, after the proletariat has attained power, to ignite the revolution in all countries - in full conformity with all that Lenin taught and realised in the course of our revolution, following his theory of proletarian revolution under the conditions of imperialism" (Stalin, Vol. 6, page 93). Thus, the world proletariat will also crown its world power by starting with the weakest chain of imperialism, ousting the individual bourgeoisies (as factions of the world bourgeoisie) in one country after another from the heights of power and not starting the world revolution directly with the conquest of world power as the Trotskyists have proposed. The social liberation of the world proletariat can only succeed in national forms through the revolutions of the proletarians of each country. And only in this way can the national question of a single country be solved only through the socialist revolution in that single country. But finally the national question of all nations can only be solved in an internationalist way, namely through the proletarian world revolution. Only by supporting the proletarian world revolution will it be possible, together with the national wars of liberation of the peoples, to eliminate forever the cause of the national oppression of the peoples, and thus its inevitability - world imperialism. It is world capitalism itself that breaks down the national barriers and thus creates the conditions for the national liberation of all countries through world socialism:

"In former times [i.e. still at the time of Marx and Engels - author's note] one used to approach the analysis of the conditions of the proletarian revolution from the standpoint of the economic condition of this or that country [England, France, Germany, etc. - author's note]. Now this kind of approach is already inadequate. Now one must approach this question from the standpoint of the economic condition of all countries or their majority, from the standpoint of the condition of the world economy, for the individual countries and the individual national economies have ceased to be self-sufficient units, they have been transformed into links in a unified chain called the world economy, because the old 'civilised' capitalism [from the time when Marx and Engels were active - author's note] has become imperialism, but imperialism is a world system of financial enslavement and colonial oppression of the gigantic majority of the population of the earth by a handful of 'advanced' countries.

In former times [i.e., again still at the time of Marx and Engels - author's note] it was customary to speak of the existence or absence of objective conditions for the proletarian revolution in the individual countries or, more precisely, in this or that developed country. Now this circumstance is already inadequate. Now one must speak of the existence of objective conditions for revolution in the whole system of the imperialist world economy as a unified whole, whereby the circumstance that some industrially deficiently developed countries belong to this system cannot constitute an insurmountable obstacle to revolution if the system as a whole or, more correctly, since the system as a whole has already become ripe for revolution.

It used to be customary to speak of the proletarian revolution in this or that country as a single, self-sufficient magnitude opposed to the single, national front of capital from its antipode. Now this standpoint is already inadequate. Now one must speak of the proletarian world revolution, because the individual national fronts of capital have been transformed into links of a unified chain, called the world front of imperialism, which must be opposed by the general front of the revolutionary movement of all countries.

In the past, the proletarian revolution was considered exclusively as the result of the internal development of the country concerned. Now this point of view is already inadequate. Now one must consider the proletarian revolution above all as the result of the development of the contradictions in the world system of imperialism, as the result of the chain of the imperialist world front breaking in this or that country.

Where will the revolution begin, where is the front of capital most likely to be broken, in which country? Where industry is most developed, where the proletariat forms the majority, where there is more culture, where there is more democracy - they used to answer. No - replies Lenin's theory of revolution -, not necessarily where industry is most developed, etc. The front of capital will break where the chain of imperialism is weakest, because the proletarian revolution is the result of the chain of the world imperialist front breaking at its weakest point, whereby it may turn out that the country that started the revolution, the country that broke through the front of capital, is capitalistically less developed than other, more developed countries, which, however, have remained within the framework of capitalism" (Stalin, Vol. 6, pp. 85-86, German edition).

The main objective content of the national wars in the mid-19th century was formed by bourgeois national movements whose main aim was to free bourgeois society from the shackles of feudalism, absolutism. In these national wars, the working class could not yet objectively develop its struggle for socialism. Nevertheless, Marx and Engels never took the position of national liberalism. Their democratic tactic was to support first and foremost the popular democratic movement as a mass democratic movement of the dispossessed in all the military clashes in which the bourgeoisie fought for power.

Lenin emphasised that "in warlike conflicts which broke out on the ground of the bourgeoisie's rise to power in individual nations, Marx's primary concern, just as in 1848, was that the bourgeois-democratic movements should expand and intensify by involving broader and more 'plebeian' masses, the petty bourgeoisie in general, the peasantry in particular, and finally the propertied classes. It was precisely through this Marxian consideration of the broadening of the social base of the movement and of its development that the consistently democratic Marxian tactics differed fundamentally from the inconsistent tactics of Lassalle, which tended towards alliance with the national liberals" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 137, German edition). Lenin judged the decision of the question whether Marx or Lassalle had been right in their assessment of the circumstances of the Italian war of 1859 as follows:

"We are of the opinion (contrary to Mehring) that Marx was right and that Lassalle, just as in his coquetry with Bismarck, was an opportunist in this too. Lassalle adapted his attitude to the victory of Prussia and Bismarck, to the lack of sufficient impetus of the democratic national movements in Italy and Germany. Precisely in this he swayed to the side of a national-liberal workers' policy. Marx, on the other hand, promoted and developed an independent, a consistently democratic policy hostile to national-liberal cowardice (Prussia's intervention against Napoleon in 1859 would have given impetus to the popular movement in Germany). Lassalle looked more upwards than downwards, he fell in with Bismarck. Bismarck's 'success' is not in the least suitable to justify Lassalle's opportunism" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 130, German edition).

The Marxists have never denied the progressiveness of the bourgeois-national forces. Only *today's* bourgeoisie, for imperialist reasons, rehears the ideology of the national movements of the mid-19th century and tries to apply it to a completely different epoch - and behind it trots the opportunists, allowing themselves to be taken in tow by bourgeois nationalism to justify imperialist wars "*in the name of Marxism*". "Marx and Engels advanced from their epoch, from the epoch of the bourgeois national progressive movement, they strove to push this movement forward, and strove for its development 'over the heads' of the representatives of the middle ages. A. Petrossov, like all social-chauvinists, strives backwards from his epoch, from the epoch of modern democracy, he jumps over to the long-survived, dead and therefore intrinsically mendacious standpoint of the old (bourgeois) democracy. (...) At that time, in 1859 [Marx's analysis of the Italian war of 1859 - author's note], the objective content of the historical process on the European mainland was not imperialism, it was rather the national bourgeois liberation movements.... The main driving force was the movement of the bourgeoisie against the feudal absolutist forces.

Let us assume that two countries are at war with each other in the era of bourgeois national freedom movements. From the standpoint of modern democracy, which country should be wished victory? Of course, the one whose victory will push the liberation movement of the bourgeoisie forward more vigorously and develop it more impetuously, and will undermine feudalism more strongly. Let us further assume that the determining moment of the objective historical situation has changed and that the nationally emancipating capital has been replaced by the international reactionary, imperialist finance capital. Let us assume that one country controls three quarters of Africa, the other one quarter. The objective content of their war is the redivision of Africa. Which side should be wished victory? To ask the question as it was asked earlier is pointless, because we lack the earlier criteria of assessment: there is neither a long-standing development of the bourgeois liberation movement nor a long-standing demise of feudalism. It is not the business of modern democracy to assist one country in asserting its 'right' to the three quarters of Africa or to assist the other (and may it develop economically more rapidly than the first) in taking possession of these three quarters. Modern democracy will be true to itself only if it does not join a single imperialist bourgeoisie, if it says that 'both are the greater evil', if it wishes for the defeat of the imperialist bourgeoisie in each country. Any other decision will in reality be only a national-liberal one, which has nothing in common with true internationalism" (Lenin, Vol. 21, pp. 131-133, German edition).

At the time of Marx and Engels, the popular movement in the countries affected by the war was still general-democratic, bourgeois-democratic in its class content. Marx and Engels supported the then democratic-bourgeois struggle against feudalism by siding in each case with that bourgeoisie in whose country the development of the proletariat could best advance and in which the proletarians in the other countries should participate, by helping them to unite and support in solidarity the proletariat in the most advanced bourgeois country in each case. This solidarity of the proletarians in the European countries during the national wars was the beginning of the independent appearance of the proletariat in the individual countries and their joint appearance later with the I International. It was not by chance that in this epoch the productive forces developed within the framework of individual bourgeois countries which liberated themselves from feudalism through national wars. This epoch closed with the Franco-Prussian War of 1870/71. With the end of the era of national wars, the proletariat entered a period in which it began to fight the bourgeoisie bitterly, because the governments with their national defence turned into governments of national betrayal:

Lenin said, " ...if at that time the struggle against the reaction of the whole of Europe welded together the whole revolutionary nation, now the proletariat must already no longer combine its interests with the interests of other classes hostile to it; let the bourgeoisie bear the responsibility for national humiliation - the business of the proletariat is to fight for the socialist liberation of labour from the yoke of the bourgeoisie" (Lenin, Vol. 13, page 484, German edition).

With his work on the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 and on the proletarian revolution of 18 March 1871, which led to the Paris Commune, Karl Marx dealt with the historical events that began the epoch of transition from pre-monopolist capitalism to imperialism - the epoch of the fully developed rule and decline of the bourgeoisie, the gradual gathering of the forces of the proletariat and its preparation for the decisive class battles. This period was thus an important stage in the development of the international proletarian movement and its ideology, Marxism. The 1st International, founded by Marx and Engels , had become through them a powerful international organisation of the working class with many sections in countries of Europe and in the USA. Marx wrote in Volume 18 MEW, *"Report of the General Council to the Hague Congress: "Since our last Congress at Basle, two great wars have changed the face of Europe: the Franco-German War and the Civil War in France; a third war preceded, accompanied and continued after these two - the war against the International Workingmen's Association" [1st International - The III. International was founded at the end of World War 1 and dissolved before the end of World War 2 in 1943].*

In connection with the war situation that arose in Europe in July 1870, which was a serious test for the International, Marx and Engels worked out the tactics of the proletariat under the conditions of the Franco-Prussian War. This tactic was not only instructive for Lenin's tactics in the face of the social-chauvinism of the II International,

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(this is proved by the following Lenin quote: "The war of 1870/1871 was the continuation of the bourgeois-progressive (for decades) policy of liberation and unification of Germany. The fact that Napoleon III was struck on the head and dethroned accelerated this liberation. The peace programme of the socialists of that epoch took account of this progressive.bourgeois result and supported the democratic bourgeoisie: no deprivation of France, honourable peace with the republic. See what a farce is the attempt to slavishly `repeat` this example in the situation of the imperialist war of 1914-1916. This war continues the policy of the overripe, reactionary bourgeoisie which plundered the world, conquered colonies, etc. This war cannot lead to any democratic 'progress' on the basis of bourgeois conditions - by virtue of the objective situation it cannot - but only to a strengthening and extension of all oppression in general and of national oppression in particular, and that at any outcome of the war. That war accelerated the development in a democratic, bourgeois-progressive direction: overthrow of Napoleon III, unification of Germany. That war accelerated the development only of the socialist revolution. At that time the programme of democratic (bourgeois) peace had an objective historical basis. Now this basis is missing, and the talk of democratic peace is a bourgeois tissue of lies whose objective purpose is to divert the workers from the revolutionary struggle for socialism! At that time, through a democratic peace programme, the socialists supported the existing, profound democratic-bourgeois movement of the masses which had been manifesting itself for decades (for the overthrow of Napoleon III, for the unification of Germany). Now, through a democratic peace programme on the ground of bourgeois conditions, the socialists are supporting the popular deception by the bourgeoisie, which wants to divert the proletariat from the socialist revolution. As through the phrases of `defence of the fatherland' the lost ideology of the national war of liberation is carried to the masses, so through the phrases of democratic peace the same bourgeois lie is smuggled in in a roundabout way!" (Lenin, Vol 22, page 167, German edition).

And on a page before this Lenin writes: "Let us recall the fundamental concepts of socialist doctrine which are distorted by the Kautskyites. War is the continuation of the policy which the ruling classes of the belligerent powers pursued long before the war, by means of violence. Peace is the continuation of the same policy, taking into account those changes in the balance of power of the opponents which have occurred as a result of the acts of war. War does not in itself change the direction in which politics developed before the war, it only accelerates this development" (Lenin, *ibid*, page 166, German edition).

"Consequently, whatever the outcome of the war, the conclusion of peace can only fix the worsening of the political and economic situation of the masses - if bourgeois society remains" [Lenin, Vol. 22, page 175] and finally Lenin spoke of the "impossibility of a democratic peace without a series of revolutions" [*ibid*]).

but is still relevant today in the struggle to defend proletarian internationalism against the neo-revisionists. At that time, Marx and Engels helped the German and French workers to determine their revolutionary attitude to the character of the war of conquest by starting from the internationalist interests of the proletariat. The proletarians were not impressed by the chauvinist propaganda of the ruling classes and held fast to proletarian internationalism. Marx established the main guiding principles of the Marxist doctrine of the social causes of the wars of conquest unleashed by the ruling classes for profit interests. According to Marx, all wars of conquest are generally linked to the suppression of the revolutionary movement, primarily the liberation movement of the proletariat. In the case of Napoleon's war of conquest against Germany, this would have meant a great danger for the German workers' movement. Engels remarked on this in a letter to Marx on 15 August 1870: "There is then no longer any question of an independent German workers' movement; the struggle for the establishment of national existence then absorbs everything". And in his writing *"The Role of Violence in History"*, MEW, vol. 21, p. 439, German edition) Engels remarked on the importance of a people's struggle for its national existence: "It was necessary to teach foreign countries once and for all that they had no right to interfere in internal (...) matters (...) and before this national upsurge all class differences disappeared, all (...) lusts and attempts at restoration by exiled princes melted into nothing". "In less than 5 weeks the whole edifice of the [French - author's note] Empire, which had been gazed at for years by the European philistine, collapsed; the revolution of September 4 cleared away only the rubble; and Bismarck, who had gone to war to found a petty German Empire, found himself one fine morning the founder of a French Republic. According to Bismarck's own proclamation, the war was not waged against the French people, but against Louis-Napoleon. With the fall of the latter, therefore, the reason for the war fell away (...) - when Bismarck now suddenly turned out the Prussian Junker (...)" (ibid. page 440), took "revenge on France" (ibid., page 441) and "openly and unfeignedly declared brute force to be his fundamental principle" (ibid. page 446). "If the two largest and strongest nations of the western continent neutralise each other through hostility" (ibid. page 447), then with their eternal bone of contention, what Marx shouted aloud to the world in his *Runschreiben der Internationale* came to pass: "The annexation of Alsace and Lorraine makes Russia the arbiter of Europe" (MEW, Vol. 17, pages 271-279), "whose hands are then all the freer" (MEW, Vol. 21, Engels, page 447). Today, this role is taken over by the great power Europe, after the two superpowers USA and USSR neutralised each other. Result: peace = worse than war - in the best case or World War III. A socialist Europe would prevent the world war and secure peace.

Both recognised the danger that a defensive war could turn into a war of conquest - and vice versa. That is why they taught both German and French workers to rise up together against the ruling class in both countries. When this danger became a reality, Marx and Engels called on the proletarians of both countries to direct the main blow against the Prussian state and at the same time to use the defeat of the French Empire for the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

Engels, who wrote the introduction to Marx's *"Civil War in France"*, emphasised Marx's ability "to grasp clearly the character, scope and necessary consequences of great historical events at the time when these events are still taking place before our eyes or have only just been completed" (MEW, Vol. 17, p. 615, German edition). The wars of the exploiters bring about the peace of the exploited and oppressed by waging a just war against the unjust war. Marx prophesied in relation to the Franco-Prussian War:

"While official France and official Germany are engaged in a fratricidal struggle, the workers are sending each other messages of peace and friendship. This single great fact, unparalleled in the history of the past, opens the prospect of a brighter future. It proves that, in contrast to the old society with its economic misery and its political folly, a new society is coming into being whose international principle will be PEACE, because the same principle prevails in every nation - WORK!" (MEW, Vol. 17, page 7, German edition). And Marx went on to write:

"That after the most tremendous war of modern times the victorious and the defeated armies should ally themselves for the joint slaughter of the proletariat - such an unheard-of event proves, not as Bismarck believes, the final crushing down of the new society working its way up, but the complete crumbling of the old bourgeois society. The highest heroic upsurge of which the old society was still capable is the national war, and this now proves to be a pure governmental swindle which has no other purpose than to postpone the class struggle, and which flies aside as soon as the class struggle flares up in civil war. Class rule is no longer able to hide under a national uniform; the national governments are one vis-à-vis the proletariat!" (MEW, Vol. 17, page 361, German edition).

Engels had extensive knowledge in all fields of war science by applying historical and dialectical materialism to predict with scientific precision the current events of war, the course of development of military operations and their outcome and consequences. "Every increase in the military forces of one country forces the other states to do an equal, if not more. And all this costs an insane amount of money. The nations are ruined by the burden of military expenditure, peace becomes almost more costly than war, so that finally war, instead of appearing as a terrible scourge, appears as a salutary crisis which puts an end to an impossible situation. This is the reason why it became possible for the schemers in the various countries, who like to fish in the mud, to conjure up war" (MEW, Vol. 21, page 345, German edition). And Engels also had the "remedy" against it ready at once:

"And the remedy? The abolition of the Prussian system and its replacement by a real people's army, which is a simple school, into which every citizen, as soon as he is capable of bearing arms, is enrolled for the duration of the time absolutely necessary for learning the soldier's trade; recruitment of the people thus trained into strongly organised local reserve cadres, so that every town, every district has its battalion, composed of people who know each other and who, if need be, can assemble fully equipped and ready to march in 24 hours. This means that every person fit for military service has his rifle and equipment at home, as is the case in Switzerland. The nation that first introduces this system will double its real military strength and at the same time reduce its war budget by half. It will prove its love of peace by the very fact that it arms all its citizens. For this army, which is one with the nation, is no more capable of outward conquest than it is capable of defeat in the defence of its native soil. And then, what government would dare to touch political liberty when every citizen has a rifle and fifty live cartridges to lie at home?" (MEW, Vol. 21, page 345, German edition).

"In order to secure international peace, all avoidable national friction must first be eliminated, each people must be INDEPENDENT and LORD IN ITS OWN HOUSE" (MEW, Vol. 21, page 407, German edition) [emphasis and underlining by the author].

Above all, Engels concentrated on analysing and characterising the adventurous war plans, the weaknesses and errors of strategy and tactics, and the shortcomings of the military operations of the rulers. "However, one must know not only the weaknesses but also the strengths of the enemy" MEW, Vol. 22, page 14, German edition).

Thus he recognised the connection between the quality of an army and its dependence on the quality of the social and political order. Thus, the military collapse of France was no accident, but the inevitable consequence of the decay of the thoroughly rotten Bonapartist regime: "The army organisation fails everywhere. (...) A noble and brave nation sees all its efforts at self-defence rendered ineffective because for twenty years it has put up with its fortunes being guided by a clique of adventurers who made administration, government, army, navy - in fact the whole of France - their source of personal enrichment" (MEW, Vol. 17, page 78, German edition).

Engels subjected the Bonapartist generals to a scathing critique. He revealed the flawed nature of their strategy and tactics, their inability to lead troops and operate in a coordinated manner, and criticised the poor equipment of the troops, the corruption in the supply system. He stressed that the Bonapartist regime continued to exert its pernicious influence on the army during the war and that the mistakes of the French high command were aggravated by the fact that it was often forced to be guided in its operations not by military considerations but by the desire to save the prestige of the Second Empire. Engels pointed out that the Bonapartist government, fearing the popular masses of Paris, refused to send the troops remaining in the capital to fight the revolutionary danger at the front, where they were urgently needed (see MEW, Vol. 17, page 55). The Prussian army, which was falsely called the "*people in arms*" because of the superior new recruitment system of the time, also had in reality an anti-people character - suppressing revolts internally and carrying out campaigns of conquest externally. When the regular French armies had been defeated, the Temporal Empire overthrown and the predatory aspirations of Prussia made manifest, the strengthening of France's national defences, the establishment of new military formations and the organisation of guerrilla warfare against the invaders became the focus of Engels' attention. Although the adventurist policies of the ruling classes had brought France to the brink of national catastrophe, Engels called on the French people to continue the struggle even under these conditions, which would be crowned with success if they mobilised all their reserves and if resistance to the Prussians really took hold of the whole people, the whole nation. Engels represented the position of the General Council of the International, which at this stage of the war called on the international proletariat to support the French people in their resistance to the conquerors. He drew up a concrete plan for the struggle against the Prussians and developed the strategy and tactics of coordinating the military operations of the newly formed French troops with the struggle of partisan detachments. Engels demonstrated the indestructible power of popular resistance generated by the tactics of partisan struggle (see for example "*Warfare in the Mountains Once and Now*", MEW, Volume 12, page 113, German edition). He also advocated that popular resistance in the form of guerrilla warfare be recognised as a method of legitimate warfare.

"Revolutionary war, mass uprising and terrorism - the monarchy will never understand itself to do this. It would rather make peace with its most bitter, equal enemy than ally itself with the people(...). But the revolt of the masses, the general insurrection of the people, these are means which royalty shrinks from using" (MEW, Engels, Vol. 6, page 369, German edition).

Marx and Engels developed the Marxist doctrine of wars, their class-related causes, aims and their class character. If one wants to learn from Marx and Engels, one has to look at each individual war concretely, which economic and political class interests it serves, which class leads it, whether it is a just (liberation and defence) war or an unjust (predatory exploitation and oppression) war, which defends nothing other than profit. The character of a war, its true meaning, is determined by what policy the war perpetuates, what class wages the war and what its aims are. All the military lessons of history of non-class armed struggle and non-class war are empty nonsense. Marx and Engels did not confine themselves to the concrete analysis of each individual war, but through this they also masterfully succeeded in grasping the entire politics of the whole system of European states in their economic and political interrelations, whereby they understood in what way the wars of that time had logically and inevitably arisen from this system. The question of who had started the war was completely insignificant, both economically and politically, in view of the fact that two groups of robbers, two or more nations were waging war together for their booty in the competition for world domination, i.e. who should subjugate more peoples in the future, who should rob more, who could increase the profit of international bank capital the most. If one wants to understand a war correctly, then, like Marx and Engels, one must take into account its connection with the preceding policy of the states concerned, the state system concerned, the social order concerned and the classes concerned within this social order - a basic demand of Marxist military theory, so as not to fall for the lies of the bourgeoisie - And not only we Marxist-Leninists must approach the question of finding the truth of wars in this way, but also make it comprehensible to the masses. War is always linked to the interests of certain classes, as is peace. In this way, Marx and Engels also approached each individual peace concretely, they posed the class question of whom peace benefits and whom it harms. If war is the continuation of the politics of peace, then peace is conversely also the continuation of the politics of war. A bourgeois peace disarms the proletariat, and enslaves the annexed peoples instead of giving them freedom. And this is especially true of imperialist peace. Whether from the continuation of the bourgeois policy of peace to the policy of war or vice versa - this terrible vicious circle, according to Lenin, the best disciple of Marx and Engels, is ultimately broken by the proletariat only through the proletarian world revolutionary war for the liberation of the workers and peasants of the whole world from the yoke of capital, because it is world capital, international bank capital, which inevitably causes the imperialist wars and peace is thus nothing other than a violent peace; nothing other than the gigantic burdens of the consequences of war unilaterally imposed on the peoples by the victorious powers, with an even more gigantic, even more refined enslavement thereby imposed on the world; nothing other than the interim period needed by international capital for the next war.

Using the example of the Franco-Prussian War, Marx and Engels taught the international proletariat to distinguish between wars of national liberation, wars of defence aimed at repelling a foreign invasion, and wars of robbery and conquest. It was to Engels' great credit that he had raised and elaborated the question of national resistance in war against a foreign conqueror, of people's war, of the partisan movement, and of the forms and methods of mobilising popular forces against the aggressor. "Germany triumphed over France, but Bismarck and Thiers triumphed over the workers!" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 274, German edition). Stalin's Soviet Union was victorious over Hitler's fascism, over the Third Reich, but world imperialism with the USA at its head was victorious over the world proletariat, over the world socialist revolution.

Marx and Engels proved that the development of war inevitably aggravates class antagonisms and that this can lead to a revolutionary situation which contains within itself the possibility of the revolutionary uprising of the proletariat. This is a law that works today, especially on an international scale. At the same time, they warned the revolutionary proletariat not to jeopardise the victory of the revolution by a premature insurrection (accurate analysis of the balance of forces) and thus make defeat inevitable. This is also particularly true today in the world revolutionary situation. Marx revealed the provocative tactics of the bourgeoisie, which strove to call the working class to a premature insurrection in order to drown it in a sea of blood (This is a tactic that it has not abandoned to this day and uses again and again. The world bourgeoisie is not afraid to drown the world proletarian revolution in a world sea of blood before its last hour has struck ! !). Revolutions on a world scale usually mean corresponding proportions on the part of the victims.

The victory of the Paris Commune

Lenin defined the Paris Commune as "the transformation of a people's war into a civil war" (Lenin, Works Volume 21, page 26, German edition). With this important definition, Lenin also justified the transformation of World War 1 into a civil war. Lenin based this on the objective conditions of capitalism: "Such a transformation is of course not easy and cannot be carried out 'at the wish' of individual parties. But it is precisely this transformation which corresponds to the objective conditions of capitalism in general and of its final epoch in particular. In this and only in this direction have the socialists to work" (Lenin, *ibid.*).

Marx and Engels recognised that the victory of the Paris Commune was favoured by a special situation of momentary weakness on the part of the belligerents - which presented itself for only a minimal moment in the Franco-Prussian War for the favourable outcome of the uprising. The armies of the French Empire were either locked outside Paris or trapped in Germany, and the foreign, German enemy had only advanced to the gates outside Paris. With the siege of the city of Paris we find historically the well-known fact of the international capitalist encirclement of the workers' power, which will be discussed in detail. It should be noted that it was the besieging soldiers who supported the besieged in solidarity. Here we have in germ form the decisive factor of internationalist solidarity support for the insurgent workers: "The Prussian troops who surrounded the north-eastern half of Paris had orders not to let any fugitives through, but the officers often turned a blind eye when the soldiers obeyed the dictates of humanity more than those of the high command; in particular, however, the Saxon army corps deserves credit for having acted very humanely and for letting through many whose character as communist fighters was obvious" (Engels, MEW, Vol. 22, page 195, German edition). Both the external and internal counter-revolution had weakened each other during the course of the war and were at a certain moment neutralised and thus incapable in terms of forces of (jointly) putting down the workers' revolution.

"To have the decisive preponderance of forces at the decisive moment in the decisive place - this `law` of military success is also the law of political success, especially in the heavy, bitter war of classes called revolution" (Lenin, Vol. 30, page 248, German edition).

"The enemy can get into the situation of passivity, which we exploit for our initiative, for our offensive" (*General Line of the Comintern (SH)*). A similar situation of the weakened class enemy inside and outside Russia favoured the victory of the October Revolution. "Why did the October Revolution begin to break the imperialist chain at the weakest link? Not because the Russian proletariat was ahead of others, but because the weakness and backwardness of Russian capitalism and the oppressive situation of the First World War obliged the Bolsheviks to take an advanced position in front of the other sections of the world socialist army, without waiting for these sections to march up, to rise. At the time of the first break of the imperialist chain at its weakest link, at the time of the overthrow of tsarist, imperialist Russia by the October Revolution, the emergence of the first socialist state, socialism "in one country", capitalism was in a phase in which it was already sitting on the dying branch as monopolistic capitalism, where the world was already divided among the capitalist groups, and the redivision demanded warlike clashes, where the First World War had already broken the world front of capitalism. World War I weakened the world front of capitalism and thus made possible the breakthrough in individual countries. The monopolies that emerged led to a huge worldwide socialisation of labour that Lenin characterised the dying capitalism as the beginning of the transition to socialism. This took place lawfully in the struggle of opposites, with the law of inequality of the leapfrog development of the capitalist countries having an ever sharper and more blatant effect - not only on the imperialist countries themselves, but on all countries of the whole world without exception. Thus, the October Revolution did not break the weakest link in the chain of imperialism only because Russia was a backward country that could more easily abolish private property and because tsarism was weak. The cause of the breakthrough was primarily the war, which had put the country in a desperate situation with famine, had weakened the people so much that the only way out for Russia was the October Revolution.

Accordingly, the breakthrough at the weakest link in the chain is not most probable simply because that is where the revolutionary forces are "strongest", because the international counter-revolution would be far too strong and would bring down even the very strongest revolutionary forces in each country - taken in isolation. But the thing is this: As shown by the previous revolutions that emerged from the 1st and 2nd World Wars, the imperialist robber groups had chained themselves together to such an extent that, in order to redivide the world among themselves, which the law of imperialism compels them to do, they had to concentrate all their forces on this. The weakest link in the chain can therefore only break away under the conditions when the strongest links in the chain bind and hinder each other to such an extent that they cannot prevent it from breaking away even if they wanted to. So, at a certain moment, the imperialists could not concentrate their forces on suppressing the revolution because their division weakened them and "their hands were tied". It is therefore the split of world imperialism that causes its chain to break at the weakest point, i.e. in a very specific state of weakening of its strongest links, in a state where the international counterrevolution cannot unite unitedly against a revolution and rush to help, because precisely the international counterrevolution is split and weakened" (*quoted from: General Line of the Comintern (SH)*).

The determination and setting of the right time for the uprising in connection with the observation of the occurrence of a certain, self-induced, inner state of weakness of the opponent can - in a realistic assessment of one's own mobile force potential - thus be of great and decisive importance for victory or defeat, for the outcome of the uprising. Thus Marx and Engels warned of the dire consequences of both a premature and a belated insurrection. So too of the consequences of a premature Paris uprising. Marx warned in his Second Address to the General Council of the International of 9 September 1870: "Do not be dominated by the national memories of 1792", "thoroughly carry out the organisation of your own class", do not set yourself the goal of overthrowing the government ("a desperate folly"). This was written by Eugène Dupont, Secretary of the International (General Council) for France on 7 September 1870 /Will,G., *"Histoire du mouvement social en France 1852-1902/Geschichte der sozialen Bewegung in Frankreich 1852-1902)*. But the moment the French government's attempt to disarm the Paris proletariat by confiscating the guns of the National Guard on 18 March 1871 was met with a revolutionary uprising, Marx and Engels greeted it enthusiastically, siding with the Paris Commune against the Versailles government in the civil war.... As Lenin noted, Marx related to the Paris revolution "as a participant in the mass struggle, which he witnessed with his own ardour and passion (...) (Lenin, Vol. 12, p. 101, German edition). Marx gave concrete military advice to the Commune: "I advised its members to fortify the north side of the heights of Montmartre, the Prussian side, and they still had time to do this; I told them in advance that otherwise they would fall into a mousetrap" (Marx to Kugelmann 12. 4. 1871, German edition). "Marx highly estimated the historical importance of the Commune - had the workers allowed their arms to be taken away without a struggle during the treacherous advance of the Versailles gang against the arming of the Paris proletariat, the fatal effect of the demoralisation introduced into the proletarian movement by such weakness would have been infinitely greater than the damage resulting from the losses suffered by the working class in the struggle for the defence of its arms" (Lenin, Vol. 13, page 485, German edition).

Marx and Engels considered the defence of the Commune to be the highest duty of the workers of all countries. Already in the first days of the Paris Revolution they mobilised all the forces of the international proletariat in support of the Communards, with the help of the International Workers' Association. Marx and Engels regarded the Paris Commune as the spiritual child of the International, as the practical realisation of its principles, and saw in its establishment a tremendous gain not only for the working class in Paris but for the proletarians of all countries in their struggle for revolution. "Whatever the immediate course of events, a new point of departure of world-historical importance has been gained" (Marx' letter to Kugelmann, 17 April 1871, German edition). With the Paris Commune began a new period in world history, the period of "the incipient decay of capitalism," as Stalin noted, " ... the overgrowth of the old 'free' capitalism into imperialism and the overthrow of capitalism in the USSR by the forces of the October Revolution" (Stalin, Kirov, Shdanov, Remarks on the Outline of a Textbook of Modern History, Moscow 1938, quoted in Geschichte der Diplomatie, Vol. II, Berlin 1948, page 13, German edition). "The republic of soviets is thus that sought-for and finally found political form within the framework of which the economic liberation of the proletariat, the complete victory of socialism, must be accomplished. The Paris Commune was the germ of this form. Soviet power is its development and completion" (Stalin, Questions of Leninism, Berlin 1951, page 49, German edition).

Marx was in direct contact with the communards, gathered information, subjected it to analysis and generalised the experience of the Paris Commune for the benefit of the entire world proletariat. In *"Civil War in France"*, Marx characterised the state power of the bourgeois exploiting society and its army as a "public force for the oppression of the working class" and as "a machine of class domination". He concluded that the Paris proletariat could seize power only because it smashed the state machinery, whose "purely oppressive character had become more and more openly apparent", that "the working class cannot simply take possession of the ready-made state machinery and set it in motion for its own purposes" (MEW, Vol. 17, page 336, German edition). The Paris Commune abolished the standing army and replaced it with popular armament. And today we are going to replace the standing armies of the whole world by the common and mutual arming of all peoples. In his letter to Kugelmann of 12. 4. 1871, - German edition - Karl Marx wrote:

"If you look up the last chapter of my 'Eighteenth Brumaire' you will find that I pronounce as the next attempt of the French revolution, no longer to transfer the bureaucratic-military machinery from one hand to the other as before, but to break it, and this is the precondition of every real popular revolution (...)." We would like to add and deduce from this: ... the precondition of the real world revolution. We will shake the naive faith in the globalised military mission of the world bourgeoisie through the proletarian world revolution.

It is true that revolutionary but starved Paris had to capitulate on 28 January 1871, "but with honours hitherto unheard of in the history of war (...) the National Guard retained its arms and cannons and only entered into truce against the victors. And these themselves did not dare to enter Paris in triumph (...) Such respect did the Parisian workers inspire in the army before which all the armies of the Empire had laid down their arms; and the Prussian Junkers, who had come here to take revenge on the hearth of the revolution, had to stand reverently and salute this very armed revolution" (Marx, Engels, Selected Works, Volume I, page 450, German edition). The Paris Commune was the greatest proletarian movement of the 19th century, the Soviet Union the greatest socialist movement of the 20th century.

Karl Marx criticised the Communards for their carelessness, for their insufficient toughness towards the counter-revolutionaries: "Paris, working, thinking, fighting, bleeding, above its preparation of a new society almost forgetting the cannibals at its gates" (MEW; Vol. 17, page 349). Marx taught the workers that proletarian power must be organised and strong, that it must have the necessary means to suppress counter-revolution, that even after the establishment of the power of the working class on a national scale - and we note here explicitly also after the establishment of the power of the world proletariat on an international !!! scale - it may still face "sporadic slaveholding rebellions". Marx underlined that the all-round consolidation of the proletarian state - also and especially the world state !! ; should be noted here today - is an absolute necessity. Only then will the attacks of the reactionary forces be doomed to failure; they would "interrupt the work of peaceful progress for the moment, but only accelerate the movement, because they put the sword in the hand of the Social Revolution" (MEW; Vol. 17, page 546, German edition). The more cruelly the international counter-revolution raises its sword today against the world proletariat, against the peoples, in order to maintain international, imperialist slavery, the greater the sword it puts in the hand of the world proletariat to break and judge world imperialist tyranny - this is one of the essential insights of revolutionary Marxism, this is one of the most important principles on which the world revolutionary class warfare of today will be based.

Engels also "rebuked" the Paris Commune:

"I know nothing more authoritarian than a revolution, and when one fights one's enemies with bombs and bullets, it seems to me an act of authority. If there had been a little more authority and centralisation in the Paris Commune, it would have triumphed over the bourgeoisie. After the victory we can organise ourselves as we like, but for the struggle it seems to me necessary to gather all our forces together and direct them towards the same point of attack. And if I am told that this is not possible without authority and centralisation, and that these are two absolutely damnable things, then it seems to me that those who speak in this way either do not know what a revolution is, or that they are revolutionaries only in words"(Engels, MEW, Vol. 33, pp. 372-373, German edition).

"The most difficult thing to understand, however, is the sacred respect with which one stood reverently at the gates of the Bank of France. This was also a grave political error. The bank in the hands of the Commune - that was worth more than ten thousand hostages" (MEW, Engels, Vol. 22, page 196, German edition). From the lessons of the Paris Commune, Marx and Engels drew the clear demands of workers' socialism, namely the necessity of the violent appropriation of the means of production by society: "Behind the right to work stands violence over capital, behind violence over capital the appropriation of the means of production, their subjugation to the associated working class, that is, the abolition of wage labour as well as of capital and its interrelation" (MEW, Vol. 7, pages 41/42, German edition).

"While the democratic petty bourgeois want to bring the revolution to a conclusion as quickly as possible.... it is our interest and our task to make the revolution permanent until all the more or less possessing classes have been ousted from power, until the power of the state has been conquered by the proletariat, and until the association of the proletarians, not only in one country but in all the ruling countries of the whole world, has advanced so far that the competition of the proletarians in these countries has ceased and that at least the decisive productive forces are concentrated in the hands of the proletarians. For us it cannot be a question of changing private property, but only of destroying it, not of covering up class antagonisms, but of abolishing classes, not of improving the existing society, but of founding a new one" (MEW, Vol. 7, pp. 247-248, German edition).

And what has been said here prompts us all the more to adhere to the permanence of world revolution, which presupposes a special form of the world revolutionary art of war. What do we learn from this: 1. one must not underestimate the purely military significance of the international class struggle, of the world revolution; 2. in the "expropriation of the expropriators" the revolutionary world proletariat must not stop halfway. Only the two taken together will secure the fruits of the victorious world socialist revolution.

"A revolution is certainly the most authoritarian thing there is, an act by which one part of the population imposes its will on the other part by shotguns, bayonets and cannon, all the very authoritarian means; and the party which has triumphed must assert its rule by the terror which its weapons instil in the reactionaries. And had the Paris Commune used the authority of an armed people against the bourgeoisie, would it have held its ground for more than a day? Can we not, conversely, blame it for having made too little use of this authority?" (Engels "On Authority" ;1872/73, German edition) And on the 20th anniversary Engels said of the Paris Commune:

"For twenty years now the workers of Paris have been without arms, and so it is everywhere; in all civilised countries the proletariat is deprived of the material means of defence. Everywhere it is the enemies and exploiters of the working class who have the entire armed force. But what has this led to? To the fact that today, as every able-bodied man passes through the army, this army reflects more and more the feelings and views of the people, that this army, the main tool of oppression, is becoming more unreliable day by day. Already the men at the head of all the great states see approaching with terror the day when the soldiers under arms will refuse to massacre their brothers and their fathers (...) Long live the international social revolution!" (Engels, MEW, Vol. 22, pp. 186-187, German edition).

Marx responded to the defeat of the Paris Commune, teaching the proletariat how to deal with this defeat and its consequences, in particular how the working class should counter the inflamed anger and bloody vengeance of the raging reaction. Bismarck released 60,000 prisoners of war to raise a counter-revolutionary army against the Paris Commune, which was allowed to pass through the German lines for this purpose. All the governments of the European states were so driven to their knees by fear that they organised a savage campaign against the I International and the workers' organisations. In this reactionary offensive, Marx and Engels exposed the intrigues of the reactionaries and led the struggle for the union and the unswerving continuation of the consolidation of the proletarian organisation, the struggle for the gathering of new forces of the labourers and the reorganisation of the ranks of the I International, the struggle against opportunism in their own ranks. Finally, the reaction tried, with and without violence, to extinguish the international spread of the revolutionary flame of the heroic Parisian proletariat and to liquidate the I International from within and without.

In order to justify the International's stand on proletarian internationalism, Marx and Engels studied in detail the history of the Irish people. They developed the idea that the proletariat of the oppressor nation must fight against the policy of national and military oppression in the interests of its own freedom, what Lenin called the basic principle of internationalism and socialism. Engels wrote: "From Irish history one can see what a misfortune it is for one people to have subjugated another" (MEW, Vol. 32, page 378, German edition). The liberation of Ireland is a necessity for the English working class in order to use the weakening of English rule thereby produced for its own proletarian revolution. Without support for the armed national revolutionary liberation struggle there will be no victory for the world proletarian revolution. This is the lesson Marx and Engels drew from the Irish liberation movement.

Marx and Engels looked at all military questions from the standpoint of the international proletariat, from the workers' parties of the countries and also from the First International. In particular, they insisted on distinguishing themselves independently from the vacillating liberal bourgeoisie, which historically, out of cowardice, too often compromised with reaction and capitulated to it, especially in wartime situations. It has also been shown that the liberals' fear of the revolutionary people is usually much greater than their fear of reaction. Thus, even on the military question, Marxism has clearly and unequivocally distanced itself from Lassalleanism, from *"royal Prussian government socialism"* (see MEW, Vol. 16, page 79).

"The Commune was the decisive negation of all state power and therefore the beginning of the social revolution of the 19th century. Whatever, therefore, its fate in Paris, it will make its way around the world" (Marx, MEW, Vol. 17, page 542, German edition). Whoever now thinks that Marx indirectly spoke out against the state power of the proletariat is on the wrong track. There are even said to have been "Marxist-Leninists in the second half of the 20th century who thought they could lead us down this wrong path.

With the Paris Commune began a new period in the liberation struggle of the proletariat, in which the building of proletarian parties was in the foreground, guided by the principles of Marx and Engels' scientific communism, without which the proletarian revolution cannot be successfully realised. It was precisely on the periphery between the Paris Commune and the October Revolution, with the beginning of a new period of armed class struggle, that opportunists of all stripes latched on to construct antagonisms and fish in the mud based on them. However, one cannot seriously defend the Paris Commune against the October Revolution, just as one cannot defend the October Revolution against the people's revolution in Albania and against the socialist revolutions to be prepared today, without sinking miserably into the mire of opportunism. Only the Paris Commune, only the October Revolution and only the Albanian People's Revolution have been victorious for us Marxist-Leninists in the sense of socialism and the world revolutionary movement will always stand on their shoulders. All other revolutions do not stand up to this criterion and must therefore not be put on a par with them. In the same way, one must not construct opposites between the military theory of Marx and Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha, or exclude one or the other classic. All the classics were at their historical time the leaders of the world proletariat and the leaders of Marxist war science. And only all the classics taken together give the complete picture of Marxist-Leninist military theory and class warfare from which we have to learn for all time. On the basis of the insights of the classics in the military field, we approach today the generalisation of the present experiences of the international class struggle in order to constantly develop Marxist-Leninist military theory and world revolutionary class warfare for the benefit of the proletarian world revolution. We communist soldiers fight only on these theoretical and practical bases, on no other. We do not get involved with foreign (bourgeois) military theories, nor do we give ourselves up to any ominous "revolutions" with all kinds of class interests. We take up arms exclusively for our own interests, for the proletarian revolutions which correspond perfectly in their nature and character to the Paris Commune, the October Revolution and the Albanian People's Revolution -this, of course, does not exclude that we support or even - where possible - take over the leadership of all revolutionary movements - even with arms in hand - which are directly or indirectly useful for our proletarian revolutions. We are neither revisionist nor sectarian soldiers, we are Marxist-Leninist soldiers !!! Soldiers with sectarian or revisionist mistakes we can help. Correcting mistakes through criticism and self-criticism is not the problem. But out-and-out revisionists or sectarians have no place in our ranks, nor will we fight side by side with them in any "united front", because they are enemies of the proletariat and are trying to fight in our own ranks or in the ranks of a "united front", on the side of the bourgeoisie. United front with troops serving the enemy, no matter how much they swear to be on our side, is an absolute absurdity. A revolutionary troop cannot escape defeat if it allows the enemy to become active in its own ranks, all the more so for the leadership of the red troop.

In order to avoid this and other disasters, it is precisely indispensable that every Red soldier should know how to handle his mental weapon as well as his weapon in his hand, and he must always learn to master these two "arms" in their unified use at every moment, in every situation. This distinguishes the red army from every counter-revolutionary army (including the revisionist army), where the militarist system of opposition between "hand and head work" is still (or again) applied.

Lenin

**Founder of Bolshevik strategy and tactics of revolution,
leader of the victorious October Revolution, the civil war and
the war against foreign intervention,**

in defence of socialism in one country

**Leader of the incipient world revolution of the proletariat,
greatest political strategist of the international class warfare**

What Stalin taught 80 years ago about the foundations of Leninism is still valid:

"Leninism is the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. More precisely, Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular"

(Stalin Vol. 8, page 63, German edition).

From Stalin's definition we deduce:

Leninist military science is the Marxist military science of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. More precisely: Leninist military science is the scientifically founded military theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, the military theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular, both on a national and international scale.

"One usually emphasises the exceedingly militant and exceedingly revolutionary character of Leninism. That is quite correct. But this peculiarity of Leninism is explained by two reasons: firstly, by the fact that Leninism emerged from the bosom of the proletarian revolution, whose stamp it must necessarily bear; secondly, by the fact that it grew and strengthened in the struggle with the opportunism of the Second International, the struggle against which was and is the necessary precondition for the successful struggle against capitalism. It must not be forgotten that between Marx and Engels, on the one hand, and Lenin, on the other, there was a whole period of undivided domination by the opportunism of the Second International, the ruthless combating of which had to be one of the most important tasks of Leninism" (Stalin, *ibid*, page 64, German edition).

Today, in the age of globalisation, Marxism-Leninism is growing up in the struggle with neo-revisionism within the Marxist-Leninist world movement, the fight against which is the necessary condition for the successful struggle against world imperialism. It must not be forgotten that between the Comintern and the Comintern/ML, between Soviet and Albanian socialism and today, there is a whole period of rise and fall of revisionism in power, through which world imperialism is forced to establish internationally the undivided rule of neo-revisionism [*= anti-revisionism in words and revisionism in deeds*] in order to prevent the revival of Marxism-Leninism within the international workers' movement, the reconquest of socialism, the continuation of the world proletarian revolution, the victory of world Bolshevism. So today we are in the reorganisation phase of the world proletariat and its even greater, direct assault on world capitalism than in Lenin's time.

"Leninism grew and took shape under the conditions of imperialism, when the contradictions of capitalism had sharpened to the extreme, when the proletarian revolution became a question of immediate practice, when the old period of preparation of the working class for revolution approached and grew into the new period of direct storming of capitalism. Lenin called imperialism 'dying capitalism' . Why? Because imperialism increases the contradictions of capitalism to the highest degree, to the extreme limits beyond which the revolution begins" (Stalin *ibid.*, pp. 64-65, German edition).

Through globalisation, he increases the contradictions today to the furthest international limit, beyond which the revolution will continue and win in a globalised way.

"The first is the contradiction between labour and capital (...). The second contradiction is the contradiction between the various financial groups and imperialist powers (...). The third contradiction is the contradiction between the handful of ruling `civilised` nations and the hundreds of millions of colonial and dependent peoples of the world" (*ibid.*).

These contradictions are fundamentally just as present again today after the elimination of socialism, only the starting points since the October Revolution have become much more advantageous for the world proletariat. All three contradictions, are antagonistic and therefore inevitably intensify to the point of war. Since they are all dialectically connected, mutually dependent and form a unity, this must also be taken into account and expressed in Marxist-Leninist military theory, because without revolutionary violence not a single contradiction of capitalism can be solved. We are soldiers of communism for the very reason that we want to prevent the supergaul into which world capitalism is driving us. If we cannot prevent it, then we must transform it into a super-doom against world imperialism. But if we wanted to die waiting either way, we would be quite miserable soldiers. So, without waiting for the moment when the capitalists have finally ruined the whole world, the proletariat must seize the next best opportunity, the proletariat must take up arms and seize power without hesitation, without missing a revolutionary situation that has arisen and letting it pass uselessly. Preparing the proletariat for this eventuality is precisely the task of the military theory of Marxism-Leninism today. It is our task to recognise in time, to support, to coordinate, to centralise, to weld together into a common front such diverse forms of struggle which are ignited by the sharpening of the various capitalist contradictions. It should be noted that among all capitalist contradictions there is a fundamental contradiction of the whole system of world capitalism, namely that between the social character of world production and its capitalist appropriation. Every soldier can in principle only fight for the maintenance of this basic contradiction or for its elimination, i.e. either on the side of capitalist appropriation by the financial groups of the great powers, on the side of the capitalists, on the side of the rich, or on the other side, the side of the labourers, the poor, the subjugated, who instead of securing maximum profit want to dissolve this basic contradiction, not only in order to be able to continue to eke out an existence, but in order to secure, through the socialisation of the means of production, the maximum satisfaction of the constantly growing material and cultural needs of the entire world society through uninterrupted growth and uninterrupted perfection of socialist production on the basis of the highest technology. Wherever the soldier may be employed on this earth, he can do his service only on one side or on the other, he can serve either only the counter-revolution or the revolution. The art of the armed proletarian world revolution lies in exploiting all these world capitalist contradictions in a concentrated way in order to crack the basic contradiction, namely, to eliminate capitalist private property in a revolutionary way.

In order to be overthrown by the world revolution, world imperialism first had to overthrow socialism in one country. It threw everything, including revisionism, into the scales for the overthrow of socialism in order to make its own overthrow all the more thorough and quicker inevitable. This is the international situation today, which confirms Leninism.

"The significance of the imperialist war that broke out ten years ago is, among other things, that it tied all these contradictions into a knot and threw them into the balance, thereby accelerating and facilitating the revolutionary battles of the proletariat. In other words, imperialism led not only to the revolution becoming practically inevitable, but also to the creation of favourable conditions for the immediate storming of the strongholds of capitalism. This was the international situation which gave birth to Leninism" (Stalin, *ibid*, page 66, German edition).

"It was necessary to review the entire arsenal of the II International, to throw overboard everything that was rusty and rotten and to forge new types of weapons. Without such preliminary work it was useless to go to war against capitalism. Without this preparatory work, the proletariat ran the risk of being insufficiently equipped or even completely unarmed in the face of the new revolutionary battles" (*ibid.*, pp. 72-73, German edition).

This is precisely the phase in which the world proletariat finds itself today; it stands unequipped as never before. We are therefore obliged to throw overboard the old methods of struggle, which are proving useless and ineffective in the face of today's globalised omnipotence of international finance capital, and to forge new kinds of weapons. How do we do this? Firstly, in the revision of the theoretical dogmas served up to the workers by the revisionists today in order to polish up their lost image, "in the fire of the revolutionary struggle of the masses, in the fire of living practice, that is, in the restoration of the disturbed unity of theory and practice, in the elimination of the gap between the two, for only in this way is it possible to create a truly proletarian party armed with revolutionary theory" (*ibid.*, page 73, German edition). Secondly, in the examination of the parties developing into neo-revisionism and their international catch-alls "not according to their slogans and resolutions (which must not be believed), but according to their deeds, according to their actions, for only in this way is it possible to win the confidence of the proletarian masses and earn them. "Thirdly, in the conversion of all party work to new, to revolutionary ways, in the spirit of educating and preparing the masses for revolutionary struggle, for only in this way is it possible to prepare the masses for proletarian revolution. Fourthly, in the self-criticism of the proletarian parties, in their training and education by means of their own mistakes, because only in this way is it possible to educate real cadres and real leaders of the party. This is the basis and essence of the method of Leninism" (*ibid.*, page 73).

"As for the political slogans and the political resolutions of the parties of the Second International, it is enough to recall the history of the slogan "war to war" to see the whole falsity and the whole rottenness of the political practice of these parties, which disguise their anti-revolutionary activity with pompous revolutionary slogans and resolutions. All remember the pompous demonstration of the II International at the Basel Congress, where the imperialists were threatened with all the horrors of insurrection if the imperialists dared to start the war, and where the ominous slogan `war on war` was issued. But who does not remember that after some time, just before the war began, the Basel resolution was shelved and the workers were given a new slogan - to murder one another for the glory of the capitalist fatherland? [or by comparison today to "defend the whole civilised world from terrorism" - author's note]. Is it not clear that revolutionary slogans and resolutions are not worth a damn if they are not backed up by action? It is enough to contrast Lenin's policy of transforming the imperialist war into civil war and the treacherous role of the Second International during the war to see all the platitude of the opportunist political masters, all the greatness of the method of Leninism" (ibid., page 76, German edition), brilliantly confirmed by the October Revolution.

Lenin's strategy

"The brilliant thoughts of Marx and Engels on tactics and strategy, which the opportunists of the II International have allowed to be forgotten, were drawn to light by Lenin precisely in this period. But Lenin did not confine himself to restoring the individual tactical guiding principles of Marx and Engels. He developed them further and supplemented them with new thoughts and guiding principles, uniting all this into a system of rules and guiding principles for the conduct of the class struggle of the proletariat (...)" (ibid page 133).

"The strategy and tactics of Leninism is the science of directing the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat" (Stalin, ibid page 133).

Strategy pursues the aim of winning the war against world imperialism as a whole and bringing it to an end.

"Strategy is the determination of the direction of the main strike of the proletariat on the basis of the given stage of the revolution, the elaboration of a corresponding plan for the deployment of the revolutionary forces (the main and subsidiary reserves), the struggle for the implementation of this plan throughout the course of the given stage of the revolution" (Stalin, ibid, page 134).

Accordingly, with the exit from the old stage of the revolution and the entry into a new one, one must necessarily change one's strategy.

"The strategy deals with the main forces of the revolution and its reserves. It changes as the revolution passes from one stage to another, but remains essentially unchanged throughout the period of the given stage" (Stalin, Vol. 6, page 135).

The strategic utilisation of the forces of the revolution is carried out on the basis of an analysis of the reserves of the revolution:

"direct: a) peasantry and, in general, the intermediate strata of one's own country; b) the proletariat of neighbouring countries; c) the revolutionary movement in the colonies and dependent countries; d) the conquests and achievements of the dictatorship of the proletariat - whereby the proletariat, having secured the preponderance of forces, may temporarily renounce part of them in order to buy a breathing space by making concessions to the strong opponent, and

indirect: a) the antagonisms and conflicts between the non-proletarian classes of its own country, which can be exploited by the proletariat to weaken the opponent and strengthen its own reserves; b) the antagonisms, conflicts and wars (e.g. of the imperialist states, which can be exploited by the proletariat in its offensive or in manoeuvring in the event of a forced retreat.

As for the reserves of the first kind, there is no need to dwell on them, since their importance is clear to everyone. As for the reserves of the second kind, whose significance is not always clear, it must be said that they are sometimes of outstanding importance for the course of the revolution. It is hard to deny the enormous importance, for example, of the conflict between petty-bourgeois democracy (social revolutionaries) and the liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie (cadets) during and after the first revolution, which undoubtedly helped to remove the peasantry from the influence of the bourgeoisie. One has even less reason to deny the colossal significance of the fact that the main groups of imperialists waged a war to the death against each other during the period of the October revolution, when the imperialists, preoccupied by the war against each other, did not have the possibility of concentrating their forces against the young Soviet power, and the proletariat, precisely for this reason, was given the opportunity to immediately set about organising its own forces, consolidating its power and preparing to crush Kolchak and Denikin. It can be assumed that now, when the antagonisms between the imperialist groups are deepening more and more and a new war between them is becoming inevitable, the reserves of this kind will have ever greater importance for the proletariat [emphasis added by the author].

[Author's Intermediate Note:

In this connection there are also hints of Lenin's internationally extended strategy, which he formulated in "Some Thesis" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 410, German edition): "11. To the question of what the party of the proletariat would do if the revolution should bring itself to power in the present war, we reply: We would offer peace to all belligerents, on condition that the colonies and all dependent, oppressed and unequal peoples receive freedom. Neither Germany nor England nor France, under their present governments, would accept this condition. Then we would have to prepare and wage revolutionary war [emphasised by the author], (...) ... we would call upon the socialist proletariat of Europe (...) to revolt against its governments. (...) The international solidarity of the revolutionary proletariat is a fact (...)" . " - and that if the German, English, French, etc. capitalists reject such a peace, we would wage a revolutionary war and *call on the workers of all countries to ally with us* [emphasised by the author]" (Lenin, Vol. 24, page 152 - written in April 1917, German edition)).

[Further quoting of : Stalin "*Fundamentals of Leninism*" :)

"The task of the strategic leadership is to make correct use of all these reserves in order to achieve the main aim of the revolution at the given stage of its development.

What is the correct utilisation of the reserves?

The main forces of the revolution must be concentrated at the most vulnerable point of the enemy at the decisive moment, when the revolution has already matured, when the offensive has begun at full steam, when the insurrection is pounding at the gates, and when the drawing of the reserves to the vanguard is the decisive condition for success. As an example illustrating such utilisation of the reserves, the strategy of the party in the period April to October 1917 can be taken. Undoubtedly, the most vulnerable point of the enemy in this period was the war. Undoubtedly, it was precisely by raising this question, as the fundamental question, that the party rallied the broadest masses of the population around the proletarian vanguard. The party's strategy in this period amounted to training the vanguard through rallies and demonstrations in street actions, and at the same time drawing the reserves to the vanguard through the soviets in the rear and through the soldiers' committees at the front. The outcome of the revolution has shown that the utilisation of the reserves was the correct one. If the reserves are not properly utilised, it would be a serious strategic mistake. [Thus, it was a serious mistake of the German November Revolution not to utilise the peasant reserve and to concentrate the main reserves of workers and soldiers without their support from the peasants, not to mention the weakness of the proletarian vanguard, that is, the party itself.]

On this condition of strategic utilisation of the forces of the revolution, Lenin, explaining the well-known sentences of Marx and Engels on the insurrection, says:

`1. never play with the insurrection, but once you have begun it, you must know exactly that you must go to the end.

2. a great preponderance of forces must be concentrated at the decisive place and at the decisive moment, for otherwise the enemy, who is better trained and better organised, will destroy the insurgents.

3. once the insurrection has begun, it is necessary to act with the utmost decisiveness and to take the offensive under all circumstances and without fail. The defensive is the death of the armed uprising.

"One can oppose attacks at the wrong time to attacks at the right time, unprepared and prepared, but one cannot oppose attacks at all to the 'taking' of the fortress. That is a mistake. That is to say, to evade the question of the methods of taking the fortress" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 169, German edition).

4. one must strive to take the enemy by surprise and wait for the moment when his troops are scattered.

5. it is necessary to achieve daily (in the case of a city, we can say hourly) successes, however small, and thus to hold on to the 'moral preponderance' at any cost.

Secondly. The choice of the time for the decisive blow, the time for the beginning of the insurrection, must be calculated in such a way that the crisis has reached its climax, that the readiness of the vanguard to fight to the end, the readiness of the reserve to support the vanguard and the maximum confusion in the ranks of the enemy are already given. It would therefore be a grave strategic error to misjudge the right moment, to determine it too early or too late.

" 'The decisive battle, says Lenin, can be regarded as fully ripe when '1. all the class forces hostile to us have become sufficiently confused, have sufficiently feuded with each other, have sufficiently weakened themselves by the struggle which exceeds their forces'; when '2. All the vacillating, uncertain, unstable intermediate elements, that is, the petty bourgeoisie, petty-bourgeois democracy as distinct from the bourgeoisie, have sufficiently exposed themselves before the people, have been sufficiently exposed by their bankruptcy in practice'; when '3. mass sentiment has begun and is rising powerfully in the proletariat in favour of support for the most decisive, boundlessly bold, revolutionary actions against the bourgeoisie. If this is the case, then the time is ripe for revolution, then our victory, if we have correctly assessed all the above-mentioned ... conditions correctly and have chosen the moment correctly, then our victory is certain.' "If complete annihilation does not succeed, then the proletariat will know how to exploit even a partial one" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 16, German edition).

"Speaking abstractly, it cannot, of course, be denied that a fighting organisation can begin an ill-considered battle which may end in defeat which, under other circumstances, would by no means have been inevitable. But one must not confine oneself to abstract considerations on such a question, for every battle includes in itself in the abstract the possibility of defeat, and there is no other means of reducing this possibility than to prepare the battle in an organised manner" (Lenin, Vol. 5, page 493). "Only a centralised organisation of struggle which consistently carries out the Social-Democratic policy and satisfies, so to speak, all revolutionary instincts and aspirations, is capable of saving the movement from an ill-considered attack and of preparing the attack which promises success" (Lenin, Vol. 5, page 494).

The conduct of the October Uprising can be taken as a model of such a strategy.

Violations of these conditions lead to the dangerous error called 'loss of tempo': when the party lags behind the course of the movement or runs far ahead, thereby creating the danger of defeat. As an example of such a loss of tempo, as an example of how the time for an insurrection must not be chosen, is to be seen the attempt of a section of the comrades to begin the insurrection with the linking up of the Democratic Consultation in September 1917, when there was still a wavering in the Soviets, the front soldiers were still at the crossroads and the reserves had not yet been drawn to the vanguard.

Thirdly. The course once taken must be carried out unswervingly, regardless of all and any difficulties and complications on the way to the goal; this is necessary so that the vanguard does not lose sight of the main goal of the struggle and so that the masses who are striving towards this goal and endeavouring to unite around the vanguard do not stray from the path. Violations of this condition lead to a huge mistake, well known to the seafarers under the name of 'losing course'. As an example of such losing course, consider the misguided attitude of our party immediately after the Democratic Consultation, when the party took the decision to participate in the pre-parliament. The party forgot at that moment, as it were, that the pre-parliament is an attempt by the bourgeoisie to lead the country from the path of the soviets to the path of bourgeois parliamentarism, that the participation of the party in such an institution is likely to upset all the cards and to lead the workers and peasants, who are leading the revolutionary struggle under the slogan 'All power to the soviets', astray. This mistake was made good by the fact that the Bolsheviks withdrew from the pre-parliament.

Fourthly. With the reserves one must manoeuvre in such a way as to be able to make an orderly retreat when the enemy is strong, when retreat is inevitable, when it is manifestly disadvantageous to accept the fight which the enemy wants to impose on us, when retreat is the only means, in the given balance of forces, of withdrawing the vanguard from the blows of the enemy and preserving the reserves for it.

"To urge the rearguard, which in the last battle failed to come to the aid of the vanguard, to hasten is absolutely useful and in no respect risky. To urge the vanguard, which failed to come to the aid of the rearguard in the last battle, to make haste is absolutely risky, and one must always think carefully before doing it (...) Do not rush into battle, first send liaison men to the rearguard; tomorrow the rearguard will come closer, the onslaught will be more unanimous, tomorrow we will be able to issue an action resolution better suited to the time. Today the vanguard must direct its main attention not to immediate action but to the consolidation and extension of the closest links with the rearguard and all the other troops" (Lenin, Vol. 11, pp. 78 and 79).

Revolutionary parties', says Lenin, 'have to learn. They have learned to attack. Now one must understand that one must supplement this science with the science of how to retreat more correctly. One must understand - that one cannot win without having learned to attack and retreat properly. '

The aim of such a strategy is to gain time, to disintegrate the opponent and to gather forces in order to then proceed to the attack.

The conclusion of the Brest peace can be regarded as the pattern of such a strategy, which gave the party the opportunity to gain time, to take advantage of the clashes in the camp of imperialism, to disintegrate the forces of the enemy, to keep the peasantry on its side and to gather forces in order to prepare the offensive against Kolchak and Denekin.

By concluding a separate peace', Lenin said at the time, 'we free ourselves, to the greatest extent possible at the given moment, from both imperialist groups fighting each other, exploit their enmity and their war - which makes it difficult for them to make an agreement against us - and free our hands for a certain period to continue and consolidate the socialist revolution'.

'Now even the most stupid', said Lenin three years after the Peace of Brest, 'sees that the Peace of Brest was a concession which strengthened us and fragmented the forces of international imperialism.'

These are the main conditions which ensure the correctness of strategic leadership" (Stalin, *ibid*, page 138ff, end of quotation).

* * *

Strategy also includes the cunning of war. Thus Lenin spoke of the "frontal attack, or the pretence of a frontal attack, without which the enemy could not have been circumvented in the rear" (Lenin, vol. 11, page 65). Conversely, the same applies to retreat, or the pretence of retreat. Cunning in war involves the three famous German "T"s : "*Tarnen, Täuschen, Trixen*" [camouflage, deception and trick].

Lenin drew the following military comparison regarding a revolutionary epoch: "A revolutionary epoch is to social democracy what wartime is to an army. The cadres of our army must be enlarged, they must be brought from peacetime to wartime strength, the reserves must be called up, those on leave must be recalled to the flag, new auxiliary corps, detachments and rear services must be raised. It must not be forgotten that in wartime it is inevitable and necessary to fill up the contingents with less well-trained recruits, to accelerate and simplify the promotion of soldiers to officers. (...) In wartime, recruits must be trained directly in the combat operations" (Lenin, Vol. 8, pp. 207 and 208, German edition).

Lenin's Tactics

"By the tactics of a party is meant its political procedure or the character, the direction, the method of its political activity. Tactical resolutions are adopted at the Party Congress in order to determine precisely the political conduct of the Party as a whole in view of new tasks or in the face of a new political situation"(Lenin, Vol. 9, page 8, German edition).

"The elaboration of correct tactical resolutions has tremendous importance for a party which wants to lead the proletariat in the spirit of consistent Marxist principles and not merely trot along behind events" (Lenin, Vol. 9, pages 5-6, German edition).

"One cannot object to the tactics of the party being discussed in advance both in the case of the victory of the revolution and in the case of its defeat, both in the case of the successful insurrection and in the case that the insurrection cannot become a serious factor" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 22, German edition).

"The point is that it is unacceptable for a social democrat to introduce confusion into the workers' conception of the genuinely revolutionary road, that it is unacceptable (...) to call a decisive victory something for which the fundamental condition of victory is lacking" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 23).

One can certainly argue about the right tactics, but give clear slogans! This is what Lenin always demanded of the party:

"To argue about tactics is necessary. But one must strive for complete clarity. Questions of tactics are questions of the political behaviour of the party. One can and should justify this or that conduct on the basis of both theory and historical investigation and an analysis of the whole political situation, etc. But in all these disputes, the party of the fighting proletariat must not lose sight of the need for absolutely clear answers, which do not admit of two interpretations, to the concrete questions of our political behaviour: Yes or no? Shall we now, at the given moment, do such and such or not?" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 257, German edition).

Tactics is the determination of the line of action of the proletariat for the relatively short period of the tide or ebb of the movement, the rise or fall of the revolution; it is the struggle for the carrying out of this line by means of the substitution of the old forms of struggle and organisation for new ones, of the old slogans for new ones, by means of the combination of these forms, and so on.

"Tactics (...) aims at winning this or that battle, this or that skirmish, at successfully carrying out this or that campaign, this or that action, which correspond to the concrete situation in the period of the given ascent or descent of the revolution. Tactics are a part of strategy, subordinate to it and serving it. Tactics change depending on whether we have high tide or low tide.

During the tide of the revolution, during the rise of the movement, tactics must "start from this fact", is "the tactics of the party open (..). Accordingly, the forms of struggle are also revolutionary and correspond to the requirements of the tide of revolution. Local political strikes, political demonstrations, political general strike, boycott of the Duma, insurrection, revolutionary combat flotillas - these were the alternating forms of struggle in this period. Along with the forms of struggle, the forms of organisation also changed at that time. Factory committees, revolutionary peasant committees, strike committees, soviets of workers' deputies, a more or less open workers' party - these were the forms of organisation in this period" (Stalin, Foundations of Leninism, Works Volume 6, page 136, German edition).

In the period of the decline of the revolutionary movement, during the ebb of the revolution, the party is forced to retreat. "Tactics must take this fact into account. Accordingly, both the forms of struggle and the forms of organisation changed. Instead of boycotting the Duma - participation in the Duma, instead of open revolutionary actions outside the Duma - actions and work in the Duma, instead of political general strikes - partial economic strikes or simply "wind silence" (...) illegality (...) revolutionary mass organisations (...) replaced by (...) legal organisations" (Stalin, *ibid*, page 136, German edition).

"Tactics deals with the forms of struggle and organisation of the proletariat, with their change, their combination. On the basis of the given stage of the revolution, tactics can change several times, depending on the tide or ebb, rise or fall of the revolution" (Stalin, *ibid*, page 137, German edition). Lenin often quoted Karl Liebknecht's saying: "*If circumstances change in 24 hours, one must also change tactics in 24 hours*" (...) Yes, in order to be able to change tactics, one must first have tactics; but if there is no firm organisation which knows the political struggle in the most varied situations and periods thoroughly from experience, then there can be no question of that systematic plan of activity, illuminated by firm principles and to be carried out unswervingly, which alone deserves to be called tactics" (Lenin, Vol. 5, page 6, German edition).

Tactical leadership. Tactical leadership is a part of strategic leadership and is subordinate to its tasks and requirements. The task of tactical leadership is to master all forms of struggle and organisation of the proletariat and to ensure their correct utilisation in order to achieve the maximum results necessary for the preparation of strategic success in the given balance of forces.

What is the correct utilisation of the forms of struggle and organisation of the proletariat?

In the fulfilment of some necessary conditions, among which the following are to be considered as the main conditions:

First. Those forms of struggle and organisation must be brought to the fore which best correspond to the conditions of the given ebb or flow of the movement and are suitable for facilitating and ensuring the bringing of the masses to the revolutionary positions, the bringing of the masses of millions to the front of the revolution and their distribution at the front of the revolution. It is not a question of the vanguard recognising the impossibility of maintaining the old order and the inevitability of its overthrow. It is a question of the masses, the masses of millions, understanding this inevitability and showing a readiness to support the vanguard.

But the masses can only understand this on the basis of their own experience. To enable the masses of millions to realise through their own experience the inevitability of the overthrow of the old power, and to bring to the fore those methods of struggle and forms of organisation which would make it easier for the masses to realise by experience the correctness of the revolutionary slogan - that is the task" (Stalin, *ibid*).

Lenin looked at the question of revolutionary tactics from a certain angle of the feelings of the masses towards the war:

"The war must necessarily arouse in the masses the most stormy feelings, breaking through the usual mental stupor. And without adaptation to these new, stormy feelings, revolutionary tactics are impossible. What are the main currents of these stormy feelings? 1. terror and despair. Therefore - strengthening of religion (...). 2. hatred against the `enemy` - a feeling which is specially kindled by the bourgeoisie (...) and is only economically and politically advantageous to them. 3. hatred against one's own government and one's own bourgeoisie [one could add today the international hatred against the world bourgeoisie, especially against American imperialism - author's note] - the feeling of all class-conscious workers who, on the one hand, understand that war is the `continuation of the policy` of imperialism and respond to it with a `continuation` of their hatred against their class enemy, but who, on the other hand, understand that `war to war` without revolution against one's own government is a hackneyed phrase. One cannot arouse hatred against one's own government and one's own bourgeoisie without wishing them defeat - and one cannot be a non-hypocritical opponent of `castle peace` (=class peace) without arousing hatred against one's own government and against one's own bourgeoisie!!!" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 278, German edition).

Today, in the opposite conclusion, we must draw attention to the fact that we are not reductively limited to arousing hatred only for our own government, but also hatred for their common, predatory cause against the world proletariat and oppressed peoples. We must bundle and fuse this hatred as an international revolutionary hatred against the globalised world order. Today, we can no longer rely *only* on the slogan: "*Class struggle at home!*", because this slogan, which is correct in itself and detached from today's international class struggle, is no longer sufficient to fight against the close entanglement of our own government within the imperialist world system. The international hatred cannot be merely the arithmetical sum of the hatred isolated from each other and fomented within the limited national framework, for it is the common hatred of the world proletariat and the oppressed and dependent peoples, which is not limited to a single government in the imperialist system, but beyond that to all the governments of the imperialist system . But continuing with Stalin's "*Fundamentals of Leninism*":

"The vanguard would have become detached from the working class and the working class would have lost its link with the masses if the party, for its part, had not decided to participate in the Duma, if it had not decided to concentrate its forces on the work in the Duma and to develop the struggle on the basis of this work. to make it easier for the masses to realise through their own experience the futility of the Duma, the mendacity of the promises of the cadets, the impossibility of an understanding with tsarism and the inevitability of the alliance between the peasantry and the working class. Without the experience of the masses in the Duma period, the unmasking of the cadets and the hegemony of the proletariat would have been impossible.

The danger of the tactics of Otsovism was that they threatened to detach the vanguard from its reserves of millions.

The party would have become detached from the working class and the working class would have lost its influence on the broad masses of peasants and soldiers if the proletariat had given allegiance to the 'leftist' communists who called for insurrection in April 1917, when the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries had not yet exposed themselves as supporters of war and imperialism, when the masses had not yet realised through their own experience the mendacity of the Menshevik-Social Revolutionary speeches about peace, land and freedom. Without the experience of the masses during the Kerensky period, the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries would not have been isolated and the dictatorship of the proletariat would have been impossible. Therefore, the tactic of 'patient aifklärung' about the mistakes of the petty-bourgeois parties and open struggle within the soviets was the only correct tactic.

The danger of the tactics of the 'left' communists was that they threatened to transform the party from the leader of the proletarian revolution into a bunch of empty-headed conspirators with no ground under their feet.

'With the vanguard alone', says Lenin, 'you cannot win. To throw the vanguard alone into the decisive struggle, so long as the whole class, so long as the broad masses have not taken up a position where they either directly support the vanguard or at least exercise benevolent neutrality towards it..., would be not only stupidity but also a crime. But for the whole class, for the broad masses of the working people and those oppressed by capital to really come to this position, propaganda alone, agitation alone is not enough. For this, the own political experience of these masses is needed. This is the fundamental law of all great revolutions, which has now been confirmed with surprising force and vividness not only in Russia but also in Germany. Not only the low-cultured, often illiterate masses of Russia, but also the high-cultured, thoroughly literate masses of Germany have had to experience at first hand all the impotence, all the lack of character, all the helplessness, all the servility to the bourgeoisie, all the meanness of the government of the Knights of the Second International, all the inevitability of the revolution. The masses of Germany had to experience first-hand all the impotence, all the helplessness, all the servility to the bourgeoisie, all the meanness of the government of the Knights of the Second International, all the inevitability of the dictatorship of the extreme reactionaries (Kornilov in Russia, Kapp and consorts in Germany) as the only alternative to the dictatorship of the proletariat, in order to turn decisively to communism' (Lenin, quoted by Stalin, Vol. 6, p. 144, German edition).

Secondly. At any given moment, it is necessary to find that particular link in the chain of processes which must be tackled in order to hold the whole chain and prepare the conditions for achieving strategic success.

It is a question of picking out from the series of tasks facing the party precisely that current task whose solution forms the central point and whose accomplishment ensures the successful solution of the other current tasks.

These are the main conditions that ensure the correctness of tactical leadership.

Reformism and Revolutionism

"The concept of reform is undoubtedly opposed to the concept of revolution; ignoring this opposition, ignoring that boundary which separates the two concepts, constantly leads to the most serious errors in all historical considerations. This dichotomy, however, is not absolute; this frontier is not a dead frontier, but a living, moving frontier, which one must understand how to determine in each particular concrete case" (Lenin, Vol. 17, page 100, German edition.).

How does revolutionary tactics differ from reformist tactics? Some think that Leninism is against reforms at all, against compromises and understandings. This is completely false. The Bolsheviks know no less than anyone else that in a certain sense 'any gift is acceptable', that in certain circumstances reforms in general, compromises and understandings in particular are necessary and useful.

Waging 'war to overthrow the international bourgeoisie', said Lenin, 'a war a hundred times more difficult, more protracted, more complicated than the most obstinate of ordinary wars between states, renouncing in advance to manoeuvring, to the exploitation of the clashes of interests (however temporary) between enemies, to understandings and compromises with possible (however temporary, inconstant, vacillating, conditional) allies - is this not a ridiculous thing beyond measure? Is it not the same as if, in a difficult ascent of a mountain as yet unexplored and hitherto inaccessible, one were to renounce from the outset sometimes zigzagging, sometimes turning back, abandoning the direction once chosen and trying different directions?' (Lenin quoted in Stalin, page 146, volume 6).

What matters, apparently, is not the reforms or compromises and understandings themselves, but the use that is made of the reforms and understandings. For the reformists, reform is everything, but revolutionary work is a side issue, an entertainment, a deception. For this reason, in reformist tactics, under conditions of the existence of bourgeois power, reform inevitably turns into a tool for the consolidation of this power, into a tool for the decomposition of the revolution.

For the revolutionary, on the other hand, revolutionary work is the main thing and not reform; for him, reform is a by-product of revolution. Therefore, in revolutionary tactics under conditions of the existence of bourgeois power, reform naturally transforms itself into a tool for the decomposition of this power, into a tool for the consolidation of the revolution, into a base for the further development of the revolutionary movement. The revolutionary accepts the reform only in order to use it as a connecting point for linking the legal and illegal work for the purpose of revolutionary preparation of the masses for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. This is the essence of the revolutionary exploitation of reforms and compromises under the conditions of imperialism" (Stalin, *ibid.*).

"But it is a mere bourgeois deception to preach reforms for questions which history and the whole political situation stamp as to be solved only by revolution" (Lenin, Vol. 22, page 175, German edition). Thus the revisionists do not deny the necessity of the revolutionary tactic of political struggle for reforms, but reject its continuation by revolutionary violence, which is part of the essence of the revolutionary tactics of the proletariat. The proletarians have never wrested or fought for the defence of reforms with pleading and begging, never with ballots, but with more or less pressure and violence, and never without counter-pressure and counter-violence from the capitalists and their state, which is true not only for the material but also for the military reforms. However, the exploitative and oppressive apparatus of capitalism cannot be reformed any more than capitalism itself. It can be eliminated by nothing other than the tactic of revolution.

"The reformist, on the other hand, is conversely in favour of reform, in order to reject all illegal work, to thwart the preparation of the masses for revolution, and to cultivate calm in the shadow of the 'gift' of reform. This is the essence of reformist tactics. So it is with reforms and compromises under the conditions of imperialism" (Stalin, Vol. 6, pp. 146-147, German edition).

And this, of course, also applies to the specific military sphere, where we as revolutionaries also fight for reforms under the conditions of the existing bourgeois army, in order to decompose the army as a tool of bourgeois power and to prepare the soldiers for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. At the same time, we are fighting in the army against the reformist tactics that strengthen the army as a tool of bourgeois power and decompose the revolution.

"However, things change to some extent after the overthrow of imperialism, under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under certain circumstances, in a certain situation, the proletarian power may find itself compelled to pass temporarily from the path of revolutionary reconstruction of the existing order to the path of its gradual transformation, 'the reformist path'. as Lenin says in his well-known article 'On the Meaning of Gold', to the road of circumventing movements, to the road of reforms and concessions to the non-proletarian classes, in order to decompose this class, to give the revolution a breathing space, to gather forces and prepare the conditions for a new offensive. There is no denying that this road is in a sense a 'reformist' road. Only it must be remembered that we are dealing here with a fundamental peculiarity, which consists in the fact that reform in this case proceeds from proletarian power, that it strengthens proletarian power, that it gives it the necessary breathing space, that it is called to decompose not the revolution but the non-proletarian classes. Reform is thus transformed into its opposite in such circumstances" (Stalin, *ibid.*, pp. 147-148, German edition).

And this also happened in a lasting way in the transformation of the Red Army at that time, as will be explained in more detail later.

"The implementation of such a policy by the proletarian power therefore also becomes possible only because the momentum of the revolution in the preceding period was great enough and thus created sufficiently broad space for retreat to be able to substitute for the tactic of attack the tactic of temporary retreat, the tactic of circumventing movements. Thus, whereas previously, under the power of the bourgeoisie, reforms were a by-product of the revolution, now, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the source of reforms is the revolutionary gains of the proletariat, the accumulated reserve in the hands of the proletariat formed from these gains.

From this accumulated reserve, new defensive forces are also formed, new military achievements of the proletariat, and of all the new weapons, the newly emerging socialist worker, the socialist society, is the most powerful weapon.

'The relation of reforms and revolution', said Lenin, 'has been accurately and correctly determined only by Marxism, whereby Marx could see this relation only from one side, namely, in a situation which preceded the first more or less firm, more or less lasting victory of the proletariat, be it only in one country. In such a situation, the basis of a correct relationship was the following: Reforms are the by-product of the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat ... After the victory of the proletariat, even if only in one country, something new occurs in the relationship between reforms and revolution. In principle nothing has changed, but in form a change occurs which Marx personally could not have foreseen, but of which one can only become aware on the ground of the philosophy and politics of Marxism... After the victory (that is, the reforms. J. St.) (while on an international scale they remain a 'by-product') are, moreover, for the country in which the victory is won, a necessary and justified breathing space in cases where the forces, after having been strained to the utmost, are obviously insufficient for the revolutionary execution of this or that transition. Victory provides such a "reserve of forces" that it is possible to hold out even in the face of a forced retreat - to hold out in both the material and moral sense" (Lenin, quoted in Stalin, Vol. 6, pp. 148-149, German edition).

The Leninist Party in its Relationship to its Military and Combat Organisations or in its Relationship to the Red Army

- presented in the light of Lenin's military theory and tactics.

"In the pre-revolutionary period, in the period of more or less peaceful development, when the parties of the II International constituted the dominant force in the workers' movement and the parliamentary forms of struggle were considered the basic forms - under these conditions the party did not and could not have the serious and decisive importance as the party then gained under the conditions of open revolutionary battles. In defence of the II International (...) Kautsky declared that the parties of the II International were an instrument of peace and not an instrument of war" (Stalin Works Vol. 6, page 149, German edition).

In that pre-revolutionary period, even the independent basic military form of the international class struggle did not yet have any significance, such independent, uniformly organised military forms as the Red Army, for example, could not yet be created even in a revolutionary country like Russia. On the military question (in the pre-revolutionary period, when the condition of an already built fighting party had not even been fulfilled), in particular concluding from the student riots and workers' actions of 1901 in various cities, Lenin said in his paper *"To begin with what?"*:

"We are far from the idea of denying any importance to heroic individual actions, but it is our duty to warn with all our energy against becoming intoxicated with terror, against regarding it as the most important and main means of struggle, to which very, very many are so inclined today. Terror can never become a daily combat action: at best, it is suitable as one of the methods of the decisive assault. (...) The main mass of our armed forces consists of volunteers and insurgents. We have only a few small detachments of regular troops, and even these are not mobilised, not linked together, not trained to form military columns, let alone assault columns. For anyone who is able to survey the overall conditions of our struggle without forgetting them at every 'turn' in the historical course of events, it must be clear under such circumstances that our slogan at present cannot be: 'On to the storm', but must be: 'Organise the regular siege of the enemy fortress'. In other words, the immediate task of our party cannot be to call upon all the existing forces to attack even now; it must consist rather in the call *to create a revolutionary organisation* [emphasised by the author] capable of uniting all the forces, which not only calls itself the leadership but actually leads the movement, i.e. is always ready to support every protest and every outbreak and to exploit them for the multiplication and consolidation of the armed forces fit for the decisive struggle" (Lenin, Vol. 5, page 8, German edition).

Before the creation of a revolutionary army comes the creation of a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a political fighting staff, without a political strike force, there can be no military fighting staff, no military strike force, there can be no armed fighting organisations, no Red Army, there can be no armed assault, there can be no overthrow of the bourgeoisie and establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, just as without a party one cannot prepare, carry out, defend and assert the socialist revolution. But one must not make a rigid scheme out of this, because the development of one organisation conditions the development of the other under the particular conditions of the class struggle. Especially in a revolutionary situation, the process of building a party comes close to that of an army. If, for example, the party-building process takes place in a state of war, then the creation of the revolutionary army in particular naturally contributes decisively to the creation and consolidation of the party and vice versa. There is then, therefore, a particularly close relationship between the army and the party, this relationship plays almost the most important role, war, action, the act of struggle itself is the dominant driving force behind the creation of the vanguard party and its military organisation, the vanguard of the proletariat as the military nucleus is at the forefront of its development. This was particularly the case with the creation of the Party of Labour of Albania, which emerged in the heroic anti-fascist liberation struggle against the imperialist occupation forces and was able to steel and harden itself in a very short time in this war of liberation and, above all, to unite with the armed masses in struggle. In order to anchor the party in the masses, a liberation army plays an outstanding role in a revolutionary situation.

And in Russia, in October-November 1917, the Bolshevik Party was already a huge mass party, steeled for the seizure of power, and by then things looked quite excellent: Half of the Russian (bourgeois) army was already Bolshevik! "Consequently, at the beginning of November 1917, the Bolsheviks already had in the army a *political* [emphasised by Lenin - the author] 'strike force' which secured for them the decisive preponderance of forces at the decisive point and time. There could be no question at all of army resistance to the October revolution of the proletariat, to the conquest of political power by the proletariat..." (Lenin, Vol. 30, page 251, German edition). Had this decisive condition not been fulfilled, the Bolsheviks would certainly not have been able to win.

It is clear that only under the conditions of open revolutionary battles could the revolutionary forms of struggle and organisations of struggle of the proletariat be developed step by step. Thus it was not at first the Red Army with which the October Uprising began, it was not yet even the armed form of organisation of the socialist revolution, but it was first of all the sections of the Red Guard of the working class which overthrew the old government. Led by the Bolshevik Party, the Russian working class created Red Guard detachments and detachments of revolutionary sailors and soldiers during the preparation for the armed uprising in October 1917, which decided the victorious outcome of the uprising and then also played an outstanding part in the defence of the young Soviet power, as well as in the crushing of the counterrevolutionary herd - both in the centre and throughout the country.

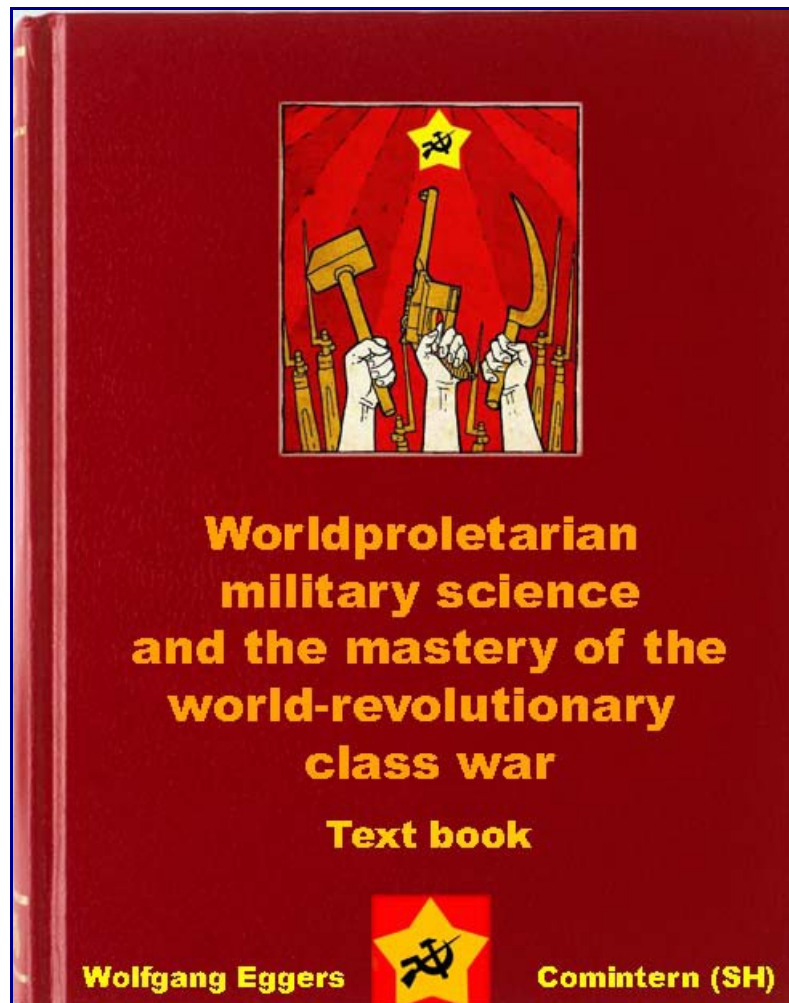
But already one day after the workers had seized power in Russia, after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the II All-Russian Congress of Soviets entrusted Lenin with the formation of the soviet government, which on the very same day created for itself yet another military leading body, the Committee for Military and Naval Affairs, and Lenin began to transform the organs of struggle into organs of state of the proletariat [. ..against which Kautsky had previously so vehemently stormed [- see "*The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*", *Lenin, Vol. 28, page 261, German edition*], [for the II. International had not grasped "that state power in the hands of one class, the proletariat, can and must become a tool for drawing the non-proletarian labouring masses to the side of the proletariat, for winning these masses away from the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeois parties" *Lenin, Vol. 30, page 252, German edition*) .

The day of the Red Army is celebrated on its founding day, 23 February 1918, a few months later. It was thus the army created by the just existing first proletarian state in the world as a defensive tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat, because already since the October days the birth of the Soviet Republic was threatened by a foreign military intervention of the imperialist states.

Even under the present conditions, where the Bolshevik parties must first be rebuilt, the Comintern (SH) in the proper sense cannot yet be an instrument of war of the world proletariat in a class war against the world bourgeoisie (at least as long as the pre-revolutionary period continues, which can change quickly, because the world bourgeoisie is cracking the wood!) Does this mean that we, like the II. International until the world proletariat "strikes out"? It can't mean that, so we have to take a Bolshevik approach and already do what we can at this stage, define the theoretical line of march, carry out agitation and propaganda, support the international workers' movement as best we can in solidarity - and finally also prepare ourselves for the role of the Comintern (SH) as an instrument of war. We will already lead a consistent and determined principled struggle against the neo-revisionists who are trying to prevent us by all means from preparing the world proletariat for the period of open clashes of the world proletariat with the world bourgeoisie, for the period of the world socialist revolution, for the conquest of the power of the world proletariat and the creation of the World Red Army. The neo-revisionists will always try to disturb when we revolutionarily reorganise the work of the Comintern (SH) at each stage, train and draw in reserves, establish the alliance with the proletarians of all countries, create firm links with the liberation movement of the colonies and the dependent countries, etc., etc.. We do not want to be unarmed at the present time, because it is our right and our duty to build on our experiences, on the experiences of the history of the Communist World Movement - only the revisionists want to see us unarmed, that is why they categorically consider everything that we have already done, can do and must do, as "premature", they fight us already now. But let them bark quietly, we will continue to make our modest contribution in the spirit of Stalin for the building of our international fighting party of the world proletariat, "which is bold enough to lead the proletarians into the struggle for power, which has enough experience to find its way in the complicated conditions of the revolutionary situation, and has enough elasticity to avoid cliffs of every kind on the way to the goal" (Stalin, Volume 6, page 150, German edition). This international party of struggle will one day also create for itself an extended military arm, because the day will come - this is certain as the amen in the church - when the world proletariat cannot do without its armed strong arm and must use it. Only ignoramuses and traitors can doubt this fact or close their eyes to it. So, the road that the Comintern (SH) is following is the Leninist road, the road of the revolutionary army. As for the developmental difficulties of the revolutionary army in Russia, this is of course even more true for an international revolutionary army. Lenin gave consideration to this in the revolutionary year of 1905 - that is, 13 years before the founding of the Red Army:

"Revolutionary army - that is also a very big word. Creating it is a difficult, complicated and long process. But when we see that this process has already begun and is going on everywhere in sections, piecemeal, when we know that without such an army a real victory of the revolution is impossible, then we must raise a decisive and direct slogan, propagate it and make it the touchstone of the current political tasks. It would be wrong to believe that the revolutionary classes always have sufficient strength to bring about an overthrow when it is fully matured on the basis of social-economic development. No, human society is not so reasonably arranged and not so 'comfortable' for the advanced elements. The overthrow may be ripe, only the forces of the revolutionary creators of this overthrow may prove insufficient to bring it about - then society rots, and this rot may last for decades. That the democratic overthrow in Russia is ripe is beyond doubt. However, we do not know whether the forces of the revolutionary classes are already sufficient to bring it about. That will be decided by the struggle, the critical moment of which, if a whole series of direct and indirect signs are not deceptive, is approaching with giant strides. The moral preponderance is undoubted, the moral force is already overwhelmingly great; without it, of course, there could be no question of any overthrow at all. This condition is indispensable, but not yet sufficient. And whether it will turn into a material force sufficient to break the very, very serious (let us not conceal this from ourselves) resistance of autocracy - that will be shown by the outcome of the struggle. The slogan of insurrection means that the question will be decided by material force - but such a force in modern European culture is only military force" (Lenin, Vol. 9, pp. 366-367, German edition); [underlining by author].

- End Part III -



Part IV

Textbook

on the Marxist-Leninist foundations of

World proletarian Military Science

and on the Art of

World revolutionary Class Warfare

August 2004

written by Wolfgang Eggers



PART IV

Stalin summarised what the specificity of the party of Leninism consists in, and we want to emphasise at the same time the specificity of its importance and role for the military organisation of the proletariat. This brings us, then, to *Chapter VIII "The Party"* in Stalin's work *"On the Foundations of Leninism"* (Stalin, Vol. 6, pp. 149 - 164, German edition):

1. the party is the *vanguard* of the working class

Lenin taught:

"The consciousness of the vanguard is revealed, among other things, precisely in the fact that it knows how to organise itself. And in organising itself it acquires a unified will, and this unified will of the progressive thousand, hundred thousand, million becomes the will of the class. The intermediary between the party and the class is the 'broad stratum' (broader than the party but narrower than the class), the stratum of those who vote for Social Democracy, the stratum of those who help, the stratum of those who sympathise, etc." (Lenin Works, Vol. 19, page 398, German edition).

In this way Lenin not only approached the conscious organisation of the political vanguard of the Russian working class concretely, but generalised the conscious organisation of the vanguard on a world scale. From this he then derived the internationalist consciousness of the international vanguard and here again specifically also the consciousness of the international organisation of the military vanguard of the world proletariat: The consciousness of the *military* vanguard of the world proletarian army reveals itself, among other things, precisely in the fact that it knows how to organise itself. And by organising itself, it obtains *a unified will* to destroy the counter-revolutionary world army, and this *unified will* of the advanced thousand, hundred thousand, million becomes the will of all sections of the proletarian world army. The intermediary between the vanguard and its world army are the military vanguards and the proletarian soldiers in the individual countries. They provide the link between the international front and the international rear. They, in turn, are supported by other labouring strata in the individual countries, by helpers and assistants of the proletarian world army all over the globe. Only the world proletariat is capable of successfully solving this gigantic task, if only it has become sufficiently aware of the fact that the objective conditions for this have long been in place.

"The party must absorb the best elements of the working class with their experience, with their revolutionary spirit, their boundless devotion to the cause of the proletariat. But to be truly the vanguard, the party must be armed with revolutionary theory, with knowledge of the laws of the movement, with knowledge of the laws of the revolution. Otherwise it will not be able to lead the struggle of the proletariat, to lead the proletariat. (...) The party must be ahead of the working class, it must see further than the working class, it must lead the proletariat and not trot along behind the spontaneous movement.(...) The party is the political leader of the working class" (Stalin Foundations of Leninism).

"When social democracy deduced from the analysis of economic reality in Russia the leading role, the hegemony of the proletariat in our revolution, this seemed to be an abstract bookish wisdom of theoreticians. The revolution confirmed our theory, for it is the only truly revolutionary theory. The proletariat has in fact been marching at the head of the revolution all along. Social Democracy proved to be the intellectual vanguard of the proletariat in Russia. The struggle of the masses is developing extraordinarily fast under the leadership of the proletariat - faster than the revolutionaries had expected. In the course of a year, it progressed to the most decisive forms of revolutionary onslaught known to history, to mass strike and armed insurrection. The organisation of the proletarian masses grew with surprising rapidity in the course of the struggle itself. After the proletariat, other strata of the population also began to organise themselves and formed fighting cadres of the revolutionary people (...) The period of the proletarian victories was the period of a hitherto unknown in Russia [Lenin speaks of 1905 - author's note], even from the European point of view gigantic growth of mass organisation in general" (Lenin, Vol. 13, pp. 107 - 108, German edition).

"It is not enough to call ourselves 'avant-garde', vanguard - one must also act in such a way that all the other squads recognise and are forced to recognise that we are marching in the vanguard" (Lenin, Vol. 5, page 440, German edition). As Lenin teaches, the fact is that the vanguard does not develop in a vacuum, but *cannot* always keep pace with the rapid development of the revolutionary movement. Thus it is quite natural that at the height of the revolutionary mass onslaught, at the height of the revolutionary upheavals, the masses can catch up with the vanguard and outstrip it. In such quite lawful developments of the revolution, one must not lump such an inevitable loss of tempo of the vanguard, which is precisely conditioned by the storm of the masses that carries them along, even "overruns" them at the moment of the climax, with the typical phenomena and results of an opportunist post-trot policy.

From the organised vanguard of the proletariat also emerges a part of the revolutionary army (see Lenin, Vol. 9, page 365, German edition), if the vanguard is armed with a revolutionary military theory, with knowledge of the laws of the armed movement, with knowledge of the military laws of the revolution, in order to be able to lead the armed struggle of the proletariat, to lead the armed proletariat.

How does the army differ from the party of the proletariat, the world army from the world party of the world proletariat?

The party is the political leader of the proletariat. For this purpose it creates its own fighting organisations, including militarily trained fighting organisations, whose main task is first of all:

"1. to spread a correct conception of the idea of armed insurrection and to explain the concrete conditions under which the armed insurrection can begin, proceed and be successfully completed, since even in the ranks of the party functionaries there is a quite blurred, wrong conception of armed insurrection; 2. to create all the necessary technical conditions for the successful carrying out of the armed insurrection. To prepare all the necessary technical conditions for the successful conduct of the armed insurrection; 3. To organise the cadres of class-conscious workers grouped around the SPAPR for active action; 4. To promote the organisation of the revolutionary-democratic strata of the population for fighting purposes and to consolidate the fighting leadership of Social-Democracy in these strata" (Lenin quoted from the Resolution of the Conference of the First Military and Combat Organisations of the SDAPR in: Volume 12, page 413, written in April 1907 i.e. immediately after the first Russian revolution at the beginning of the 20th century, German edition).

The party's fighting organisations first take on the role of developing a correct conception of the armed struggle of the revolutionary movement among the masses, and especially among those in the bourgeois army. In doing so, any harmful project-making must be avoided. Such project-making was condemned by Lenin in 1907, when, in order to fulfil the role of the party in the armed uprising, an attempt was made to divide all party organisations into three main types: military, combat and proletarian! Lenin was opposed to representatives of such an opinion on the role of the party in the armed insurrection, who wanted to attach to it presumptuous and self-satisfied meddlesomeness and command: "He [Lenin means Gen. Isarov - author's note] even stooped to 'plans' for the formation of 'military and combat soviets' from an equal number of delegates of these three types of organisation (...) Of course, we Bolsheviks always dissociate ourselves most resolutely from such a 'combat trama'. *That the general proletarian organisation must necessarily dominate and have the decisive voice, that all military and fighting organisations must be completely subordinated to it, that it is necessary to base the said fighting organisations entirely on the cadres of party-organised social-democratic workers (or perhaps even to replace the fighting organisations by a party militia) - all this is beyond doubt for us*" (Lenin Vol. 14, pp. 417-418, German edition) [italic by the author]. This does not, of course, dispense with the necessary securing of the closest connection and co-operation between the general proletarian organisation and the military and fighting organisations, but all military organisations are thereby subordinated to the political leadership of the general proletarian party organisation - on a national as well as on an international scale.

In the building of the Party's military fighting organisations, the social composition plays a primary role. The best elements of the working class must lead them, which means first of all creating those conditions to be able to carry out the planned work of the fighting organisations in a revolutionary way. At the same time, party membership must be recruited among the soldiers so that they can be led to the party's military struggle organisations. The work of the army must in principle be based on the methods of the party's operational work, i.e. in the bourgeois army party cells and a proper party organisation must be built up to national party structures. In the bourgeois army, the party must develop a Bolshevik mass line and lead the revolutionary mass movement in it. In addition, the Communist International creates for itself centralised organisations of struggle, which are fed to it from the individual national sections. Above all, the Party, as the vanguard of the working class, must carry Marxist-Leninist military theory and the revolutionary military programme into the progressive movement of the soldiers, and especially illuminate its international character and work towards the fulfilment of international purposes.

In the officer corps as a reactionary stratum to be seen as a whole, as a professional military caste of the bourgeois army, of the standing army, as a militaristic instrument of power of imperialism, one cannot build up independent party organisations for reasons of bourgeois class affiliation, but can only try to win the individual officer for party membership through the work of the revolutionary forces among the ranks. Oppositional officers, as a rule, do not play an active role for the revolution as an independent grouping, nevertheless, as individual party members, they can render essential services through their special knowledge and special military training at the moment of an army uprising and its transition to the side of the working class, as well as in the technical preparation of the armed struggle actions, the uprising and the revolution in the national as well as international framework. It is also necessary to exploit the existing opposition-minded officer groups in order to obtain militarily important information from the bourgeois armies and their international groupings, and to include individual members as instructors and practical leaders in the military and fighting organisations of the Party or the Communist International. Lenin exposed the Mensheviks in the first (bourgeois) revolution of Russia who stooped to the assertion that "a victory of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies in the struggle for power would lead merely to the military dictatorship of the army which had gone over to the side of the people!". Without the 'liberal' officers, just think, the soldiers would not even be able, together with the Soviet of Workers' Deputies, to guarantee anything but a military dictatorship!" (Lenin, Vol. 14, page 416, German edition).

Party work is fundamentally more difficult in mercenary and elite troops than in armies with general conscription, where the proletariat and the lower strata of the people are better represented and naturally more accessible to revolutionary agitation and propaganda. That is why military party work is a priority in the bourgeois armies with general conscription (which is why we also propagate general conscription in this respect, because it offers the party better conditions to train and exercise the people in arms and to transform the standing army into a people's army). The question of universal conscription serves the question of universal people's armament, and people's armament, as we know, is a central concern of the party of the working class. The technical questions and the questions of technical-military equipment and training are to be subordinated to the social question in the army.

The party acts as the vanguard of the working class in the proletarian army and as such leads the military struggle of the working class. The proletarian army must absorb the best elements of the working class with their military experience, their revolutionary spirit, their boundless devotion to the defence of the cause of the proletariat. In order to really be able to act as the vanguard of the working class in the proletarian army, the party must also be armed with the military theory of Marxism-Leninism, with the knowledge of the laws of the military movement, with the knowledge of the military laws of the armed revolution, and be able to foresee the military events in their importance for the revolution, without which the military struggle of the proletariat cannot be led to victory.

"No army can get along in war without an experienced staff if it does not want to face defeat. Is it not clear that the proletariat cannot do without such a staff if it does not want to deliver itself skin and hair to its mortal enemies? But where is this staff? This staff can only be the revolutionary party of the proletariat. The working class without a revolutionary party - that is an army without a staff. The party is the fighting staff of the proletariat. But the party cannot be only a vanguard. It must at the same time be a troop of the class, a part of the class, firmly rooted with it through its whole being. The difference between the vanguard and the rest of the mass of the working class, between party members and the party-less, cannot disappear as long as the classes have not disappeared, as long as the ranks of the proletariat are filled up by elements drawn from other classes, as long as the working class as a whole does not have the possibility of rising to the level of the vanguard. But the party would cease to be a party if this difference became a rupture, if it isolated itself and tore itself away from the non-party masses. The party cannot lead the class if it is not united with the non-party masses, if there is no close connection between the party and the non-party masses, if these masses do not recognise its leadership, if the party has no moral and political credit with the masses" (Stalin, Foundations of Leninism, Vol. 6, page 152, German edition).

The party as the fighting baton of the class thus also holds the fighting baton of the armed fighting organisations and the proletarian army. The leadership of the proletarian army by the Marxist-Leninist Party is an inviolable principle, vouches for the proletarian character of the army and the fulfilment of its class mission, and is an important source of its strength. The difference between the party and the army, between political and military struggle and their staffs, (the subordination applies to the fighting staff of any organisation of the working class under the highest fighting staff, the party), cannot disappear as long as the classes have not disappeared, as long as antagonistic class clashes are inevitable and as long as the proletarian class policy cannot be continued otherwise than with the proletarian military policy, than with the use of military weapons.

The party must fight to raise the whole working class to the level of the vanguard and to raise the other labouring classes to the level of the working class. And so the level of the proletarian army must also be raised to the level of the party, the level of the military fighting staff to the level of the political fighting staff.

If the classes dissolve, the army and its fighting staff also dissolve; if, in the same process, the party finally dissolves, the working class will no longer need its highest fighting staff when the working class as a class itself dissolves, but only in the classless society. But as long as the ranks of the party and the army are filled up with elements coming from other classes, as long as the classes exist, as long as the danger of the restoration of capitalism exists, as long as socialism is defended militarily, the party, as the fighting staff of the proletariat, must also retain the leading role of the proletarian army.

The proletarian army would cease to be a proletarian army if it cut itself off from both the party and the masses and broke away from both. The party cannot lead the army, cannot mobilise its forces, if the army is not linked either to the party or to the non-party masses, if there is no close link between the army and the party on the one hand and the non-party masses on the other, if these masses do not recognise the military leadership, if the army has no moral and political credit among the masses. Such an army, which does not have the support of both the party and the masses, would inevitably face defeat in any serious situation. A defeat of the army carries with it at the same time the danger of a defeat of the party. And conversely, if the proletariat loses the leadership of its party, it also loses the leadership of its army, there is the danger of the restoration of capitalism, there is the danger of the transformation of the proletarian party into a bourgeois party and that of a proletarian army into a bourgeois army. Under the rightist influence within the vanguard, its revolutionary fighting forces following it suffer from the rearguard politics behind the insurgent mass movement. Under the left influence in the party, they mostly suffer from the advance of the armed actions and the related isolation from the movement of the masses with the consequence of lack or even loss of their support. Therefore, the military and fighting organisations must not be passive in the military policy of the party, but must actively support the Bolshevik course of the vanguard with their fighting experience and knowledge, so that the party avoids in its military policy any trotting after or rushing ahead which is harmful to the working class.

Lenin condemned the unstated juxtaposition of vanguard party and apparatus party, or the juxtaposition of the party of military combat groups and political combat groups, as "*intellectual opportunism*": "On the one hand, (...) the activity `in the service of the spontaneous movement' is the highest political task of the party. To oppose such revolutionary work to `politics' is to degrade politics to cannon-foundry, is to extol the politics of the Duma struggle and place it above the politics of the masses in October and December [Lenin is speaking here of 1905 - author's note], is thus to pass from the proletarian-revolutionary to the intelligentsia-opportunist standpoint" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 351, German edition). The vanguard party is not a political propaganda party, but always and always a political party of struggle, the main form of its struggle always and always the political struggle, which in the revolutionary lull is begun mainly by propagandist means and in revolutionary situations is continued mainly by armed means.

2. the party as an organised *troop* of the working class.

"The party is not only the vanguard of the working class. If it really wants to lead the struggle of the class, it must at the same time be the organised troop of its class. The tasks of the party under the conditions of capitalism are extraordinarily great and manifold. The party must lead the struggle of the proletariat under extraordinarily difficult conditions of internal and external development; it must lead the proletariat on the offensive when circumstances demand an offensive, and it must withdraw the proletariat from the blows of a strong opponent when circumstances demand retreat; it must carry into the millions of masses of unorganised non-party workers the spirit of discipline and regularity in struggle, the spirit of organisation and steadfastness" (Stalin, Vol. 6, page 153, German edition).

This is true under the special conditions of the class wars under capitalism. If the party wants to lead these class wars, it can do so only if it acts not only as a vanguard, but also as an organised squad of the class, the military fighting organisations of the proletarians in the individual capitalist countries. Also, the Communist International cannot only be the vanguard of the world proletariat, but at the same time it is also the organised troop of the world proletariat which leads all the organisations of the world proletariat in a centralised way. As the organised troop of the world proletariat, the Communist International not only leads the individual international military fighting forces, but together with them also all other organisations of the world proletariat, and not only as a sum, but as a *unified system of all* world proletarian organisations, the Communist International unites all organisations into a unified whole. The military and armed organisations of the world proletariat are thus only a cogwheel in the system in which all cogwheels, i.e. all other organisations of the world proletariat, mesh together in order to make the world proletarian revolution work and gain momentum as a common ensemble. Without an organising and centralising force, without an organised squad of the class, without the planned leadership of the party, which makes the decision on the correct integration of the armed fighting sections into the whole system of organisation, the class as a whole is incapable of achieving its armed victory - neither on a national nor on an international scale.

"But the party can only fulfil these tasks if it is itself the embodiment of discipline and organisation, if it is itself the organised troop of the proletariat. Without these conditions there can be no question of a real leadership of the masses of millions of the proletariat by the party. The party is the organised troop of the working class. The idea of the party as an organised whole is embodied in the well-known Leninist formulation of the first point of our Party Statute, where the party is regarded as the sum of organisations and the members of the party as members of one of the party organisations. (...) But the party is not only the sum of party organisations. The party is at the same time the unified system of these organisations, their unification in all forms into a unified whole, with upper and lower organs of leadership, with the subordination of the minority to the majority, with practical decisions that are binding on all party members. Without these conditions the party cannot be a unified, organised whole capable of carrying out the planned and organised leadership of the working class struggle" (Stalin, Works Vol. 6, pp. 154-155, German edition). This also applies to the party organisations within the army, especially within the world proletarian army.

3. The party as the *highest form of class organisation* of the proletariat.

The party is the organised troop of the working class. But the party is not the only organisation of the working class. The proletariat has a whole range of other organisations without which it cannot wage a successful struggle against capital: Trade unions, co-operatives, factory organisations, parliamentary factions, non-party women's associations, the press, cultural and educational organisations, youth associations, revolutionary fighting organisations (at the time of open revolutionary action) [emphasised by the author], deputies' soviets as a form of state organisation (when the proletariat is in power), etc. In their vast majority they are non-party organisations, and only a certain part of them lean directly on the party or form a branch from the party. All these organisations are absolutely necessary for the working class under certain conditions, because without them it is impossible to consolidate the class positions of the proletariat in the manifold spheres of struggle [so also in the armed, international spheres - author's note], for without it it is impossible to steel the proletariat as the force called upon to substitute for the bourgeois social order the socialist one [especially that socialist one which transcends the national framework - the socialist world order - author's note].

But how can a unified leadership be realised in this plethora of organisations? Where is the guarantee that the existence of so many organisations will not lead to a confusion in leadership? One might say that each of these organisations operates within its separate sphere and that therefore they cannot interfere with each other. That is true, of course. But it is also true that all these organisations must be active in one direction, because they serve one class, the class of proletarians [and on an international scale, the class of the world proletariat - author's note].

The question now arises: who determines the line, the general direction in which all these organisations should carry out their work? Where is that central organisation which, thanks to the necessary experience, is not only capable of working out this general line, but, thanks to the authority sufficient for this purpose, is also able to induce all these organisations to carry out this line, in order to achieve unity in leadership and make stagnation impossible? Such an organisation is the Party of the Proletariat [on the national level and the Communist International superordinate on the international level - author's note]. The party has all the conditions necessary for this, firstly, because the party is the rallying point of the best elements of the working class, who are directly connected with the non-party organisations of the proletariat and very often lead them; secondly, because the party, as the rallying point of the best of the working class, is the best school for the training of leaders of the working class who are capable of leading the organisations of their class in all their forms; thirdly, because the party, as the best school of working class leaders, constitutes, thanks to its experience and authority, the only organisation capable of centralising the direction of the struggle of the proletariat and thus transforming all non-party organisations of the working class of whatever kind into auxiliary organs and transmission belts, linking them to the class [and this, of course, also applies to the leading and guiding role played by the party/world party, which also extends to the armed struggle organisations on the national/international level - author's note]. The party is the highest form of class organisation of the proletariat" (Stalin, *ibid*, page 157, German edition).

The opportunist theory of the "*neutrality*" and "*independence*" of the armed struggle organisations of the proletariat of the individual countries vis-à-vis the Communist International is therefore incompatible with the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Likewise, the so-called self-management of the organisations, their "independence", "neutrality", etc., is incompatible with the principle of the Bolshevik system of organisation - precisely also in the military field. Lenin clearly distinguishes bourgeois self-management from proletarian self-management. But even revolutionary self-management "can only be a piece of the revolution" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 301, German edition.) and precisely *not its main* system. "When we develop, extend, consolidate and expand the organisation of the revolutionary forces of the proletariat and the peasantry, we must not confuse this organisation of the war, this organisation of the insurrection with self-management. Both in its purpose and in the manner of its origin and character, the organisation of armed insurrection, the organisation of the revolutionary army is in nothing similar to the organisation of revolutionary self-management" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 302, German edition.); [underlining by the author]. There are therefore no national "self-administrations" in the international Bolshevik system of organisation, whether they are meant individually or in international association. Self-governing military organisations - independent of the party of the proletariat are anti-Marxist organisations, are organisations of capitalism in theory and practice. The military organisations of the world proletariat cannot be led in any other way than through the party of the world proletariat. That every organisation, including the military, cannot do without any administration, that this administration must be revolutionary, that revolutionary self-administration must not be opposed to the revolutionary army, all this is self-evident, but is not the object of criticism here, but only that the anti-Marxist system of self-administration in the military organisations, their independence and separation, must never replace the Marxist-Leninist system of the leading and undivided role of the party as the highest form of class organisation, must not invalidate it, otherwise this can only amount to a disarmament of the proletariat and the world revolution and to a smashing of its world revolutionary party (see also: Enver Hoxha's criticism of Yugoslav "self-management").

4. The party as an *instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat*

The party is the highest form of organisation of the proletariat. The party is the fundamental, leading force within the class of proletarians and among the organisations [precisely also the *armed* organisations - author's note] of this class. But it does not at all follow from this that the party can be regarded as an end in itself, as a self-sufficient force. The party is not only the highest form of class association of the proletarians [and the Communist International not only the highest form of class association of the proletarians of all countries - author's note] - it is at the same time the instrument in the hand of the proletariat for the conquest of the dictatorship, as long as it has not yet been conquered [or reconquered - author's note], for the consolidation and extension of the dictatorship after it has been conquered [this also applies to the instrument of the world proletariat - the Communist International - author's note]. The party could not attain such a high significance and could not surpass all other forms of organisation of the proletariat if the question of power did not stand before the proletariat, if the conditions of imperialism, the inevitability of wars, the existence of a crisis did not require the concentration of all the forces of the proletariat on one point, the unification of all threads of the revolutionary movement at one point, in order to overthrow the bourgeoisie and to fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat [ultimately also the world dictatorship of the proletariat through the Communist International - author's note]. The proletariat needs the party above all as its fighting staff, which is necessary in order to successfully seize power [and in turn its international fighting staff in order to seize world power - author's note]. It is needless to prove that it would not have been possible for the proletariat in Russia to realise its revolutionary dictatorship if it had not had a party capable of rallying the mass organisations of the proletariat around it and centralising the leadership of the whole [i.e., also of the armed movement - author's note] in the course of the struggle.

But the proletariat needs the party not only to conquer the dictatorship, it needs it even more necessarily to assert the dictatorship and to consolidate and extend it in the interests of the complete victory of socialism. But what does it mean to 'assert' and 'extend' the dictatorship? That is to say, to inspire the masses of millions of proletarians with the spirit of discipline and organisation; that is to say, to create in the proletarian masses a *protective defence* [emphasised by the author] and a bulwark against the corrosive influences of petty-bourgeois elemental violence and petty-bourgeois habits; that is, to support the organisational work of the proletarians for the re-education and re-modelling of the petty-bourgeois strata; that is, to help the proletarian masses to educate themselves as the force capable of abolishing the classes and preparing the conditions for the organisation of socialist production [precisely also of socialist war production - author's note]. But to carry all this out is impossible without a party that is strong through its unity and discipline.

`The dictatorship of the proletariat` said Lenin, `is a tough struggle, bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative, against the powers and traditions of the old society. The power of habit of millions and millions is the most terrible power [also in the (socialist) army - author's note]. Without an iron and battle-steeled party, without a party that enjoys the confidence of all that is honest in the given class, without a party that knows how to follow and influence the mood of the masses, it is impossible to wage such a struggle successfully` (Lenin quoted by Stalin in Works Volume 6, pages 159-160, German edition).

The world proletariat needs the world party to conquer and assert the world dictatorship. The world party, the Communist International, is an instrument of the dictatorship of the world proletariat.

5. The party as a unity of will incompatible with the existence of fractions [necessarily applicable also to the *world* party - author's note:].

To conquer and assert the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible without a party strong by its unity and iron discipline. But iron discipline in the party is unthinkable without unity of will, without the complete and unconditional unity of action of all party members [all communist parties taken together - author's note]. This does not mean, of course, that this excludes the possibility of a struggle of opinions in the party [i.e., not even in the world party - author's note]. On the contrary, iron discipline not only does not exclude criticism and a struggle of opinions in the party, but rather presupposes them. This does not mean a fortiori that discipline should be `blind` [and so is the proletarian army against blind obedience, where one does not have to "shut up" as in the militarist army of the bourgeoisie - author's note]. On the contrary, iron discipline does not exclude consciousness and voluntariness of subordination, but rather presupposes them, because only conscious discipline can be truly iron discipline. But after the struggle of opinions is over, the criticism exhausted and a decision taken, the unity of will and the unity of action of all Party members [and of all soldiers in the army - author's note] constitutes that indispensable condition without which neither a unified Party [army - author's note] nor iron discipline in the Party [army - author's note] is conceivable.

'In the present epoch of intensified civil war', Lenin said, 'the Communist Party will be able to fulfil its duty only if it is organised as centrally as possible, if there prevails in it an iron discipline bordering on [but not identical with - author's note] military discipline, and if its Party centre is an authoritative organ endowed with powers and enjoying the general confidence of the Party membership' (quoted in Stalin, Vol. 6, pp. 160-161, German edition).

So it is with discipline in the Party in the conditions of struggle before the conquest of the dictatorship. The same, but to an even greater extent, must be said of discipline in the party after the conquest of the dictatorship.

'Whoever weakens in the least,' said Lenin, 'the iron discipline of the party of the proletariat (especially during its dictatorship), is in fact helping the bourgeoisie against the proletariat' (quoted by Stalin in Volume 6, page 161, German edition).

It follows, however, that the existence of factions is incompatible both with the unity of the party and with its iron discipline. It is needless to prove that the existence of fractions leads to the emergence of several centres, but the existence of several centres means the absence of a common centre in the party, the fragmentation of the united will, the weakening and decomposition of discipline, the weakening and decomposition of the dictatorship [and of course of its army - author's note]. The parties of the Second International, which fight against the dictatorship of the proletariat and do not want to lead the proletarians to power, can naturally allow themselves liberalism such as factionalism, since they do not need iron discipline at all [and the revisionists do not need it either - author's note]. *But the parties of the Communist International, which set their work to the task of fighting for the dictatorship of the proletariat and consolidating it, cannot go in for either 'liberalism' or factionalism* [stressed by the author].

6. The party is strengthened by purging itself of opportunist elements.

The source of factionalism in the party is its opportunist elements [these elements, of course, are not content with their factionalism in the party itself, but spread it throughout all proletarian organisations, including the military and armed combat organisations of the party - author's note]. The proletariat is not an externally closed class. It receives a constant influx of elements from the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia, who have been proletarianised by the development of capitalism [these elements also flow into the armed struggle organisations of the proletariat - author's note]. At the same time, a process of decomposition is going on in the upper strata of the proletariat, mainly among the trade unionists and proletarians who are fed by the bourgeoisie from the colonial extra profit.

`This stratum of bourgeois workers,' said Lenin, `or of the `working aristocracy,' completely mawkish in their way of life, by their income, by their whole world outlook, is the mainstay of the Second International and in our days the social (*not military*) [emphasis added by the author]) mainstay of the bourgeoisie. For they are real agents of the bourgeoisie within the workers' movement, of the workers' commissions of the capitalist class..., real pacemakers of reformism and chauvinism` (Lenin quote used by Stalin in Vol. 6, page 162, German edition).

All these petty-bourgeois groups penetrate the party in one way or another and carry into it the spirit of vacillation and opportunism, the spirit of decomposition and insecurity. They are mainly the source of factionalism and disintegration, the source of disorganisation and blowing up the party from within. To fight against imperialism when you have such `federates` at your back is to be put in the position of people who are being shot at from two sides - from the front and from the rear [as an example, recall comparatively the situation between Stalin and Trotsky in the military struggle during the Russian Civil War - author's note]. Therefore, the ruthless struggle against such elements, their expulsion from the party, is the precondition for the successful struggle against imperialism. The theory of 'overcoming' the opportunist elements through ideological struggle within the party, the theory of 'overcoming' these elements within the framework of one and the same party is a lazy and dangerous theory, which creates the danger, to lead the party astray to a state of paralysis and chronic infirmity, to deliver it skin and hair to opportunism, to leave the proletariat without a revolutionary party, to deprive the proletariat of the most important weapon in the struggle against imperialism" (Stalin, *ibid.*, pp. 162-163, German edition). Of course, this is equally true within the Marxist-Leninist world movement, in the Communist International and its sections.

The purge of opportunist elements from the proletarian organisations, i.e. also from the armed organisations, is not infrequently seen by the bourgeoisie as an "act of self-destruction", as an act of fragmentation and weakening. Lassalle once commented on this as follows:

"That party struggles give strength and life precisely to a party, that the greatest proof of the weakness of a party is the blurring of the same and the dulling of marked differences, that a party strengthens itself by purifying itself, of this the logic of the authorities little knows and fears" (from a letter of Lassalle to Marx, 24 June 1852; quoted in Lenin, Vol. 5, page 326, German edition).

"The road to the development and consolidation of the proletarian parties leads through their purge of the opportunists and reformists, the social-imperialists and social-chauvinists, the social-patriots and social-pacifists. The party is strengthened by purging itself of the opportunist elements" (Stalin, *ibid*, page 163, German edition). And we add ... that today it is purifying itself of the *neo-revisionists*.

"On the eve of the revolution and in moments of the most bitter struggle for its victory, the slightest fluctuations within the party can wreck everything, thwart the revolution, snatch power from the hands of the proletariat, for this Mach is not yet firmly established and the onslaught against it is still all too strong. If wavering leaders step down at such a time, this does not weaken but strengthens both the party and the workers' movement and the revolution" (Lenin quoted by Stalin, Vol. 6, page 164, German edition). We would add... it strengthens in particular the *armed* struggle for power, especially at the *decisive moment of the seizure of power*.

Militant Militarism and Lenin's Anti-Militarist Tactics

- Lenin's Bolshevik tactics of party work within the army of the ruling classes-.**

"The propaganda of the class struggle remains the duty of socialists even in the army; the work aimed at transforming the war of nations into civil war is the only socialist work in the epoch of imperialist armed clash of the bourgeoisie of all nations" (Lenin, Works Vol. 21, page 27, German edition).

Lenin stressed the importance of the role of the revolutionary soldiers and sailors in the armed uprising to overthrow the tsarist monarchy. He developed the Bolshevik tactics of party work in the tsar's army from the experience of the soldier and sailor uprisings and proclaimed the Marxist-Leninist slogan:

"Long live the united, persistent, untiring revolutionary work for the unfolding of a broad revolutionary offensive of the masses of millions, of the workers' strikes and of the peasant movement! Only at the head of the onslaught of millions, only in the closest, indissoluble alliance with them can and will the revolutionary section of the Russian forces defeat the Tsarist monarchy!" (Lenin, Vol. 18, page 225, German edition).

This slogan always remains topical. It is not only a slogan valid for the overthrow of capitalism in this or that country, but beyond that for the world socialist revolution to overthrow all world capitalism:

Long live the united, persevering, untiring revolutionary work of the Communist International for the unfolding of an international broad revolutionary offensive of the masses of millions of all countries, of the workers' strikes and the peasant movement! Only at the head of the onslaught of millions in all countries, only in the closest, indissoluble alliance with them will the revolutionary section of the international counter-revolutionary imperialist forces defeat world capitalism.

In Lenin's works of August 1903, there is a draft resolution on the army , which was not introduced at the II Party Congress of the SDAPR because of the hard struggle between the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks, and which stated: "The Party Congress draws the attention of all Party organisations to the importance of Social-Democratic propaganda and agitation in the army and recommends that every effort be made to ensure that all existing links among officers and soldiers are consolidated and developed as quickly as possible. The Party Congress considers it desirable to form special groups from among the Social-Democrats serving in the army, who are to occupy a definite position in the local committees (as branches of the committee organisation) or in the central organisation (as institutions directly created by the Central Committee and directly subordinate to it)" (Lenin, Vol. 6, page 479, German edition).

From this it is clear that even then Lenin considered it necessary to create special party groups, both at the decentralised and central levels, to carry out specific tasks for the party.

Lenin considered the proletariat to be the only force capable of "dividing the wavering army" (Lenin, Vol. 8, p. 533, German edition).

"At first, isolated cases of insubordination, outbursts of indignation by the reservists, protests by the officers, agitation among the soldiers, refusal by individual companies or regiments to fire on their brothers, the workers. Then - defection of part of the army to the side of the insurrection" (Lenin, Vol. 8, page 564, German edition). Lenin considered the "refusal of obedience by masses" as "one of the conditions that prepare the uprising" (Lenin, Vol. 13, page 11, German edition). Refusal of obedience is the most decisive means of struggle, directed not against the organisational forms of the militarist apparatus but against its very existence. Active disobedience differs from passive disobedience in that the former can be linked to the revolutionary struggle, which is not possible with the latter (so far) - hence our struggle to transform passive disobedience as a mere renunciation of carrying out the orders of power into active disobedience to assault that power - systematic violation of the laws of the old power in order to create laws of the new power. Insubordination is a direct declaration of war on the existing military power, a direct attack on it. However, without a revolutionary ferment, without a comprehensive upsurge of the revolutionary movement among the soldiers, without an agitation of the soldiers that goes beyond the edge of possible military legality, there can be no question of the success of insubordination as a revolutionary means of struggle of the soldiers. The uninterrupted soldier uprisings were mass offensives of the Russian revolution of 1905, which were not contained but intensified by the repressive measures of autocracy. The uprising on the "Potjomkin" even surpassed the slogans of the revolutionaries.

With the armoured cruiser "*Potyomkin*", a large unit of the tsarist armed forces openly came over to the side of the revolution, and the government did not succeed in nipping the sailors' revolt in the bud. On the contrary: "The warships sent against the revolutionary armoured cruiser 'Potyomkin' refused to engage their comrades (...) on the armoured cruiser 'Georgi Pobedonossez', which had capitulated, mutinies have again begun (...) clashes with the military are increasing; there has come (in Libau) a barricade fight of the sailors and workers against the soldiers. (...) The Tsarist government no longer has a fleet. The most it has been able to achieve for the time being is to keep the fleet from actively crossing over to the side of the revolution. But the armoured cruiser 'Potyomkin' was and is an unconquered territory of the revolution, and we have, whatever its fate, an undoubted and highly significant fact to record: the attempt to form the *nucleus* of a revolutionary army (...) [underlining by author]. Our task now is to support these attempts with all our strength, to enlighten the broadest masses of the proletariat and peasantry of a revolutionary army in the struggle for freedom for the whole people, to help the individual sections of this army to raise the flag of the people, the flag of freedom, this flag which is capable of mobilising the masses and uniting the forces which can put an end to tsarist autocracy" (Lenin, Vol. 8, pp. 564 - 565, German edition).

The party is concerned with the recruitment of soldiers to join the revolutionary movement. There are soldiers in masses, but there is a lack of revolutionary soldiers - this is the problem that every revolutionary armed organisation always and everywhere has to solve. On the one hand, the lack of revolutionary soldiers is deplored, while at the same time, everywhere in the bourgeois army, countless soldiers offer their help and young revolutionary forces grow up from the working class who want to fight for the revolution with arms in their hands. If we look at this recruitment problem on an international scale, the potential is virtually inexhaustible. Nowhere will there be more favourable conditions for organising revolutionary soldiers than precisely in the world socialist revolution. Soldiers are there in masses, one only has to throw overboard the thoughts and teachings that have sprung from post-trabideology, one only has to leave room for initiative, 'plans' and 'undertakings'; then we will also prove to be worthy representatives of the great world revolutionary class, then the world proletariat will carry out the world socialist revolution as heroically as it has begun it (following Lenin, Vol. 8, pp. 210-211, German edition).

Lenin taught: "Out of the military itself grow the departments of a revolutionary army. The tasks of such departments are to proclaim the insurrection, to give the masses the military leadership which is as necessary for civil war as for any other war, to create bases for the open struggle of the whole people, to carry the insurrection into the neighbouring areas. to secure full political freedom - even if at first only in a small part of the empire - to begin the revolutionary transformation of the rotten order and to bring to full development the revolutionary creative activity of the lower strata of the people, which appears little in peaceful times but comes to the fore in revolutionary epochs. Only if the sections of the revolutionary army recognise these new tasks, only if they boldly put them on the agenda to the full extent, can they achieve full victory and serve as the support of a revolutionary government. But a revolutionary government is as urgently needed at the given stage of the people's uprising as the revolutionary army. The revolutionary army is necessary for the military struggle and for the military leadership of the masses of the people against the armed forces still on the side of autocracy. The revolutionary army is necessary because the great historical questions can only be solved through violence, but the organisation of violence in the modern struggle is a military organisation. And apart from the remnants of the armed forces of autocracy, there are the armed forces of the neighbouring states, from which the overthrowing Russian government is already begging for support (...). For the complete victory of the people over Tsarism, the immediate organisation of the political leadership of the insurgent people is no less necessary than the military leadership of its armed forces" (Lenin, Vol. 8, pp. 566-567, German edition).

"The army cannot be, never has been and never will be neutral. It is just now disintegrating with tremendous rapidity into the army of freedom and the army of the Black Hundred. We will accelerate this disintegration. We shall denounce all the indecisive and wavering who shrink from the thought that a people's militia must be formed immediately (the Moscow Duma, according to the latest reports in the foreign press, has rejected the project of forming a people's militia). We will increase tenfold our agitation among the masses, our organisational activity for the formation of revolutionary detachments. The army of the class-conscious proletariat will then *merge with* the red detachments of the Russian army [emphasised by the author] - and then let us see whether the black hundred detachments of the police will defeat the whole new, the whole young, the whole free Russia!" (Lenin, Vol. 9, pp. 467-468, German edition).

"While we are creating a workers' militia, this only firm bulwark of the revolution, while we are preparing for a new and still more determined struggle, holding fast to our old slogans, we must also pay special attention to the army. The tsar's forced concession must have caused the greatest fluctuations in its ranks, and we must now, by drawing the soldiers to the workers' meetings, strengthening the agitation in the barracks and increasing our links with the officers, create, in addition to the revolutionary army of workers, a tribe of conscious revolutionaries in the army, which yesterday was exclusively a tsarist army and today is on the verge of being transformed into a people's army.

The revolutionary proletariat has paralysed the troops in the great days of the general strike and thereby achieved their neutralisation. It must now achieve the complete transition of the troops to the side of the people. The revolutionary proletariat has led the revolution in the cities to its first great victory. It must now broaden and deepen its base by extending the revolution to the flat countryside. (...) The success of the revolution depends on the size of the masses of the proletariat and peasantry that will rise to its defence and completion. The revolutionary war differs from all other wars in that it draws its main reserve from the camp of yesterday's allies of its enemy, those people who adhered to tsarism yesterday or followed it blindly" (Lenin, Vol. 9, pp. 435-436).

In his article *"The Fall of Port Arthur"*, Lenin characterises the tsarist military force in the Japanese War as a "dummy":

"The officer corps proved to be uneducated, underdeveloped and untrained; it has no close contact with the soldiers and does not possess their confidence. The backwardness, the ignorance, the illiteracy, the dullness of the peasant masses revealed themselves with frightening clarity in the clash with an advanced people in a modern war, which just as necessarily as modern technology requires a highly qualified human material. Without consciously acting soldiers and sailors with their own initiative, success is impossible in modern war (...) ...splendid warships are useless if one does not know how to handle modern ships, if there is a lack of people who know how to use the latest achievements of war technology with expertise (...) The military power of absolutist Russia has turned out to be a dummy" (Lenin, Vol. 8, pp. 38 and 39, German edition).

Lenin collected a lot of revealing material to enlighten the soldiers about their role in the army, such as the confirmation of a note from the Tsar to the Turkish and Romanian governments by the English *"Times"*:

"In this note, the Russian government asks the aforementioned states to consider the mutinous sailors of the Russian fleet as criminals and warns them that otherwise international complications are possible. (...) The Romanian government ordered that neither provisions nor coals be delivered to the 'Potjomkin', but at the same time let the 700 sailors know that if they landed on the Romanian coast they would be regarded merely as foreign deserters".

And Lenin remarks on other European newspaper reports: "The passage of the 'Potyomkin' to the side of the insurrection is the first step towards the transformation of the Russian revolution into an international power factor, the Russian revolution comes face to face with the European states. (...) The Russian revolution has let Europe know that the Russian people are in open war with Tsarism. In fact, the Russian revolution is thus making an attempt to appear in the name of a new, a revolutionary government of Russia" (Lenin, Vol. 8, p. 576, German edition).

On 15 November Lenin wrote in the "*Novaya Shishn*" the article "*Army and Revolution*", which is fundamentally important for Marxist-Leninist military science, from which the most important quotations are taken here below:

"The uprising in Sevastopol is spreading steadily. The decision is approaching. The sailors and soldiers fighting for freedom are getting rid of their superiors. Complete order prevails. The government does not succeed in repeating the dastardly prank of Kronstadt, it does not succeed in provoking any progroms. The squadron has refused to set sail and threatens the city if any attempt is made to put down the insurgents. (...) In any case, the Sevastopol events signify the complete collapse of the old slave system in the army, which transformed the soldiers into armed machines and turned them into tools for the suppression of even the most modest aspirations for freedom.

Irretrievably gone are the days when the Russian army went out - as it did in 1849 [meaning the use of troops to suppress the Hungarian revolution in 1849 by Tsar Nicholas I - Note 17, Lenin, Vol. 10, page 528] - to crush the revolution outside Russia. Now the army has irrevocably fallen away from self-rule. It has not yet become revolutionary in its entirety. The political consciousness of the soldiers and sailors is still very low. But what is important is that consciousness has already awakened, that a movement of its own has begun among the soldiers, that the spirit of freedom has penetrated everywhere in the barracks. The barracks in Russia were almost universally worse than any prison; nowhere was the personality so trampled upon and oppressed as in the barracks, nowhere did ill-treatment, torment and abuse of man proliferate so luxuriantly [and today these bad times have returned to the Russian barracks for the young soldiers, the history of the cruellest ill-treatment and humiliation of the soldiers is repeated - author's note]. And this barracks is now becoming a hearth of the revolution [and it has already become a nucleus - if not yet a hearth - of the renewed revolution to *recapture socialism* ! - Note of the author].

The Petersburg soldiers want to achieve: Improvement of food, clothing and accommodation, increase in pay, shortening of the period of service and the daily period of training. But even more space is taken up among their demands by others that only soldiers who felt themselves to be citizens could put forward. The right to attend all meetings in uniform 'on an equal footing with all citizens'; the right to read and hold all newspapers in the barracks; freedom of conscience; legal equality of all nationalities; complete abolition of all honorifics outside the barracks; abolition of the officer's lads; abolition of courts martial and transfer of all court martial proceedings to the ordinary courts; the right of collective appeal; the right of self-defence at the slightest attempt by a superior to assault. These are the main demands of the Petersburg soldiers" (Lenin, Vol. 10, page 40, German edition).

"But consider the character of the military disturbances, the demands of the soldiers. Try to see in the soldiers, who must constantly be in danger of being shot for 'resistance', living men with independent interests, a section of the people expressing the most urgent needs of certain classes of our society. It will be seen that the soldiers who are closest to the politically least developed peasantry, who are ceaselessly intimidated, dumbed down and drilled by their superiors - that the soldiers, these 'dumb herd cattle', go much further in their demands than the cadet programmes!" (Lenin, Vol. 11, p. 72, German edition).

"The soldiers of the Warsaw military district (...) demand freedom of assembly and association for the soldiers - `without any permission and without the presence of officers` . They demand the `performance of military duty at the home place` of the soldier, the right to wear civilian clothes off duty, the right to elect soldiers' confidants to administer the soldiers' dues and to form courts to deal with soldiers' offences" (...) Does this not come close to the formation of a completely democratic militia embracing the whole people [emphasised by the author]?" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 73, German edition).

"The demands of the citizens in tunics are the demands of Social-Democracy, the demands of all revolutionary parties, the demands of the class-conscious workers. The incorporation of the soldiers into the ranks of the friends of freedom, their passage to the side of the people will ensure the victory of the cause of freedom and the realisation of the soldiers' demands. However, in order for these demands to be actually realised to the fullest extent and in the long run, one must still take a small step forward. All the individual demands of the soldiers tortured by the accursed penitentiary barracks must be combined into a whole. But taken together, these demands will mean the abolition of the standing army and its replacement by the general arming of the people [emphasised by the author]" (Lenin, Vol. 10, page 41, German edition).

"The soldiers are raising a demand which clearly amounts to liquidating the caste army, the army detached from the people, and replacing it with an army of full citizens. But this is precisely the abolition of the standing army and the arming of the people" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 73, German edition).

Everywhere, in all countries, the standing army serves not so much against the external enemy as against the internal enemy. Everywhere the standing army has become the tool of reaction, the servant of capital in the struggle against labour, the executioner of popular freedom. In our great revolution for freedom, therefore, let us not stop at mere individual demands. Let us root out the evil. Let us completely abolish the standing army. Let the army merge with the armed people, let the soldiers carry their military knowledge to the people, let the barracks disappear and be replaced by the free military school. No power in the world will dare to attack free Russia when on the guard of this freedom will stand the armed people who have abolished the military caste, made all soldiers citizens and all citizens capable of bearing arms soldiers.

The experience of Western Europe has shown how reactionary the standing army is. War science has proved that it is quite possible to create a people's militia that is up to the military task in both defensive and offensive warfare. May the hypocritical or sentimental bourgeoisie dream of disarmament. As long as there are oppressed and exploited people in the world, we must strive not for disarmament but for the general armament of the people. It alone will fully secure freedom. It alone will throw reaction completely overboard. Only on the condition of this transformation will freedom in fact benefit the millions of toilers and not just a bunch of exploiters" (Lenin, Vol. 10, pp. 39-42, German edition). And we add, in conclusion, our slogan of today: Abolish the multinational army and the international military alliances of the imperialists - instead, general arming of peoples!

Lenin drew the conclusion from the events of 1905 "that the autocracy is weakening and demoralising its own military forces by using them to subjugate by force of arms the population of which they are a part, by not carrying out the mature reforms in the military system demanded by all honest elements in the army, by taking no measures to relieve the desperate situation of the reservists, and by answering the demands of the soldiers and sailors only by strengthening the strict police regime in the barracks" (Lenin, Vol. 10, pp. 144-145, German edition).

In 1908 Lenin wrote his article

"Militant Militarism and the Anti-Militarist Tactics of Social-Democracy".

We had already quoted at the beginning the definition Lenin had given of "modern militarism". It is taken from this article, another training text, which is recommended to all who wish to familiarise themselves more closely with the question of anti-militarism. The most important statements are briefly quoted here:

"And the more threateningly governments rattle sabres at each other, the more ruthlessly they suppress the anti-militarist movement in their own countries. The persecutions of the anti-militarists increase more extensively as well as intensively", (...) which "makes the anti-militarist agitation (...) very difficult" (Lenin, Vol. 15, pp. 186-187, German edition). Today one might add to this: The more threatening the sabre-wielding governments under the command of the USA are in their raids to massacre the peoples, the more ruthlessly and violently they proceed against the international anti-militarist movement in all countries of the world, which is developing at the same pace and to the same extent as globalised militarism itself. If we compare today the anti-militarist struggle of that time with today, it becomes clear, in view of the international predatory wars of the imperialists under the wolf pack leader USA on the one hand and the worldwide anti-militarist struggle on the other hand, that militarism and anti-militarism face each other directly on the globalised battlefield and that this struggle will ultimately be decided there. The anti-militarist struggle must therefore be directly understood and organised today as an important weapon of the world socialist revolution, whereby we must not repeat in this anti-militarist struggle the old mistakes of the right (German opportunism) and "left" opportunism (anarchist phrase-mongering by the Hervéans) of the Second International, as they came to light at the Stuttgart Congress (to be read in Lenin, Volume 15, page 189, German edition !). Above all, one must not separate the anti-militarist struggle "outwards" from the anti-militarist struggle "inwards", not juxtapose them undialectically, but only *the two taken together* actually makes the complete Marxist-Leninist anti-militarism. be linked.

"The more zealously, however, the government and the bourgeoisie in all countries seek to divide the workers and to set them against each other, the more brutally, for the sake of this noble aim, the system of a state of siege and military censorship is applied (which now, in the war, even with much greater severity against the `inside' than against the outside enemy) - the more imperious is the duty of the class-conscious proletariat to defend its class unity, its internationalism, its socialist conviction against the rampant chauvinism of the `patriotic' bourgeois clique in all countries. If the class-conscious workers were to renounce this task, it would mean renouncing all their liberal and democratic aspirations, not to speak of socialist ones" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 15, German edition).

Particularly instructive is what Lenin said about patriotism in the attitude of international socialism - we refer here once again to the textbook chapter "Marx and Engels", where we have already commented in detail on the question of the fatherland. Here we take up this question once again in connection with militarism, and Lenin said in this regard:

"First of all, a remark about patriotism. That 'the workers have no fatherland' is indeed stated in the 'Communist Manifesto'; that the attitude of Vollmar, Noske and Co 'flies in the face' of this fundamental thesis of international socialism is also correct. But it does not follow from this that the assertion of Hervé and his followers that it is indifferent to the proletariat in what kind of fatherland it lives: whether in monarchist Germany, republican France or despotic Turkey, is correct. The fatherland, i.e. The given political, cultural and social milieu, is the strongest factor in the class struggle of the proletariat; and if Vollmar is wrong in stating a 'genuine German' relation of the proletariat to the 'fatherland', Hervé is no less wrong, who is unpardonably uncritical of such an important factor in the liberation struggle of the proletariat. The proletariat cannot be indifferent to the political, social and cultural conditions of its struggle; consequently, it cannot be indifferent to the fate of its country. However, it is interested in these destinies only in so far as they concern its class struggle, but not by virtue of a bourgeois 'patriotism' which is quite inappropriate in the mouth of social democrats." (Lenin, Vol. 15, page 190, German edition). Even what today is called "*defence of world civilisation against terrorism*" under the slogan of American imperialism, where, so to speak, there is no longer a call for patriotism, for the "*defence of the fatherland*" of a single country against another, but for the common defence of all the fatherlands of the world, for a kind of "*globalised defence of the fatherland*", for a kind of "*world patriotism*", must be seen from the class standpoint of the world proletariat, it is a world imperialist standpoint, that is, a standpoint of the world bourgeoisie. The world proletariat cannot be indifferent to the fate of the proletarians of each country. The world proletariat responds to this kind of modern defence of the fatherland, which is supposed to justify international militarism, with international anti-militarism, understands it in the interest of its international class struggle, its struggle for world socialist revolution, its struggle for the creation of socialist fatherlands as an important factor for the (military) defence of socialism of all countries, i.e. taking into account the different factor of the respective political, cultural and social milieu of each country. The imperialist and social imperialist world patriotism serves the expansion of capital outwards and counter-revolution inwards, the world patriotism of labour serves the socialist war of the world proletariat against the imperialist war outwards and its socialist world revolution inwards.

Lenin then comments on "*Militarism and War*": "Even at first glance it is clear that Hervé unpardonably mixes these two questions together and forgets the causal connection between war and capitalism. If the proletariat were to adopt Hervé's tactics, it would condemn itself to fruitless activity: it would concentrate all its combativity (there is talk of insurrection) on the struggle against a consequence (the war), but leave the cause (capitalism) in place. The anarchist way of thinking is completely revealed here. Blind faith in the miracle-working power of any action directe (...) Hervé's plan is `very simple`: on the day of the declaration of war, all the socialist soldiers desert, but the reservists go on strike and stay at home [comparable to the common passive peace slogan of the pacifists: "Imagine it's war and nobody goes!" - author's note]. But `the reservist strike is not passive resistance: soon the working class would go over to open resistance, to insurrection, whose prospects of success are all the greater because the active army is on the national frontiers` (Gustave Hervé; `Leur patrie` [your fatherland`-editor's note])" (Lenin, Vol. 15, pp. 190-191, German edition). In principle, Lenin had nothing against the proletariat responding to a particular declaration of war with a particular military strike, depending on the circumstances and the situation. What Lenin objected to was the template-like absolutisation of this "tactical recipe", i.e. the exclusive attachment to a single means of bringing about insurrection and socialist revolution. One cannot bind the world proletariat to answer every war with military strikes and insurrections. The conditions of the anti-militarist struggle are different in every country, for example, under conditions of fascism, under conditions of the state of war, etc., etc., etc. - The military strike cannot be the panacea, it would harm rather than help the proletariat if it reduced its struggle against war to a single means. The International cannot therefore bind the world proletariat by a decision to answer every war with insurrection. Lenin states:

"To decide this question in the latter sense is to deprive the proletariat of the possibility of choosing the time of the decisive struggle, and to leave this to its adversary; it is not the proletariat which chooses, according to its own interests, the time of the battle - when its general socialist consciousness has reached a high degree, its organisation is strong, the occasion is favourable, etc. - no, the bourgeois governments could provoke it to revolt even when conditions are unfavourable to the proletariat, for example, by declaring such a war as is particularly likely to arouse patriotic and chauvinist feelings in broad sections of the population, which would thus isolate the insurgent proletariat" (Lenin, Vol. 15, page 191, German edition).

Lenin looked at the anti-militarist struggle not only from the standpoint of principle but also from the historical standpoint: "Thus special anti-militarist activity is not only particularly necessary but also practically expedient and fruitful" (Lenin, Vol. 15, page 193, German edition). He gave a number of good examples from Western Europe, where not only intensive anti-militarist agitation and propaganda were carried out, but also activities of regular anti-militarist organisations were carried out, which did not stop at the barracks gate, but worked into the army, even starting from illegal groupings within the army organisations themselves, from the "soldier's unions", which thus existed long before the 1st World War. Lenin cited the French as an example: "An interesting peculiarity of the French is the organisation of the so-called 'Sou du Soldat': each worker gives a sou from his weekly wage to the secretary of the federation, and the money thus collected is sent to soldiers 'as a reminder that even in a soldier's skirt they belong to the exploited class and must under no circumstances forget this'". (Lenin, *ibid*, page 193, German edition). The example could well be adopted today in an international form, is worthy of imitation. These soldiers' unions must be activated again today in every country against militarism, and that's not all: the world proletariat *needs an anti-militarist, internationalist, central soldiers' union* today to realise its goals. The League of American Vietnam Veterans is a good example of the current anti-militarist struggle against the US army, because it is active worldwide and has thus assumed internationally organised influence, an international character. The Communist International must support all these world anti-militarist movements, must unite them, must build a world anti-militarist united front among the masses of soldiers of the whole world, must unite the soldiers' unions of all countries and lead them to the battlefield of the world socialist revolution.

Today it is no longer enough to do party work as a communist in a bourgeois army. Today, the struggle must be directed against the formation of the international sections of the counterrevolution and in this respect the struggle in the bourgeois armies of the whole world must be redefined from the Marxist-Leninist point of view.

To adopt the methods of struggle in the conditions of Lenin's times in a template-like way is totally unacceptable from today's point of view. Today, we must also counter the formation and deployment of this international "military institution" with an international formation and with a global deployment of our own, newly created "military counter-institutions", with international new means of struggle. We should have recognised and fought the emergence of this counter-revolutionary, militarist globalisation long ago - in its initial phase. The bourgeois armies are currently being assiduously reorganised for their new tasks in order to orient them for their *international* deployment. The question of where the defence of the people is to remain must be posed and answered by the proletariat, by the people, with the slogan of arming the people. It is imperative to make up for what has been neglected with all the more energetic determination. The governments must be put under pressure from below if they allow themselves to be carried away by the American imperialist adventures, and put all national armies at their disposal for the international counter-revolutionary operations. It is undeniable today that a Marxist-Leninist already has the duty to intervene against the process of formation of international counter-revolutionary military departments, not only to throw sand in its gears, but also to work actively from the outside and above all from the inside to decompose the international departments, applying the lever at the weakest point. What matters is that the resistance must already begin in those countries that have to put their departments at the disposal of American imperialism. The contradictions between the American and its subordinated international sections must be exploited on our part up to the creation of revolutionary splits of such sections, which we will finally lead against the American troops. The anti-militarist struggle among the soldiers is by no means an isolated action. The road to the unification of workers, peasants and soldiers is not done mechanically and in a template-like way. We make the unification of workers, peasants and soldiers into a lifeless dogma if we merely proclaim this unification and parrot the "last word" of the teachings of the world revolution. We world revolutionaries must know how to agitate for political action within the counter-revolutionary armies, and to exploit for this all possibilities, all conditions, and above all every major conflict of the soldiers with their governments that touches the masses (Thus, when the discontent of the Iraqi US troops is callously dismissed by the Secretary of War with the words "You can only go to war with an army you have, not one you wish you had!" - then he not only attracts the criticism of the soldiers, but also the indignation of the people. No government can cope with that, it inevitably brings it into crisis, gambles away its last trust and exposes itself. The Bushes come and go, but the relationship between the people and the soldiers remains, will sweep the Bushes away with a common hand. We must therefore avoid the mistake of letting the slogan of the fighting alliance of workers, peasants and soldiers degenerate into a revolutionary phrase. We must actively fill it with content and carry out active agitation work among the soldiers, must patiently explain this slogan to them in tenacious work on the basis of their own experiences. The same applies to the foreign troop

contingents under the US command or the UN. Here there are already quite a number of critical soldiers who are increasingly at odds with their leadership. These soldiers cannot be left to their fate, they must continue their struggle in our sense. These split-off revolutionary soldiers of these sections must one day side with the insurgents and are a future and essential part of the formation of an independent revolutionary world army in the hands of the world proletariat and it is in this direction that our struggle must be carried out in these international sections. What is the value of an anti-imperialist struggle if the anti-imperialist militants of the whole world watch calmly and inactively as the world imperialists organise and form their militarism internationally and use it against the revolutionary movements in the world? It must be permissible to at least ask what countermeasures we can take against this. To rule out military countermeasures from the outset may be true of the petty-bourgeois pacifist-infested anti-globalisation forces, but it will not be accepted by the proletarian forces in this movement. They are far more open, positive and receptive to the Marxist-Leninist idea of creating international military countermeasures, the weapons of proletarian internationalism. Those who do not take advantage of the revolutionary exploitation of the contradictions within the international counterrevolution, who fight against this necessity, are doctrinaires who help the counterrevolution, whether they like it or not.

More than that, all those who try to pin us down to peaceful means are basically the abettors of the world imperialist counterrevolutionary war leaders, who would find it difficult to fulfil their task without this help. Globalised pacifism and globalised militarism are two sides of the same coin. The struggle for the right way to fight against the imperialist globalisation forces is historically inevitable, and it is our duty as Marxist-Leninists to lead this struggle victoriously against the revisionists, against the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois anti-globalisation movement. To use this movement for us, to work in it to better achieve our goals, is a different matter altogether. This is an important task of struggle of the revolutionary world proletariat, without the solution of which a militarily led anti-imperialist struggle cannot be thought of at all - and without that nothing works, the anti-imperialist struggle remains a toothless dummy - the revolutionary peoples who today concretely defend themselves against the world imperialist occupiers with arms in their hands have recognised this much better! These peoples rightly accuse the peoples in the metropolises of abandoning them, and it is only too understandable if they also show this disappointment! We Marxist-Leninists have to ring the storm bells and wake up the world for the solidarity of arms of the revolutionary peoples! Only the world revolution of the proletariat can destroy these united counter-revolutionary armies of the robber governments of international capital! The internationally allied military powers, the adventurous and diplomatic, the armed and unarmed manoeuvres being carried out must all be exposed, whether we denounce the functions of the US military machine itself or the functions of those who are its international accomplices, friends and co-financiers. They are all in cahoots and when we hit them we always hit "the right one" - we don't spare any of them!!!

Lenin quoted the appeal of *the American Bebel*, *Comrade Eugene Debs*, printed in the American newspaper "*Appeal to Reason*" on 12 September:

"I am not a capitalist soldier; I am a proletarian revolutionary.

I do not belong to the regular army of the plutocracy, but I belong to the irregular army of the people.

I refuse to obey going to war for the interests of the capitalist class. I am against all wars except one war. For this war I stand with my whole soul, and that is the world war for social revolution. In this war I am ready to take part if the ruling classes want to make war at all necessary" (quoted in Lenin, Vol. 22, page 124, German edition).

Every American soldier, every soldier who is sent into another war of predation today for the American imperialists, for world imperialism, should remember these words of the great American socialist who took an internationalist stand in World War 1.

Civil war of the international proletariat against the war of bourgeois nations - this is the slogan that the Comintern (SH) is sending across the globe again today, which must reach all the soldiers of this world.

Lenin's Bolshevik Tactics on the Question of of war and peace

His slogan:

"Peace to the huts, war to the palaces, peace to the proletariat and toilers, war to the bourgeoisie!"

"Proletarians of all countries, if you want world peace, arm yourselves for international class war!"

If you want to get an overview of Lenin's position on socialism and war, you should start by studying Lenin's text "Socialism and War". We provide the link to this text here - just click on it:



1915

Socialism and War

Lenin adamantly demanded that a scientifically sound assessment and Marxist conception of a war should always be worked out:

"There can, of course, be no question of a concrete-historical estimate of the present war unless it is based on a complete clarification of both the economic and the political essence of imperialism. There is no other way to arrive at an understanding of the economic and diplomatic history of the last decades, but without such an understanding it would be simply ridiculous to try to work out a correct conception of the war. From the standpoint of Marxism, which in this question expresses particularly vividly the requirements of modern science in general, one can only smile at the 'scientific' significance of such methods, in which the concrete-historical assessment of the war is understood to mean the picking out of individual trivial facts, convenient or agreeable to the ruling classes of a country, from diplomatic 'documents', from political events of the day, etc." (Lenin, Vol. 22, page 101, German edition).

"There was an epoch of relatively 'peaceful' capitalism when it had completely defeated feudalism in the advanced countries of Europe and was able to develop - relatively - calmly and evenly, spreading 'peacefully' over vast areas of still unoccupied countries not yet finally swept into the capitalist maelstrom. Even in this epoch, which falls roughly in the years 1871 - 1914, 'peaceful' capitalism naturally created living conditions that were quite far from real 'peace', both in military terms and in the general class sense. For nine-tenths of the population of the advanced countries, for hundreds of millions of people in the colonies and backward countries, this was an epoch not of 'peace', but of oppression, of torment, of horror - a horror perhaps all the more terrible because it seemed to be a 'horror without end'. This epoch is now irrevocably over, it has been replaced by an epoch of a relatively much more stormy, volatile, catastrophic, conflict-rich character, in which, for the mass of the population, not so much the 'terror without end' as the 'end with terror' becomes typical" (Lenin, *ibid.*, page 102, German edition).

Lenin lived and fought in the epoch of imperialist wars, civil wars of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, national-colonial uprisings and wars, wars of the proletarian state against reactionary imperialism. Lenin lived and fought in the epoch in which all these wars intertwined, the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The First World War created a huge crisis of socialism, which could only be overcome by a tremendous build-up of strength of the communist forces against the opportunist forces. Lenin's Bolshevism was severely tested in the struggle against the II. Lenin's Bolshevism was severely tested in the struggle against the Second International, and it triumphed with the victory of the October Revolution and the founding of the Comintern.

On 28 September 1914, Lenin began his article *"The War and Russian Social Democracy"* with the following words:

"The European war, which the governments and bourgeois parties of all countries have been preparing for decades, has broken out. The growth of armaments, the extreme intensification of the struggle for markets in the epoch of the latest, imperialist stage of development of capitalism in the advanced countries, the dynastic interests of the most backward, the Eastern European monarchies, had inevitably to lead to this war and have led to it. Territorial conquests and subjugation of foreign nations, ruination of the rival nation, plunder of its riches, diversion of the attention of the labouring masses from the internal political crises in Russia, Germany, England and other countries, divisiveness and nationalist stultification of the workers and destruction of their vanguard in order to weaken the revolutionary movement of the proletariat - this is the only real content and meaning, the real significance of the present war" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 13, German edition).

In this only real meaning and content, in this true significance of this war, nothing has changed in principle in all the subsequent imperialist wars since Lenin until today. Lenin's assessment of the First World War has not lost its validity, its truth, to this day - history has fully confirmed Lenin's assessment. On the character of the 1st World War, Lenin said:

"The present war bears an imperialist character. This war has arisen out of the conditions of an epoch in which capitalism has reached its highest stage of development; in which already not only the export of commodities but also the export of capital has the most essential significance; in which the cartelisation of industry and the internationalisation of economic life have reached considerable proportions; in which colonial policy has led to the division of almost the whole globe; in which the productive forces of world capitalism have outgrown the narrow limits of the nation-state division and the objective conditions for the realisation of socialism have fully matured" (Lenin, Vol. 21, p. 148, German edition).

But what was the central slogan of European social democracy that Lenin propagated in response to this war?

"The transformation of the present imperialist war into civil war is the only correct proletarian slogan (...) this follows from the whole conditions of imperialist war between highly developed bourgeois countries" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 20, German edition).

So civil war in Europe: "The extreme misery of the masses caused by the war must inevitably generate revolutionary moods and movements, which the slogan of civil war is intended to generalise and direct" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 149).

"The next political slogan of European social democracy must be the establishment of the republican United States of Europe, whereby the social democrats, unlike the bourgeoisie, which is ready to 'promise' anything only to drag the proletariat into the general current of chauvinism, will enlighten the workers that this slogan is thoroughly mendacious and meaningless unless the German, Austrian and Russian monarchies are eliminated by revolutionary means" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 19, German edition).

However, it would never occur to Lenin to renounce the political slogan of the republican United States of Europe because of the "general current of chauvinism", and nothing can prevent us Marxist-Leninists from spreading the political slogan of the socialist united states of Europe, which is still correct today, and from fighting for its realisation through the united , European, socialist revolution. Today's monopoly capitalist unification of Europe accelerates the realisation of Lenin's political slogan, when the objective conditions have become ripe for this, we will complete the revolutionary upheaval of imperialist Europe with the Europe of united socialist states, this will be a great contribution to the victory of the world socialist revolution. The enlargement of the imperialist EU creates the objective conditions for the enlargement of the socialist EU. There will not and cannot be any other road to socialist Europe than through the imperialist unification of Europe:

"In all advanced countries, on the other hand, the war puts the slogan of socialist revolution on the agenda; this slogan becomes all the more urgent the heavier the burdens that the war imposes on the proletariat, and the more active its role must become in the re-creation of Europe, after the horrors of modern 'patriotic' barbarism and in the face of the gigantic technical achievements of big capitalism. The fact that the bourgeoisie is using the laws of wartime to completely silence the proletariat confronts the proletariat with the unavoidable task of creating illegal forms of agitation and organisation. (...) The proletarian International has not perished and will not perish. The working masses will create a new International in spite of all obstacles" (Lenin, Works Volume 21, page 20, German edition).

Lenin's characterisation of the war of plunder, its world-historical significance, are expressed very well in the following quotations, in quotations which had been published in part by Lenin before the war:

"The essence of international relations under capitalism: the open plunder of the weak" (Lenin, Vol. 17, page 175, German edition). Imperialism makes the return to free competition impossible. It "withdraws the ground from under its feet, but the division of the globe forces the transition from peaceful expansion to armed struggle for the redivision of colonies and spheres of influence" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 220, German edition). "Internationally matted capital does excellent business with armaments and wars. To deduce from the unification and interlacing of the various national capitals into a unified international whole an economic tendency towards disarmament - that is to substitute philistine pious wishes for the blunting of class antagonisms for their actual intensification" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 221, German edition). "The sharper and 'narrower' (...) is the economic competition, i.e. the economic efforts to bring about the bankruptcy of the other, the stronger is the striving of the capitalists to add to this also the military efforts by which the competitor is made bankrupt. The fewer countries are left to which one can export capital so profitably (...) - the more bitter becomes the struggle for subjugation and division (...). This is what the economic theory of the epoch of finance capital and imperialism says" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 224, German edition).

"Socialists have always condemned wars among nations as a barbarous and animal thing. But our position on war is fundamentally different from that of the bourgeois pacifists (friends of peace and preachers of peace) and the anarchists. We differ from the former in our insight into the unalterable connection of wars with the struggle of classes within a country, in our recognition of the impossibility of putting an end to war without the abolition of classes and the victory of socialism; we differ from them further in that we fully recognise the justification, the progressive character, the necessity of civil wars, viz, of the wars of the oppressed class against the oppressor, of the slaves against the slaveholders, of the serf peasants against the landowners, of the wage-workers against the bourgeoisie. From the pacifists, as from the anarchists, we Marxists differ further in advocating the necessity of the historical analysis of each war in its particularity ('historical' from the standpoint of Marxian dialectical materialism)" (Lenin, Vol. 18, *Russian*, p. 247)

"To the 'people' who suffer from war we must tell the truth, and it is that there is no protection against the horrors of war without the overthrow of the government and bourgeoisie of every belligerent country" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 175, German edition).

"The revolutionary class in a reactionary war cannot fail to desire the defeat of its own government" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 273, German edition). What does this mean today? Today the whole "civilised" world, together under the leadership of the USA, is waging one reactionary war after another. So a revolutionary, a Marxist-Leninist does not only wish defeat to his own government - as in Lenin's time - but today we Marxist-Leninists of the Comintern are waging an international struggle for the globalised defeat of imperialism. Today, in every reactionary war, the world proletariat cannot but wish for the common defeat of all reactionary governments of the world (not only to wish for defeat, but also to participate practically in such defeat, to bring it about). This was Lenin's demand at the Berne Conference of the SDAPR, which was held in Berne from 27 February to 4 March 1915 and which Lenin chaired. He also gave the paper on the main item on the agenda: "*The War and the Tasks of the Party*". The conference adopted the resolutions on the war drafted by Lenin. They can be studied in Volume 21, page 147ff and are still the current basis for the political intervention of the Comintern (SH) in the imperialist war, with special reference to the struggle against revisionism. It was no accident that the Berne Conference immediately followed the London Conference, which will be discussed.

"War is not an accident, not a `sin', (...); it is rather an inevitable stage of capitalism, as lawful a form of capitalist life as peace. The war of our day is a people's war. From this truth, however, it does not follow that one should swim with the `people's' current of chauvinism, but that the class antagonisms by which the peoples are torn apart will persist and make their appearance even in time of war, even in war and adapted to war" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 27, German edition).

"Social-Democracy has never looked at war from a sentimental point of view and does not look at it so today. Social-Democracy, which irrevocably condemns wars as a bestial means of resolving the conflicts of humanity, is aware that wars are inevitable as long as society is divided into classes, as long as the exploitation of man by man exists. But in order to eliminate this exploitation, it will not be possible without war, and war is always and everywhere started by the exploiting, ruling and oppressing classes themselves. There are wars and wars. There is war as an adventure that satisfies the interests of a dynasty, the appetite of a gang of robbers, that satisfies the goals of the heroes of capitalist profit. And there is war - and it is the only legitimate war in capitalist society - against the oppressors and enslavers of the people. Only utopians or philistines can condemn such a war in principle. Only the bourgeois traitors to freedom can reject this war, the war for the freedom of the people, in Russia today. The proletariat has begun this great war of liberation in Russia, it will know how to continue it [even today!!! - Author's note] by itself [again and again - Author's note] forming detachments of a revolutionary army, reinforcing the detachments of soldiers or sailors who have passed over to us, bringing in the peasants, and filling the new citizens of Russia, forming and steeling themselves in the fire of civil war, with the heroism and enthusiasm of fighters for the freedom and happiness of all mankind" (Lenin, Vol. 8, pp. 568-569, German edition) and reconquering socialism.

"Marxists have never forgotten that violence will inevitably be a concomitant of the collapse of capitalism in its entire scope and the emergence of socialist society. And this violence will encompass a world-historical epoch, a whole era of the most diverse wars - imperialist wars, internal civil wars, the interweaving of these and those wars, national wars, wars of liberation of nationalities trampled underfoot by the imperialists, by the various groupings of imperialist states which inevitably enter into this or that alliance in the epoch of vast state-capitalist and military trusts and syndicates. This epoch is an epoch of violent collapses, violent military decisions of mass character, an epoch of crises. It has begun, we see that quite clearly; this is only the beginning" (Lenin, Vol. 21, "Socialism and War", 1915, Russian 22, pp. 350f., German edition).

Marxism-Leninism has always emphasised that liberation by revolution would cost a hundred times less human lives than imperialist war, that liberation would be achieved at an incomparably lower price and that revolution would be incomparably more perfect. It must always be asked what causes the question of whether or not an imperialist war of robbery can be prevented by the class war of revolution. This depends on the class relations, depends on the relation of forces of the antagonistic classes, that is, both on the situation of the bourgeoisie and the influence on its allies and equally on the situation of the working class and the influence of its allies. A class-conscious proletariat with a Bolshevik Party at its head leads the masses to revolution, there are good chances for the elimination of the outbreak of imperialist predatory wars under these conditions. The chances for the elimination of the imperialist danger of world war increase to the extent that the world proletariat and its Communist International succeed in uniting the proletarians of all countries for world revolution.

In this historical analysis, which must be methodologically based on the classics of Marxism-Leninism, it is necessary to establish at all times of this epoch,

"which class stands at the centre of this (...) epoch and determines its essential content, the main direction of its development, the main peculiarities of the historical situation (...)" (Lenin, Vol. 18, page 135, *Russian*).

From this comes the determination of the line and tactics of the Communist Parties in the Communist International, as was done in the Programme of the Comintern in 1928. Without these concrete, up-to-date analyses, we would again leave the field to our opponents, they would falsify and flatten Marxism-Leninism on the question of the present war, they would pass off their opportunist attitude to the war as a communist stand, they would mask themselves with a Marxist-Leninist attitude in order to attack us with our own positions, in order to detach us from our own tactics towards the war. Just as Lenin stood up against the attitude of the II International at that time, we must stand up against the attitude of the revisionists today, and that in every war that is currently occurring. Our separation from the revisionists is absolutely necessary if we connect the question of war with the question of revolution and work towards its immediate, practical solution. With the imperialist wars, all bourgeois views on these wars are shaken, including the revisionist views, which are only an expression of the shaking of the whole imperialist world system.

Already in the period of the "Boxer" uprising and the united imperialist interventions in China (with the participation of Russia, England, France, Germany and Japan) in 1900, as well as the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05, Lenin gave a profound analysis of the predatory, imperialist character of these wars and determined a line corresponding to the general conditions of the new epoch for the behaviour of the working class of Russia and its vanguard, the Bolshevik Party. In an article devoted to the Port Arthur case, Lenin formulated - starting from the interests of the class struggle waged by the Russian workers against absolutism, starting from the interests of international proletarian socialism - the position of the Bolsheviks in the Russo-Japanese War. He stated the huge progressive significance of a military collapse of absolutism.

The military adventures, their disasters, their bankruptcy are, in Lenin's view, "symptomatic of the collapse of our whole political system!" (Lenin Vol. 8, page 37, German edition).

"The connection between the military organisation of a country and its whole economic and cultural structure has never been so close as at the present time. The military collapse had therefore to become the beginning of a profound political crisis. The war of an advanced country against a backward one has played a great revolutionary role this time too, as it has many a time in history. (...) The proletariat is hostile to every bourgeoisie and to all manifestations of the bourgeois order, but this hostility does not relieve it of the duty of distinguishing between the historically progressive and the reactionary representatives of the bourgeoisie" (Lenin, Vol. 8, page 39, German edition). Lenin was referring here to the war between Russia and Japan in his article *"The Fall of Port Arthur*. The point of the article was that one does not take the side of Japanese imperialism when, in the war between two bourgeois countries, one country plays a historically progressive role and the other a historically retrograde role, and this is not irrelevant to the development of the revolution as Lenin stated:

"The cause of Russian freedom and of the struggle of the Russian (and the international [underlined by the author]) proletariat for socialism depends to a great extent on the military defeats of autocracy" (Lenin, Vol. 8, page 40, German edition). Yesterday it depended on the military defeats of Russian social-imperialism and today on those of the resurgent Russian imperialism.

"In no country must the struggle against its own government, which is involved in the imperialist war, stop at the possibility of that country suffering a defeat as a result of revolutionary agitation. A defeat of the government army weakens the government in question, promotes the liberation of the peoples enslaved by it and facilitates civil war against the ruling classes" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 152, German edition).

It is also noteworthy that Lenin does not limit this statement to Russian conditions, but sees it on a world scale, from which we must draw an important lesson today:

The war adventures of American imperialism are closely connected with the world revolution today, i.e. , world imperialism with its wars inevitably creates that revolutionary ferment among the peoples of the world which the world proletariat uses as the basis for the victory of its world socialist revolution. The victory of socialism on a world scale today depends to a great extent on the military defeats of world imperialism, especially on the military defeats of USA imperialism. Military surrenders on a world scale herald the surrender of world capitalism. It follows that the proletariat must be at the head of that struggle which will transform the military defeats of world imperialism into an overthrow of world imperialism. And this struggle can be none other than the great people's war against world imperialism, led by the world proletariat, and this is the Leninism of today, the modern Leninism.

"The war is far from over, but every step towards the continuation of the war means an immeasurable intensification of the ferment and indignation among the Russian people and brings us closer to the beginning of a new great war, the people's war against autocracy, the proletariat's war for freedom" (Lenin, Vol. 8, page 41, German edition).

"Yes. The autocracy is weakened [Lenin means weakened by military defeat - author's note]. The most unbelieving are beginning to believe in the revolution. The general belief in the revolution is already the beginning of the revolution. The government itself takes care of its continuation through its war adventures. For the support and spread of a serious revolutionary onslaught the Russian proletariat will take care" (Lenin, Vol. 8, page 42, German edition).

"Wars are now waged by the peoples, and that is why today one great characteristic of war emerges particularly clearly: that it exposes palpably before the eyes of millions and millions of people that disproportion between the people and the government which until then had been visible only to a small conscious minority" (Lenin, Vol. 8, page 37, German edition).

The inevitability of the conflict between world imperialism and the peoples of the world comes to light at the moment when the peoples are to settle the account of international finance capital with their blood.

The mentality of the imperialists "*After us, the deluge!*" is becoming more and more evident.

Lenin criticised the parasitic military bureaucracy, the armament sharks, the role of the war production lobby in governments, the role of the stock exchange in organising the accumulation of war capital etc.

Lenin on information blocking by the imperialists during their hostilities see: Vol. 18, page 365, German edition)

"Fearing the workers' movement, the European bourgeoisie clings convulsively to militarism and reaction. The vanishingly small number of petty-bourgeois democrats have not the strength to consistently want peace, still less to secure it. Power is in the hands of the banks, the cartels and big business in general. The only guarantee of peace is the organised, conscious movement of the working class" (Lenin, Vol. 19, page 67, German edition). This is what Lenin wrote in 1913.

However, out of fear of the workers' movement, the bourgeoisie is not only driven by militarist currents, but its pacifist, philanthropic currents also develop out of this:

"Peace fantasies without the propagation of revolutionary action express the fear of war and have nothing in common with socialism" (Lenin, Works, Vol. 21, page 183, German edition).

"Three types of peace sympathies we can observe in the real politics of capitalist countries:

1. the insightful millionaires, fearing revolution, wish to hasten peace. Soberly and truthfully they call a `democratic` peace (without annexations, with limitation of armaments, etc.) under capitalism a utopia. This bourgeois utopia is preached by the opportunists, the followers of Kautsky, etc.

2. the unenlightened masses of the people (petty bourgeois, semi-proletarians, a section of the workers, etc.). Express in their demand for peace in a quite indefinite form the growing protest against the war, the growing unclear revolutionary mood.

3. The class-conscious champions of the proletariat, the revolutionary Social-Democrats, are attentively following the mood of the masses; they exploit their growing urge for peace, not to support the banal utopias of a 'democratic' peace under capitalism, not to nourish the hopes placed in philanthropists, in the authorities and the bourgeoisie, but to transform the revolutionary mood from an unclear to a clear one, to enlighten the masses, based on their experience and on their mood, on the basis of thousands of facts from pre-war politics, and thus systematically, persistently and unceasingly - to prove that revolutionary mass actions against the bourgeoisie and the governments of their own country are necessary because they are the only road to democracy and socialism" (Lenin, Vol. 21, pp. 184-185, German edition).

Under today's real condition of waging global imperialist wars and global peace sympathies, the Marxist-Leninist vanguards of the world revolution lead the proof that not only the revolutionary mass action against the bourgeoisie and the governments of one's own country are necessary, but moreover the centrally and concentratedly organised revolutionary international mass actions against the world bourgeoisie, as the only way of world democracy and world socialism.

Lenin put forward the following thesis, among others, on the struggle to *end* the war:

"2. so long as the basic pillars of the present, bourgeois social relations continue to exist, an imperialist war can only lead to an imperialist peace, i.e., to the consolidation, extension and strengthening of the oppression of the weak nations and countries by finance capital, which not only before the war, but also in the course of the war, took a gigantic upswing. The objective content of the policy pursued by the bourgeoisie and the governments of both warring groups of the great powers before and during the war leads to the increase of economic pressure, national servitude, political reaction. Consequently, whatever the outcome of the war, the conclusion of peace can only determine the worsening of the political and economic situation of the masses - if bourgeois society remains in existence. But to assume the possibility of a democratic peace as a result of the imperialist war is - in theory - to utter an empty phrase, instead of studying the policy of the powers before the war and during the war in historical context, is practically to deceive the masses by obscuring their political consciousness, concealing and glossing over the real policy of the ruling classes preparing the approaching peace, and depriving them of what is most important: *The impossibility of democratic peace without a series of revolutions*"[underlined by author], (Lenin, Vol. 22, page 175).

After the outbreak of World War I, Lenin drew on the Basel Resolution of the II International and drew up a declaration, still quite useful today, which was intended to commit the socialists in the belligerent countries (especially the triple entente - Britain, France, Belgium) to the following tasks:

- "1. Break with the national blocs and the truce in all countries;**
- 2. call upon the workers of all belligerent countries to energetic class struggle, both economic and political, against the bourgeoisie of their own country, the bourgeoisie which rakes in outrageous profits on war supplies and uses the support of the military authorities to silence and further oppress the workers;**
- 3. firmly condemn the granting of war loans of any kind;**
- 4. resign from the bourgeois cabinets of Belgium and France, and regard the entry into cabinets as well as the granting of loans as a betrayal of socialism just as the whole conduct of the German and Austrian Social-Democrats is;**
- 5. Reach out without delay to the internationalist elements of German Social-Democracy who refuse to approve war credits and form with them an international committee to agitate for an end to the war, not in the sense of pacifists, Christians and petty-bourgeois democrats, but in indissoluble connection with the propaganda and organisation of revolutionary mass action by the proletarians of each country against the governments and bourgeoisie of their own country;**
- 6. Support all attempts to bring about a rapprochement and fraternisation of the socialists of the belligerent countries in the army and in the trenches, notwithstanding the prohibitions of the military authorities of England, Germany, etc;**
- 7. To call upon the socialist women of the belligerent countries to intensify their agitation in the above-mentioned direction;**
- 8. call upon the entire international proletariat to support the struggle against tsarism and to show solidarity with those Social-Democratic deputies of Russia who not only refused to vote for credits but also exposed themselves to the danger of persecution for carrying on their socialist work in the spirit of international revolutionary social-democracy" (Lenin, Vol. 21, pp. 114-115, German edition).**

Lenin defined the "*peace programme*" from the Marxist point of view:

"Our 'peace programme' must finally consist in making it clear that the imperialist powers and the imperialist bourgeoisie cannot offer a democratic peace. It must be sought and striven for, but not in the past, in the reactionary utopia of a non-imperialist capitalism or a confederation of equal nations under capitalism, but in the future, in the socialist revolution of the proletariat. Not a single basic democratic demand can be realised even halfway comprehensively and permanently in the advanced imperialist states except through revolutionary struggles under the banner of socialism. But whoever promises the peoples a 'democratic' peace without at the same time propagating the socialist revolution, whoever rejects the struggle for this revolution, the struggle even during the war, is deceiving the proletariat" (Lenin, Works, Vol. 22, page 171, German edition).

Lenin set out "*Some Theses*" in October 1915 on what the work of the SDAPR should be after the outbreak of World War 1 in Russia:

"1. the most correct are the slogans of the "three basic pillars" (democratic republic, confiscation of the landlords' estates and eight-hour day) with the addition (cf. point 9) of the appeal to the international solidarity of the workers in the struggle for socialism, for the revolutionary defeat of the belligerent governments and against the war.

2. we are opposed to participation in the war industry committees [groups of workers set up by the Russian big bourgeoisie to incite them to increased performance in war productivity - author's note], which serve the continuation of the imperialist, reactionary war.

3. we consider as the most urgent and essential tasks the consolidation and extension of social-democratic work among the proletariat and further its extension to the rural proletariat and to the army [emphasised by the author].

4. soviets of workers' deputies and similar institutions must be regarded as organs of insurrection, organs of revolutionary state power.

5. the social content of the next revolution in Russia can only be the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. The revolution cannot be victorious in Russia without having overthrown the monarchy and the feudal landlords.

It is the task of the Russian proletariat to complete the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia for the purpose of igniting the socialist revolution in Europe.

We still consider the participation of social democrats in a provisional government together with the democratic petty bourgeoisie to be permissible, but under no circumstances participation together with revolutionary chauvinists.

8. we call revolutionary chauvinists those who want victory over tsarism for the purpose of defeating Germany, robbing other countries, consolidating the rule of the Great Russians over the rest of the peoples of Russia, etc.

9. if the revolutionary chauvinists were victorious in Russia, we would be against defending their 'fatherland' in the present war. Our slogan: Against the chauvinists, even if they are revolutionaries and republicans, against them and for the alliance of the international proletariat to carry out the socialist revolution.

10. To the question whether it is possible for the proletariat to take the lead in the Russian bourgeois revolution, we reply: Yes, it is possible, if the petty bourgeoisie sways to the left at the decisive turning points; but it is pushed to the left not only by our propaganda, but also by a series of objective factors of an economic, financial (the burdens of war), military [underlined by the author], political, etc. nature.

11. To the question of what the party of the proletariat would do if the revolution should bring it to power in the present war, we reply: We would offer peace to all belligerents on condition that the colonies and all dependent, oppressed and unequal peoples be given freedom. Neither Germany nor England nor France under their present governments would accept this condition. Then we would have to prepare and wage revolutionary war, i.e., we would not only take the most decisive measures to carry out completely our whole minimal programme, but we would also systematically rouse to revolt all the peoples now oppressed by the Great Russians, all the colonies and dependent countries of Asia (India, China, Persia, etc.), and likewise - indeed, in the first place - we would call upon the socialist proletariat of Europe to revolt against its governments, contrary to its social-chauvinists. There is no doubt that the victory of the proletariat in Russia would create exceptionally favourable conditions for the development of the revolution in Asia as in Europe. Even the year 1905 proved this. The international solidarity of the revolutionary proletariat is a fact - despite the filthy scum of opportunism and social-chauvinism" (Lenin, Vol. 21, pp. 408-411, German edition).

Here, above all, the last point 11 is of exemplary importance for general Marxist-Leninist tactics in the case of the inevitable victory of the reconquest of socialism in a country. Lenin's internationalist slogan is: freedom for "the colonies and all dependent, oppressed and unequal peoples" through revolutionary anti-imperialist war by preparing and leading the first reconquered socialist country in systematic support of uprisings in the colonies and dependent countries plus support for uprisings of the socialist proletariat inside the remaining imperialist countries. Instead of revisionist "*peaceful coexistence*", Lenin here points to the continuation of *revolutionary* war. If we think the historical events after the Second World War through to the end, we cannot come to any other path than the one Lenin outlined here in 1915. There is no doubt, in view of the deep shocks to the entire world imperialist system, that the world socialist revolution will finally become a historical fact through Lenin's revolutionary war. From this there are clear consequences for the reactivation of Marxist-Leninist military science to illuminate Lenin's path under today's conditions.

Thus, the "*peaceful coexistence*" of the revisionists must also be critically classified. This means that "peaceful" socialism under warlike conditions of imperialism is dying socialism, and that socialism rises again not only directly in the break with the bourgeoisie, with the direct civil war against it, but connected with it in the relentless struggle against revisionism, which is not exhausted in the ideological struggle, but also the actual removal of the ugly tumours from the party, from the workers' movement, the elimination of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois lackeys within the revolutionary world movement.

Lenin speaks of "direct" and "indirect" peace:

"But is it not all the same to the bourgeoisie whether the proletariat makes its peace with it *directly* or *indirectly*, through the mediation of its supporters, defenders, agents within the workers' movement, i.e., the opportunists? The latter is even more advantageous to the bourgeoisie, since it secures for it a permanent influence over the workers!" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 360, German edition).

The consistent implementation of the tactic of struggle against the 'own' bourgeoisie was the only correct tactic at that time before globalisation, the internationalist duty of all socialists in the warring countries. Lenin went even further and called for the cooperation of socialists across national borders, the cooperation of socialists between the war fronts for the common goal of world revolution.

Today, the centre of gravity of the *tactical approach* of the struggle against the `own` bourgeoisie has widened, because the raids against the peoples are now more and more organised by the union of all "great" powers under the central leadership of a superpower - i.e. tactics against the `own` bourgeoisie [in the limited national framework, so to speak] are no longer sufficient, because the national framework has long been overcome by international arch-reactionary finance capital. Imperialism has long since outgrown the framework of an imperialist great power. It just follows that we have to combine the revolutionary struggle for socialism with a revolutionary programme in the international question. Today we need a new tactic for this international programme, a tactic concentrated against the world bourgeoisie as a whole, against the common predations of the imperialist strongholds in the world as a centralised front. The tactic of socialist revolution in the national framework is not thereby pushed aside, but only more closely coordinated, linked, concentrated, centralised internationally. It is not a self-contained, single battle, but only a fraction of the whole epoch of world socialist revolution. The tactics of socialist revolution in one country is only a part of the tactics of world socialist revolution, serves the ultimate goal of world socialism, in order to itself be able to secure the tactics of asserting socialism in one country in the first place.

It is a tactic which must go beyond the national framework, a tactic which is extended to the international framework, which looks at world events globally, which does not divide the international class struggle into national parcels, which no longer puts the struggle of the proletarians of a single country in the foreground, but a unified and united world tactic of the fused world proletariat. The tactics of the world bourgeoisie to organise its raids centrally must be opposed by the world proletariat to its own centrally organised tactics. Concentration and centralisation of international private capital implies the concentration and centralisation of its gravediggers. From this we derive the necessity of a higher form of proletarian internationalism - world proletarian internationalism! The content of internationalism at the time of Lenin remains completely unchanged, only the lower form of internationalism is replaced by a *higher* form of internationalism, the old form is replaced by a new one - the tactics of the centralisation of proletarian internationalism, the tactics of the centrally organised international counter-offensive of the world proletariat, the tactics of the red world army, a higher form of the tactics of the world socialist revolution, **WORLD PROLETARIAN revolution, **WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!** Repetition of the old tactics against the `own` bourgeoisie without taking into account today's changed world situation, without taking into account the polarisation of world bourgeoisie and world proletariat, `own` party against `own` bourgeoisie instead of centralisation and concentration of all parties to the Comintern (SH), to create the closed world revolutionary front of the proletariat against the world bourgeoisie and the international domination of capitalist finance capital - this clumsy repetition of old resolutions: each against its `own` bourgeoisie = automatic victory of the world socialist revolution - in reality changes nothing, leaves everything as it is, because with it alone international private property cannot be eliminated at all. And: Those who want to leave everything with the old undermine the struggle of the new to overcome the old: We do not want to and cannot stop at socialism in one country and provoke a new defeat of socialism, as would be to the taste of opportunism, but we must advance towards world socialism, not on the old roads, but on new roads, with *new* tactics, more suited to the changed world situation. One cannot let the old and new tactics coexist, one cannot consistently develop the new tactics, if one does not renounce the outdated tactics, if one does not understand them as outlived tactics, if one does not understand the adherence to outdated tactics as opportunism, as service to the maintenance of the power of the bourgeoisie.**

Lenin was already proposing this road of revolutionary exploitation of the international conflicts in the interests of the *world proletariat* - the road of *international* class struggle against imperialist war. It was quite clear that the opportunists at the time were trying to *remodel* this proletarian internationalism for the purposes of the belligerent bourgeoisie, namely, to get the workers in the belligerent countries to voluntarily slaughter each other under the flag of "internationalism" because that is more effective than forcing them to do so. With carrot and stick, the international labour aristocracy, using its international opportunism, demanded its share of the spoils of the world war, if it succeeded in "convincing" the proletarians that "patriotism" would also be "worthwhile" for them, if it succeeded in harnessing the proletariat without resistance to the imperialist war cart of the bourgeoisie. What is needed, therefore, is to overcome the opportunism of the neo-revisionists on the question of proletarian internationalism, which in its essence consists in recognising proletarian internationalism in words but denying its content by keeping it imprisoned in the old form of 100 years ago and rejecting the *new form of WORLD PROLETARIAN internationalism*. Those who do not consistently carry through to the end the struggle of world proletarian internationalism against neo-revisionism are promoting - whether they like it or not - the adaptation of world socialism to world imperialism. However, in this textbook we do not only speak of the general new tactics of world proletarian internationalism, but in particular of the ARMED tactics of world proletarian internationalism and its struggle against the tactics of the neo-revisionists, we emphasise the armed form of this tactic over all other forms of this tactic - especially in the question with which armed tactic we Marxist-Leninists have to lead the Leninist struggle against the imperialist war to a victorious end at present, namely how we combine the correct Leninist content with new forms of struggle. If one or another new form may have weaknesses or prove unsuitable in practice, this is still a thousand times better than clinging to the old forms and fundamentally opposing the promotion of newly developing forms. One is a revolutionary attitude to proletarian internationalism on the question of armed tactics against imperialist war, the other is a reactionary, capitulant-liquidationist one. There will not and cannot be anything in between.

Although the Bolsheviks were not invited to the London Conference of Socialists of the "Triple Tenet" on 14 February 1915 (which was attended only by representatives of the social-chauvinists and pacifist groups from the socialist parties of England, France and Belgium/Mensheviks and social-revolutionaries from Russia), Lenin instructed comrade Maximovich [who was, after all, a member of the International Socialist Bureau! The comrade was deprived of the floor and left the conference. Such "war lists" were also used by the other side, which raised the flag of "internationalism" in order to get its contraband of social-chauvinism through more safely under this flag, ultimately in order to replace Marxism with nationalism and to disarm the international proletariat during wartime, to let it slaughter each other. How Lenin exposed "internationalism" as a means to the end of transforming Marxism into nationalism is shown by the following example, where bourgeois internationalism is equated with proletarian internationalism, where two quite different historical epochs are equated with each other. Bourgeois and proletarian internationalism coincided only in a certain epoch long past, namely, in the defeat of international feudalism. The form of the international conflicts has remained, but their class content is no longer the same, for today internationalism serves the defeat of world imperialism, the internationalism of the world proletariat unites with the internationalism of all other oppressed and exploited classes against world capitalism, against the world bourgeoisie. If then the bourgeoisie was the leading class in the liberation from feudalism, today the world proletariat is the leading class in the liberation from capitalism and the establishment of socialism. One cannot equate capitalist internationalism with socialist internationalism merely for the fact that they are both an "international phenomenon". On the contrary, they are mutually exclusive as an antagonistic contradiction, bourgeois internationalism survives and is replaced by socialist internationalism. Socialist internationalism in words - bourgeois internationalism in deeds, this is the essence of the attitude of the revisionists on the anti-war question of proletarian internationalism. To fight the attitude of the revisionists in words but defend it in deeds - this is in essence the attitude of the neo-revisionists - namely, to diplomatically cloak the opportunist divergence of words and deeds on the question of Marxist-Leninist tactics against imperialist war today.

"But Marx himself, who condemned the wars, e.g. those of 1854 to 1876, had taken the side of one of the belligerent powers when war had become a fact against the will of the socialists. This is the main content and the main 'trump' of Kautsky's pamphlet. Such is also the attitude of Mr. A. Potressov, who understands by 'internationality' that one ascertains whose success in the war would be most desirable or least harmful from the point of view of the interests not of the national but of the *whole* world proletariat. The war is waged by the governments and the bourgeoisie; it is for the proletariat to determine which government's victory poses the least danger to the workers of the whole world. The sophism of these remarks consists in the fact that an assumption is made, namely that an earlier, long-gone epoch of history is substituted for the present one. The basic feature of the earlier wars to which Kautsky refers was the following:

1. the earlier wars decided questions of bourgeois-democratic transformation and the elimination of absolutism or a foreign yoke; 2. at that time the objective conditions for socialist revolution had not yet matured, and no socialist could talk before the war of taking advantage of it to hasten the 'elimination of capitalist class rule', as the Stuttgart (1907) and Basel (1912) resolutions put it; 3. at that time there were no even reasonably strong mass socialist parties in the states of either warring side, tried and tested in a number of struggles.

In short, is it any wonder that Marx and the Marxists confined themselves to determining which bourgeoisie's victory would be more harmless (or more useful) to the world proletariat - at a time when there could be no question of a general proletarian movement against the governments and the bourgeoisie in all the belligerent countries?" (Lenin, Vol. 21, pp. 175-176, German edition).

Thus Lenin exposed at that time the social-chauvinists who invoked the interests of the world proletariat in order to betray them in truth. Today, the realisation of the interests of the world proletariat does not depend on overthrowing this or that government in order to hasten the elimination of the class rule of world capitalism, but on overthrowing all governments, that is, not only that of the USA, but with it the governments of all the other "great" powers and their lackeys throughout the world. The international union of the social-chauvinists - in whatever form - is not a solution for the defence of the overall interests of the world proletariat, but on the contrary, this union prevents the world socialist revolution!

To take a "Marxist-Leninist stand" in tactics against imperialist war in peacetime, but then, when war had actually broken out, to immediately switch to the side of the bourgeoisie - this was the betrayal of the social-chauvinists, who for years before had invoked the internationalism of the world proletariat, only to cowardly stab in the back the world revolution, without which imperialist war cannot be eliminated.

Lenin explained it at the time as follows:

"The international conflicts are still present in the third epoch [Lenin defines the 3rd epoch as the epoch of imperialism and its precipitating revolutionary convulsions - 1st epoch = liberation of the oppressed bourgeoisie from the ruling feudalism - 2nd epoch = full-blown capitalist war]. Epoch = fully developed capitalism, thereby transformation of the bourgeoisie into a reactionary class, arch-reactionary finance capital - rising class = no longer the bourgeoisie, but the proletariat - author's note] remained in their form [underlined by the author] just as international conflicts as in the first epoch, but their social and class content [underlined by the author] changed fundamentally. The objective historical situation has become completely different. In place of the struggle which the rising, nationally emancipating capital had waged against feudalism, the struggle of arch-reactionary, obsolete finance capital, which has outlived itself and is heading towards decline, towards decay, has come against the new forces. The bourgeois-national framework of states, which in the first epoch was a support for the development of the productive forces of humanity, which freed itself from feudalism, has now, in the third epoch, become an obstacle to the further development of the productive forces. The bourgeoisie has been transformed from an ascending, progressive class into a descending, decaying, inwardly dead, reactionary class. A quite different class has become - on a large historical scale - the rising class" (Lenin, Vol. 21, pp. 137-138), German edition.)

The tactic of exploiting the international conflicts is unchanged in form, but in content it is no longer the same tactic as before:

"In the first epoch the objective task stood objectively thus: How is the progressive bourgeoisie to `exploit' the international conflicts in its struggle against the main representatives of dying feudalism, so that the bourgeois democracy of the whole world as a whole may derive maximum benefit from them. At that time, in this first period, more than half a century ago, it was natural and inevitable that the bourgeoisie subjugated by feudalism should desire the defeat of its `own' feudal oppressor, the number of these main feudal strongholds of central importance, of pan-European weight, being by no means great. Marx had to 'assess' in which country, on the basis of the respective concrete situation, a victory of the bourgeois liberation movement was more essential for the demolition of the pan-European feudal stronghold.

Today, in the third epoch, there are no longer any feudal strongholds of pan-European significance at all. Of course, the tactic of `exploitation' is the task of modern democracy, but international exploitation must be directed - contrary to A. Petrossov and Kautsky - not against individual national finance capital, but against international finance capital!" (ibid., pp. 138-139, German edition).

The proletarians of all countries are only capable of this when they have fused into the world proletariat. Objectively, this process of fusion is already far advanced, and subjective fusion will therefore not be long in coming, if only the flame of Marxism-Leninism has burned deeply enough into the hearts of the entire world proletariat. Then the international weapons will also ignite, directed against the arch-reactionary international finance capital.

Socialist agitation and propaganda were directly and indirectly hindered by the opportunist forces everywhere in Europe during the war, the revolutionary opponents of the war were denounced by the opportunists to the military authorities, the opportunists thus directly acted as the 5th column against the revolutionaries. This opportunism developed into militarist opportunism, into alliance with the general staff of the warring bourgeoisie, when the epoch of bourgeois national revolutions passed into the epoch of socialist revolutions:

"Tens of thousands of leaders, party officials and privileged workers, corrupted by legalism, disorganised the army of millions of the social-democratic proletariat . The lesson that emerged from this is clear: a decisive break with chauvinism and opportunism. (...) The workers' road to world revolution leads through a series of defeats and mistakes, of failures and weaknesses, but it leads to it [underlined by the author]. One must be blind not to see that the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influence on the proletariat is the first and deepest, the fundamental cause of the disgrace and collapse of the International in 1914" (Lenin, Vol. 21, pp. 118-119, German edition).

"Not only in war, but absolutely at every aggravation of the political situation, not to speak of any revolutionary mass actions, the government of even the freest bourgeois country will always threaten with dissolution of the legal organisations, with confiscation of the coffers, with arrest of the leaders and other 'practical consequences' of this kind" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 251, German edition).

The imperialist weapons are silenced by the world proletariat tearing up the international truce of the class struggle imposed on it jointly by social-chauvinists and military governments and exchanging international class collaboration in the imperialist war with international class war.

Pure legalism had outlived itself since 1914, the collapse of the II International. Through legalism, opportunism skins itself, legalism breeds the opportunist weapons for war preparation, which are silenced with revolutionary weapons of illegal organisations. Only on an illegal basis do world revolutionary weapons speak, of course without giving up a single legal position. Legal positions can never be fought for or asserted under the rule of world imperialism without illegal world revolutionary weapons. Anything else is and remains a dangerous illusion, tantamount to an international disarmament of legal world revolutionary positions. And world legalism is precisely the disarmament of legal revolutionary positions on every corner of the earth. The weapon of legalism can only be fought with illegal weapons. The legality of revolutionary weapons is conquered position by position by the illegal revolutionary world. Only world socialism finally legalises revolutionary arms.

If there had been *illegal* and *revolutionary* parliamentarism in the French and German social democracies in 1914, if there had been revolutionary, courageous, social-democratic parliamentarians on both sides, if a possible arrest had been an exhortation to unite the proletarians of the warring countries, if, for example, the 1-million-member SPD had called for a revolutionary uprising with a united will, if there had been mass revolutionary actions against the war on both sides in time, if the international trenches of the civil war had been used, from which the German and French revolutionary soldiers would have jointly fired on both the French and German governments. And in essence, the international trenches are those of the world proletarian army against the armies of all the capitalist governments throughout the world.

International socialism would have prevented the outbreak of the First World War if the workers had freed themselves from opportunism in time and given their opportunist leaders the boot. But it was not a question of persons, but of opportunism as a historical current of certain classes and strata, a phenomenon within the workers' movement in the epoch of imperialism, which had to prevent it lawfully - and at all costs - from breaking away from the structure of the bourgeois nations in order to create its own international revolutionary centre, which must bring about the more certain death of imperialism just as lawfully - even without the will of persons. German Social Democracy was once the leader of this revolutionary world centre. But the revolutionary forces of the proletariat, which could have prevented the collapse, proved too weak. Therefore, one cannot make it so easy for oneself and pin it on the betrayal of leaders who, when the going got tough, got the shakes. If the proletarian masses had stood up, it would certainly have cost them their heads and necks, the whole huge legal apparatus of the Second International would certainly have gone to the devil, but legal positions could still have been defended. Above all, the revolutionary spirit would have been saved, with which the masses of members could have quickly built up their illegal organisations, above all military proletarian illegal international sections, which could have been opposed to the sections of the imperialist warmongers. Only it was not so easy to see through before the war. Only "the crisis brought about by the war tore off all the covers, swept away everything conventional, broke open the long-matured ulcer and showed opportunism in its true role as an ally of the bourgeoisie" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 253, German edition). It was no different later with the revisionists.

The war was decided by the imperialist governments over the heads of the masses: "But the masses were not consulted, not only were they not allowed to vote, they were separated from each other and driven into the war 'on command' not at all of a handful of parliamentarians, but on command of the military authorities. The military organisation was there, in it there was no betrayal by the leaders, it summoned the 'masses' one by one and gave the ultimatum: move in (this is what your leaders advise you to do) or be shot. The masses had no possibility of organised action, for they had been betrayed by their previously created organisation, the organisation embodied in a 'handful' of Legiens, Kautskys and Scheidemanns, but the creation of a new organisation requires time, requires the determination to throw the old, rotten, outlived organisation overboard. (...) The masses, in the betrayal of their leaders at the critical moment, had no opportunity to do anything; the 'handful' of these leaders, however, had fully the possibility and the duty to vote against the credits, to speak out against the 'castle peace' and against the justification of the war, to declare for the defeat of their own government, to set up an international apparatus [underlined by the author] for the propaganda of fraternisation in the trenches, to publish illegal literature [an illegal Social-Democratic press taking a stand on the war, and a legal workers' press without this stand, a press that does not tell the untruth but does not speak the truth either - why should this be impossible? It would be impossible to publish a press which propagates the necessity of the transition to revolutionary action, etc. Kautsky knows excellently that the 'leftists' in Germany mean just such actions, or, more precisely, similar actions, but that they cannot speak directly and openly about them under military censorship. Out of a desire to defend the opportunists at all costs, Kautsky stoops to the unprecedented meanness of attributing manifest nonsense to the Leftists, entrenched behind the back of military censorship, in the certainty that the censors will protect it from exposure" (Lenin, Vol. 21, pp. 235-236, German edition). "Südekum's voice (as well as Vandervelde's, Sembat's and Plekhanov's) is spread by the bourgeois press in millions of newspaper copies, while the voice of his opponents are NOT heard in the legal press, for there is military censorship in the world!" (Lenin, *ibid*, page 243, German edition). [Incidentally, this is also the case today with the military censorship of the US imperialist war government on an even larger scale]. Opportunism, which is transformed into social-chauvinism in imperialist war, is - practically-politically speaking - that ideology which always hands over to the world bourgeoisie all the war plans of the international class enemy and will always hand them over to it, because social-chauvinism is, after all, the imperialist ideology of the governments of all the "great" powers, just as the opportunists are also a political department of the world bourgeoisie, pacemakers of its influence, its agents within the international workers' movement.

(to be continued)

Lenin and the first war of intervention against the young Soviet country

In the summer of 1919, the troops of 14 states occupied Soviet territory without any declaration of war. It was enough for them to declare: *"We are against Bolshevism!"* (statement of the British headquarters in Northern Russia at that time); *"America's policy was directed towards a single goal: (...) to prevent the overrun of Europe by Bolshevik troops by all means"* (statement by Hoover of 17. 8. 1921). Shoulder to shoulder with these highly armed interventionists swimming in money fought the counter-revolutionary White Army, Tsarist generals - equipped with foreign weapons and rations under the supreme command of the Allies. These were the most unfavourable conditions imaginable for defending the first Soviet state that was just emerging. The Russian population was exhausted by the First World War and was starving. The whole country was paralysed. Attackers from all sides, armed counter-revolutionary uprisings everywhere, conspiratorial gangs of Cossacks in the rear, etc. Under these conditions, the Red Army put up a heroic defensive fight. In the bourgeois Times, the West rejoiced at the situation on the Southern Front: *"The edifice of Bolshevism is cracking at the seams!"*. But the Red Army mounted a sudden counter-offensive. Stalin, who was a member of the Revolutionary War Committee, had drawn up the plan of attack. The northern front of the attackers collapsed. Wrangel's army was routed and Denekin turned tail, abandoning his disintegrating troops. On the north-west front, Yudenich left his army behind and fled. On the Eastern Front, too, a disastrous setback for Kolchak, who was sentenced to death and shot by a firing squad. Then, when the Poles attacked western Soviet Russia, the adventurism of Tuchachevsky and Trotsky led to the cession of the western parts of Belarus and Ukraine to Poland. Wrangel's troops on the Crimea were thrown back into the sea by the Red Army. The last general offensive of the Japanese, who fought with the White Guards and Cossack regiments in far-eastern Russia against the Soviet government, also ended with their retreat into Mongolia and China. When the Red Flag flew in Vladivostok in 1922, the Red Army had finally liberated Soviet Russia. / million Russians fell in the first war of intervention. The international aggressors paid no reparations, but they lost their fat loot, whether the timber in the north, the coal in the Donets Basin, the gold in Siberia or the oil in the Caucasus. Socialism also put an end to Russian profiteering: Conclusion of the imperialists: *"Bolshevism is worse than war!"*

The military intervention in Russia failed not only because of the disunity of the imperialists, not only because of the unprecedented community spirit and self-sacrifice of the Soviet people who heroically defended their newly acquired freedoms of the October Revolution by the Tsarist regime they had overthrown, but also because of the effective internationalist support of the proletarians of many countries, because of the sympathy of the peoples towards the young Soviet state. Under the slogan: *"Hands off Soviet Russia!"* the Red Flag of the world revolution spread all over the globe.

Lenin: "With enthusiasm I welcome the glorious victory of the Red Army. May it be a sign to us that it will crush all resistance of the exploiters and secure the victory of world socialism".

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**Lenin: Letter to the CC of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party
(Bolsheviks) - (22. 2. 1918)**

Please include my vote *in favour of* getting potatoes and arms from the bandits of Anglo-French imperialism.

(Lenin Letters, Vol. 5, page 44, German edition).

The Party Central Committee, at its meeting on February 22, 1918, discussed the question of procuring from Britain and France arms and food necessary for the defence of the Soviet Republic against the advancing German troops. This was opposed by the “Left Communists”, who regarded any agreement with the imperialists as impermissible in principle.

Lenin could not attend the meeting and therefore sent his opinion to the Central Committee.

The Party Central Committee adopted a resolution recognising the need to use every means to arm and equip the Red Army, including that of obtaining armaments and equipment from governments of capitalist countries, while at the same time pursuing a fully independent foreign policy. On the same day a sitting of the Council of People’s Commissars also passed a decision in favour of obtaining arms and food supplies from Britain and France .

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On the occasion of David's book "*Social Democracy in the World War*", published in 1914, Lenin wrote at that time:

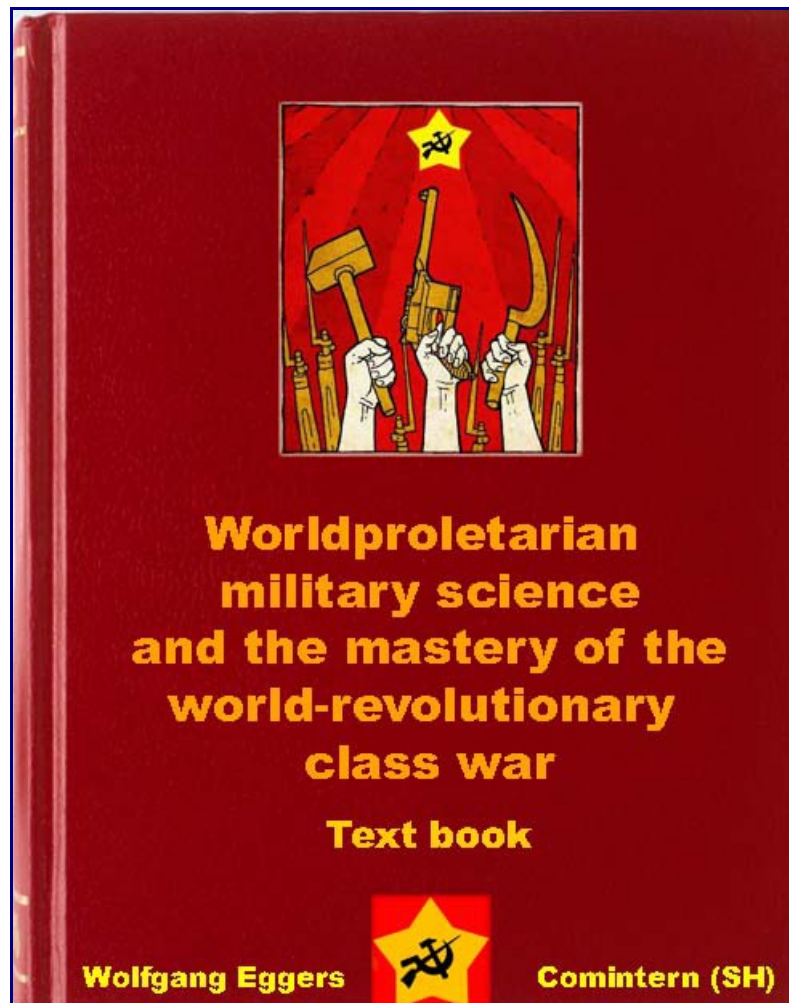
"David's book has no scientific significance because the author either does not have the ability or does not have the desire to pose the question: how the main classes of modern society have, in the course of the decades, prepared, formed, created their present position towards the war, through a policy determined in one way or another, rooted in this or that *class* interest. David knows nothing of the fact - the very thought of it is completely alien to him - that without such an investigation there can be no question of a Marxist position on war, and that only such an investigation can serve as a basis for the study of the ideology of the various classes in their attitude to war" (Lenin, Complete Works, Vol. XVIII, p. 210, Russian edition).

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Lenin, in his speech to the soldiers on 10 April 1917, spoke of the "international liberation army of the working class": "The workers of the whole world look with enthusiasm and hope to the revolutionary workers and soldiers of Russia as the vanguard of the international liberation army" (Lenin, Vol. 24, p. 93, German edition).

(Lenin chapter not yet finished)

- End Part IV -



Part V

Textbook

on the Marxist-Leninist foundations of

World proletarian Military Science

and on the Art of

World revolutionary Class Warfare

August 2004

written by Wolfgang Eggers



PART V

Stalin

**Commander-in-chief of the largest and best army in world
history**

Classic of Marxist-Leninist war science

and the

socialist people's war art

(this Stalin chapter is not yet finished)

No one else like Stalin mastered both the art of leading the peaceful construction of socialism and the art of leading the proletarian civil war, the socialist people's war and the peoples' wars of liberation against imperialism and fascism.

Stalin's science and art of war is invincible because it is correct. No one else like Stalin has proved to the world of workers, the oppressed and exploited, as well as to the bourgeoisie, the exploiters and oppressors, and has historically demonstrated to the whole world that a single socialist country has not only once been able to cope with the military alliance of the whole capitalist world. Even the cruellest, most barbaric fascism could not shake the invincibility of socialism. This is still of great world historical significance today, let us draw hope and confidence from it, let us use Stalin's military lessons as a guide to reconquer socialism and build it on an international scale as well. Stalin emerged victorious from both imperialist world wars. Even in the bourgeois camp, which hates no one more than the person of Stalin, there are representatives - including not only military experts - who recognise and appreciate Stalin's outstanding military leadership qualities. Stalin is dead, but the world imperialists have never stopped fearing and hating him, which is why they fight us, who are also learning from Stalin militarily, to the knife. To learn the craft of war from Stalin means to win the military victory of the world revolution. It is therefore the task of Marxist-Leninists to always defend Stalin's science of war against bourgeois (including revisionist and neo-revisionist) falsification of history, as well as against anti-Stalinist smear propaganda, and to concentrate on learning his art of war, in which the mastery of ideological warfare plays a central role. The effect of any weapon depends on which hand forged it and whose hand wields it (see Stalin Volume 14, page 20, German edition).

Stalin's war science and the Soviet art of war was vastly superior to the reactionary, unscientific war ideology of imperialism, especially German fascism, as brilliantly irrefutably demonstrated by victory in the Second Great Patriotic War.

"Gone is the talk of the invincibility of German troops" (Stalin). "Today the Germans no longer have the military advantage they had as a result of the word-breaking and surprise invasion in the first months of the war. The moment of surprise and the unexpected as a reserve of the fascist German troops has been completely spent. This has eliminated that inequality in the conditions of struggle which had been created by the surprise of the fascist German invasion. Now the fate of the war will not be decided by such an accidental moment as the moment of being taken by surprise, but by the factors which are constantly at work: the solidity of the rear, the morale of the army, the quantity and quality of the divisions, the armament of the army, the organisational capabilities of the army's command. One circumstance should be emphasised here: It only needs the moment of surprise to disappear from the arsenal of the Germans for the fascist German army to face disaster" (Stalin, Werke Band 14, page 264, German edition, KPD/ML).

The art of war of the German General Staff was based on the "classical" war doctrines of Clausewitz, which, as Stalin pointed out in his letter to Colonel Rasin in 1946, still represented the "manufactory age of war" and were therefore of course outdated now, in the "machine age of war". Moreover, the fascist general staff has not even been able to move at the level of the war doctrines of Clausewitz, Moltke and Schlieffen. Marshal Voroshilov rightly said:

"In the whole course of the Second World War, the fascist generals, with their art of war, which was based on a reactionary idealist world view, added nothing new to the general principles of the art of war of bourgeois states, nor could they add anything new. The most that the fascist military rose to was the renewed resort to the idea of 'blitzkrieg', which had already made them bankrupt in the First World War - an idea which expressed the inherent inability of the German military to rise to the level of a scientific conception of modern warfare (...). Real war science is based on the correct realisation of the laws of social development. It was born simultaneously with the seizure of power by the working class, developed and strengthened on the basis of the Soviet state order. Such decisive elements of the new socialist system of social order as the planned economy, the new productive forces and relations of human production, the new ideology and morality form the foundation on which the whole edifice of Stalin's war science rests. It represents a well-ordered system of a truly scientific knowledge of the entire complex of questions of modern war and, in addition to purely military elements such as strategy, the operational art of war, tactics, formation and training of troops, also includes a number of socio-political, economic and moral factors in their totality as well as their interaction and their determining influence on warfare as such (...)" (K.J. Voroshilov, Stalin and the Armed Forces of the USSR, Berlin 1933, page 86, German edition).

Stalin's aim was to liberate the Soviet Union from the fascist invaders, liberate the peoples, crush fascism in its own country.

"The strength of Soviet patriotism lies in the fact that it is not based on racial or nationalist prejudices, but on the deep devotion of the people to their Soviet homeland and their loyalty to it, the fraternal community of the labourers of all nations of our country. Soviet patriotism harmoniously combines the national traditions of the peoples and the common life interests of all the toilers of the Soviet Union. Soviet patriotism does not divide; on the contrary, it welds together all the nations and peoples of our country into a united, fraternal family. This is the basis of the indestructible and ever stronger friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union" (Stalin, "On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union", page 184/185, German edition).

23 February 1939 - Oath of Allegiance

- written by J. V. Stalin:

"I, a citizen of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, on joining the ranks of the Red Army of Workers and Peasants, take the oath of allegiance and solemnly swear to be always an honest, brave, disciplined, vigilant soldier, to strictly guard military and state secrets, to carry out all military orders and orders of commanders, commissars and superiors without contradiction.

I swear to conscientiously learn the art of war, to guard the property of the army and the people with all my strength and to be loyal to my people, my Soviet homeland and the workers' and peasants' government until my last breath.

I am always ready, on the orders of the Workers' and Peasants' Government, to stand up for the defence of my homeland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and as a soldier of the Red Army of Workers and Peasants I swear to defend it bravely, prudently, with honour and dignity, without sparing my blood or even my life, for the achievement of complete victory over the enemies.

If, however, I maliciously break this solemn oath of mine, I may be met by the severe punishment of Soviet law, by the general hatred and contempt of the working people" (Signature: Stalin)

[from: K.J. Voroshilov, Stalin and the Armed Forces of the USSR, Berlin, 1953, pp. 60/61 quoted from Stalin Werke, Vol. 14, published by the KPD/ML, pp. 178/179, German edition).

Stalin: Committing life and blood drop by drop for the party - patriotism and false heroism

Stalin, shortly before his death, warned the world imperialists not to unleash a Third World War. We will fulfil Stalin's legacy of knocking the weapons out of the hands of the imperialist robbers, including the ideological weapons of the revisionist falsification of Stalin's war science and people's war art.

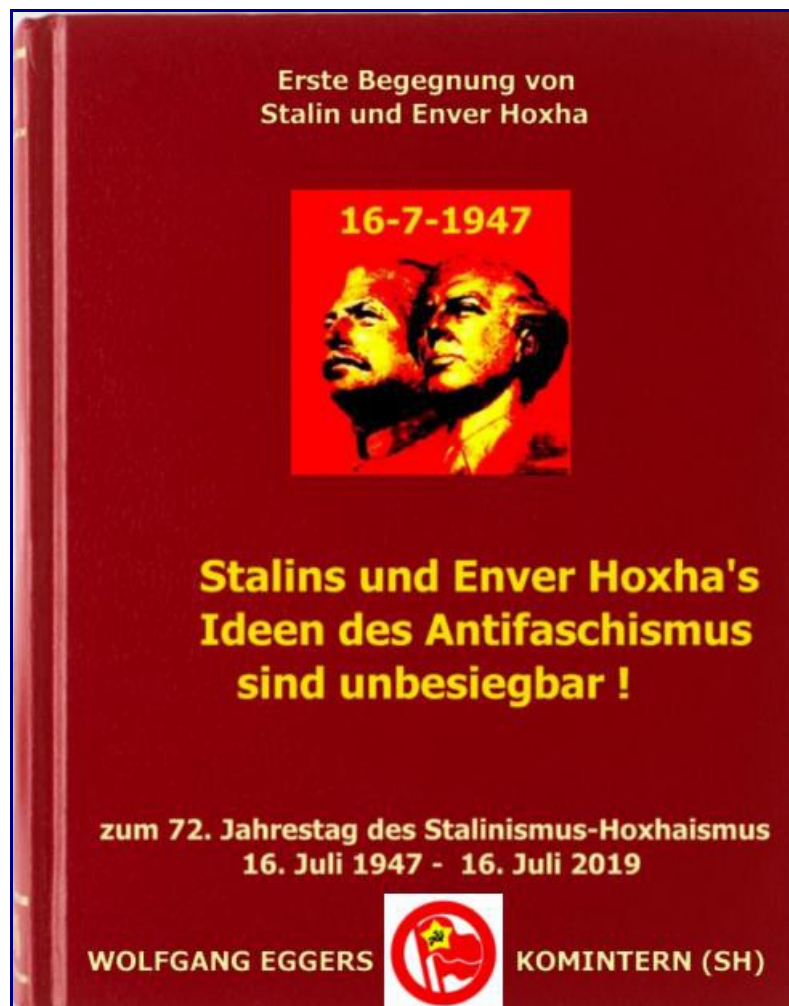
Comrade Stalin said of the art of leadership:

"The art of leadership is a serious matter. One must not lag behind the movement, because to lag behind is to detach oneself from the masses. But one must also not rush ahead, because to rush ahead is to lose the connection with the masses. Whoever wants to lead the movement and at the same time preserve the connection with the masses of millions must lead the struggle on two fronts - both against those who are lagging behind and against those who are rushing ahead" (Stalin, "Questions of Leninism", Moscow 1943, page 354, German edition).

"One cannot lead an offensive without fortifying the conquered positions, without regrouping the forces, without securing reserves for the front, without pushing up the stages" (Stalin, April 3, 1930, Volume 12, page 189, German edition).

"Stalin's and Enver Hoxha's ideas of anti-fascism are invincible".

in German language



"Stalins und Enver Hoxhas Ideen des Antifaschismus sind unbesiegbar"

Enver Hoxha

(this Enver Hoxha chapter is unfortunately also not yet finished)

- the most faithful disciple of Stalin and leader of the shock brigade of the world revolutionary movement**
- classic of the struggle against modern revisionism in power**
- Master of the people's war art of transforming an anti-fascist war of liberation into a people's revolution leading to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the victory of socialism;**
- Master of the art of defence of socialism to successfully protect even a small country, based on its own strength against the whole imperialist and social-imperialist world.**

[Enver's order to Mehmet Shehu not to sacrifice the cadres senselessly Volume I, pages 248-249, German edition]

Comrade Enver Hoxha, by the way, spoke of the "world marshals" and of the "generals" Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin" (Reflections on China, Volume I, page 170, German edition).

"Like any other science, military science is in constant evolution. The scientific and technical revolution cannot stop at the army. On the contrary, it is absolutely necessary and advisable in order to perfect every branch of the army. Without the scientific-technical revolution, as everywhere else, it is impossible to make progress in the army (...).

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that everything progresses, therefore we must not consider our People's War Art as a dogma, as something rigid, because there may be people who think that it must be learnt by heart, that no comma should be changed in its application to the particular concrete situation; and there were also those, such as the traitor Beqir Balluku, together with the other traitors, Petrit Dume and Hito Çako, who had the plan to liquidate our people's art of war and replace it with a capitulationist art of war" (Enver Hoxha, Address on the 35th Anniversary of the Albanian People's Army).

It should not go unmentioned that the sciences of military and ideological warfare of the proletariat are inseparable and mutually beneficial. It is known that the classics often used military terms in the ideological struggle and also championed the ideological struggle with military discipline and rigour. It is further known that for the communists there is not a single military act of war that is not ideologically thought through and imbued. War propaganda, psychological warfare, etc., play an important role in every war waged by the proletariat. "Transformation of the weapon of critique into the critique of weapons", is a phrase coined by Marx which succinctly makes clear what is meant, namely: when revolutionary theory is grasped by the masses, it is transformed into material revolutionary violence. The science of the proletarian art of war is for the proletariat a guide to the application of the art of war in the class struggle.

A basic doctrine of communism states:

The weapons of capital, of property cannot be united. They are doomed to failure because property divides and turns people into beasts. But labour unites. The weapons of the proletariat unite until the final victory, because with every victory over the common enemy, the world proletariat gains from all the oppressed and exploited classes of the world. Private property is theft, and an army based on the multiplication and protection of private property is an army of robbers fighting over the spoils. And before the imperialist armies have finished the war against communism, they are already beginning to fight among themselves.

CHAPTER 3

The military forms of combat

and weapons

**of the revolutionary working class and the
revolutionary peoples**

Dialectical Materialism and Armed Class Struggle

Especially in capitalism, i.e. in a society with antagonistic contradictions, we cannot distinguish or contrast an armed class struggle with a "peaceful" class struggle, because the class struggle *can never be peaceful*, because it is essentially violence that is the driving force of the class struggle. The low tide must never be regarded as a mitigation of the class struggle, because it gives the class enemy an opportunity to attack. So, strictly speaking, even in the times of revolutionary low tide, one cannot speak of "peaceful class struggle", because the essence of the class struggle is anything but "peaceful" even in these times. Thus, when the revisionists speak of "peace" , "peaceful coexistence" etc. etc., they mean the disarmament of the working class, they try to get the working class to give up the class struggle, to come to terms and reconcile with the ruling class of the bourgeoisie and thus to chain itself to capitalism, or: they profess to recognise the class struggle but exclude the use of "violence", which amounts to the same thing, only more cleverly offered in a more radical deception. There is no class reconciliation between antagonistic classes, class struggle absolutely excludes any class reconciliation, makes it impossible. Arbitrarily excluding the armed forms of class struggle is as impossible as excluding the class struggle itself. The content and form of armed struggle between antagonistic classes are bound to the system of capitalism from which they emerge or through which they perish. One must not give away the *nature* of the armed proletarian forms of struggle under the guise of a critique of the *forms* - that is revisionism. The form is not unrelated to the content, cannot be "filled" with any content, but is essentially determined by the content. Form and content of the armed class struggle are mutually dependent, both the armed class struggle of the proletariat and the armed class struggle of the bourgeoisie. The character of the organisation of any army is inevitably determined by the content of its organised struggle.

When we speak here of the form and content of the armed class struggle, we consider their connection for the period, for the stage of development, for the period of the class struggle in which the struggle cannot *objectively* be continued otherwise than by military and violent means, in the period of the revolutionary uprisings of the masses. The masses, however, can only rise up revolutionarily when the objective conditions are ripe for this, when the epoch of social revolution occurs, namely, only and only at that stage where the development of the productive forces "come into contradiction with the existing relations of production or, what is only a legal expression for it, with the property relations within which they had hitherto moved. From forms of development of the productive forces, these relations turn into fetters of the same" (Marx, Zur Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie).

The economic forms of the revolutionary upheaval determine the forms of consciousness about this upheaval and thus about the armed forms of class struggle with which the proletarians, the masses, fight out these lawfully occurring economic revolutionary upheavals. This is announced on a world scale: When forms of the mode of production have developed before our eyes, through which world production has socialised itself on a stage where the productive forces come into contradiction with the old private economic and private property relations, when these no longer correspond to the new global mode of production and become its fetters, then these have inevitably passed over into rot and fermentation, because their elimination has been artificially, forcibly, delayed by wars, and so on. This state of fermentation, however, has so far lasted so long especially because the shell of private property could be maintained for a time with the help of revisionism, but this particular circumstance of fermentation brings the private property relations of world imperialism to burst all the more quickly and violently - the international form of the economic revolutionary upheaval will also bring about the international consciousness about this economic, The international form of the economic revolutionary upheaval will also determine the international consciousness of this economic, world revolutionary upheaval and thus also the international forms of the armed class struggle with which the old relations of production will be eliminated throughout the world. All forms of armed class struggle, new and old, will be taken up, developed, transformed, subordinated and put at the service of the world socialist revolution, "at the service of the full and final, decisive and irrevocable victory of communism" (Lenin, Vol. 31, p. 91, German edition).

"Every crisis, even every turn in development, inevitably leads to the old form no longer corresponding to the new content" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 437, German edition). "Struggle of content with form and vice versa. Discarding the form, reshaping the content" (Lenin, Vol. 38, page 214, German edition). Within their dialectical unity, the content and form of the armed class struggle form opposites. The content is the determining, moving element in this interaction. The forms of armed class struggle, on the other hand, are relatively stable, more long-lived than the content [as are the armed forms of class struggle in a single country]. The development of the armed struggle therefore leads, at a certain point in the world revolution, to the sharpening of the contradictions between the rapidly developing content and the relatively stable form. Finally, the old form is destroyed, the new content creates a new form for itself - For this reason, we always speak here in this textbook in terms of the *international* form of the armed class struggle.

Lenin spoke of different "forms of class struggle, the dialectic of history being that, on the one hand, each of these forms passes through different stages in the development of its class content and, on the other hand, the transition from one form to another (taken by itself) does not in any way abolish the rule of the previous exploiting classes, which continues under a different cover" (Lenin, Vol. 15, page 335, German edition).

The form is nothing other than the organisation, the structuring of the armed class struggle, the equipping of it with the necessary means, the establishment of its functioning, the way in which the armed struggle is set in motion, brought into effect, put into practice, the system of weapons and their use. It is not true that the armed forms of struggle are only "outer shells", "means", merely "there for use". Forms have a living, real content, are inseparable from it. The form of armed struggle is essential, its essence formed. To the extent that military matter is formed, the military form of the struggle materialises. The unity of the will of the world proletariat to conquer its political world power is the basis of the unity of its materialised weapons, just as the unity of its materialised weapons is conversely the basis of its world domination.

"The probable form of the approaching struggle is determined partly by its content, partly by the preceding forms of revolutionary struggle (...) and counter-revolutionary struggle (...)" (Lenin, Vol. 11, p. 104, German edition).

The armed forms of the class struggle fail to have an effect, are doomed to failure, if they are not checked against the objective conditions and circumstances of a revolutionary situation and are arbitrarily set up. They then degenerate into the phrase of a bunch of screamers, which can lead to nothing but adventurism. If, however, the masses of millions accept and implement the *slogan* of the revolutionaries, who are advancing in the struggle of the masses under objectively mature revolutionary conditions, "*to concentrate on violent means of struggle*", then our armed forms of struggle will be objectively correct, they will be confirmed by the objective conditions of the revolution, which the revolutionaries have correctly assessed and foreseen, they will coincide and in their unity form an insurmountable force. Content and form must fit optimally, must be brought into harmony in order to have their greatest effect in the armed class struggle. In the same way, the objective and subjective factors of the armed struggle must fit, both must be brought into harmony in order to achieve victory.

Without the development and consolidation of the armed form of the class struggle, the content cannot develop; if it stands still, it leads to the waste of forces and to a disproportion between armed struggle in words and armed struggle in deeds. One must neither stop at the previous forms of struggle, nor return to the level of these lower forms of struggle, when the revolutionary situation imperatively prescribes the development of new forms of struggle at a higher level. It is an important tenet of Marxism-Leninism and a historical and universally valid experience of the class struggle: the better, the more conscious, the broader and deeper a struggle is prepared, organised and followed up, the more closely the form and content of the class struggle are linked and brought into harmony with each other, the greater the revolutionary effect, the more effective the implementation of revolutionary aims in practice, the easier, more thorough, more lasting the victory, the smaller the losses and sacrifices, the more effective the overcoming of counter-revolutionary forces. Of course, this applies just as much in reverse to the negative cases where a struggle has been badly organised.

The form depends on the content, but once it has come into being, it gains relative independence. Old forms can therefore continue to exist for a long time, even though the associated content has largely disappeared. Engels' changed view of the street and barricade struggle serves as an example, and will be dealt with in particular in this textbook. The *"Reflections on the Near and Middle East"* by comrade Enver Hoxha, where he analysed the appearance of new contents of the social developments there in old (religious) forms, serves as a current example.

The armed class struggle of the proletariat and that of the bourgeoisie differ in their position in capitalist society. The bourgeoisie puts international armed wars to protect profit before the satisfaction of the needs of the world population. The world proletariat is the only class that can open this armed imperialist barricade of the world with armed means.

a) The essence of the armed class struggle of the owning classes is the maintenance, defence and increase of property, thus it has a conservative, reactionary character, protects the existing of an exploiting and oppressing minority from the exploited and oppressed majority.

b) In order to abolish itself as a proletariat, as an oppressed class, the proletariat must abolish private property, must turn its weapons against the existing rule of capital. The struggle of the proletariat thus has a revolutionary-destructive, destructive character under capitalism, whereas under socialism the liberated working class wages an armed class struggle as a possessing class, which serves to protect this possession, but does not bear a conservative, privileged character, but a socialist one, because in the armed class struggle under the conditions of socialism the owning working class protects not only its own property, but with it also the property of all other classes with the aim of abolishing its own class property and with it all class property in general - thus ultimately also the possession of its own weapons and with it all possession of weapons in general (mind you, only in relation to its *class* character).

From the armed class struggle of the bourgeoisie emanates the violent action of maintaining the opposition between capital and labour, while from the armed class struggle of the proletariat emanates the violent counter-action of destroying capitalist private property in order to liberate the productive forces from the fetters of capitalist relations of production, i.e. to abolish their opposition. With the armed class struggle, the proletariat cannot liberate itself without abolishing its own conditions of life. The armed class struggle of the proletariat is only the execution of the sentence that private property has imposed on itself because it has produced the proletariat. The armed class struggle of private property, on the other hand, is the violent execution of the sentence that wage labour has imposed on itself by producing the wealth of the bourgeoisie and its own misery.

"If the proletariat is victorious, it has by no means thereby become the absolute side of society, for it is victorious only by annulling itself and its opposite. Then both the proletariat and its conditional opposite, private property, have disappeared" (Lenin, Vol. 38, p. 12; *"Conspectus on Marx' and Engels' work 'The Holy Family', German edition*). This also expresses the unity of the opposites of the armed struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. "The unity (congruence, identity, equality of effect) of opposites [and thus also the *armed* struggle underlying this opposition - author's note] is conditional, temporary, transient, relative. The [*armed* - author's note] struggle of mutually exclusive opposites is absolute, just as the development, the [*armed* - author's note] movement is absolute" (Lenin, Vol. 38, page 339, *"On the Question of Dialectics", German edition*).

Lenin on the question of the forms of struggle

"In order to judge the revolution truly Marxist, from the standpoint of dialectical materialism, one must regard it as a struggle of living social forces, which are placed in certain objective conditions, act in a certain way and use, with greater or lesser success, one or other forms of struggle. On the basis of such an analysis, and of course only on this basis, the Marxist's judgement of the technical side of the struggle and its technical questions is also quite appropriate, indeed necessary. To recognise a certain form of struggle but reject the necessity of learning its technique would be the same as if we considered it necessary to take part in certain elections, but in doing so did not take into account the law which prescribes a certain electoral technique for these elections" (Lenin, Vol. 15, pp. 44-45, German edition).

What Lenin says here about electoral technique is, of course, all the more true of armed technique. On the ground of armed struggle, and of course only on this ground, for the Marxist the judgement of the military side of the struggle and its technical questions is also quite appropriate, indeed necessary. To recognise the armed struggle but to reject the necessity of learning the art of arms would be the same thing, indeed far worse in its consequences for the victory of the revolution.

"If, therefore, in judging various revolutionary periods, we confine ourselves only to the determination of the line of action, of the individual classes, without going thoroughly into the forms of their struggle, our conception will be incomplete, undialectical from the scientific point of view, and from the practical-political point of view will degenerate into barren reasoning" (Lenin, Vol. 15, page 44, German edition).

Lenin said: "The 'slogan of struggle' cannot be issued without examining in detail each individual form of this struggle, without following each of its steps as it passes from one form to another, in order to be able to determine the situation at any given moment, without losing sight of the general character of the struggle, its general aim - the complete and final elimination of all exploitation and all oppression" (Lenin, Vol. 1, page 334, German edition).

"Social-Democracy does not tie its hands, it does not narrow its activity by any preconceived plan or mode of political struggle - it recognises all means of struggle if only they correspond to the existing forces of the party and make it possible to achieve the greatest results that can be achieved in the given circumstances. If there is a tightly organised party, a single strike can turn into a political demonstration, into a political victory over the government. If there is a tightly organised party, a victorious revolution can emerge from a localised uprising. We must not forget that the struggle against the government for individual demands, the winning of individual concessions, are only small skirmishes with the enemy, small outpost battles, and that the decisive struggle is still to come. Before us, in all its strength, lies an enemy fortress, from which we are showered with a hail of bullets and cartridges that wrest from us the best fighters. We must take this fortress, and we shall take it if we unite all the forces of the awakening proletariat with all the forces of the Russian revolutionary into one party towards which all that is alive and honest in Russia will strive. And only then will the great prophecy of the Russian workers' revolutionary Pyotr Alexeyev come true: 'The mass of millions of the working people will raise their muscular arm, and the yoke of despotism supported by soldiers' bayonets will crumble into dust!'" (Lenin, Vol. 4, page 370, German edition).

We Marxist-Leninists are revolutionary and principled enough, under certain circumstances and at certain moments, neither to allow any form of struggle of our opponent to be imposed on us, nor to allow any form of struggle to be absolutely forbidden to us, just as we are revolutionary enough to choose those forms of organisation for this which appear to us to be the most suitable and advantageous for our struggle, or those which can cause us the least disadvantages. We will never fulfil our opponent's wish to use those forms of struggle and organisation that suit him best, in order to then run into an open knife, fall into his ambush, let him surround us or divide us; we will not serve our forms of struggle and organisation to our opponent on a silver platter; we will always be where the opponent least suspects us and form ourselves in such a way that our forces can be used most effectively, i.e. with the least possible effort and the greatest possible effect. We are aware from our own experience that none of our forms of struggle and none of our forms of organisation have not been exploited by the enemy, and we will do everything possible to avoid repeating the mistakes we have made. We will know how to develop new forms of struggle and will not let the initiative be taken out of our hands. We will also be careful not to absolutise the armed form of the class struggle. If we reject any one-sidedness of the armed form of struggle as a military conspiracy, this does not mean that we are in favour of narrowing down or cutting back the armed form, but rather of its full development within the dialectical framework of all other necessarily applicable forms of struggle by the communist party.

Lenin laid down *two basic rules* "which every Marxist must ask when examining the question of forms of struggle:

First, Marxism differs from all primitive forms of socialism [likewise from the paralysing forms of revisionism - author's note] in that it does not bind the movement to any particular form of struggle ...

[On this the following note: In a later place Lenin specifies: "Social-Democracy knows no universal means of struggle, none which separate the proletariat, as by a Chinese wall, from the strata which are somewhat above or somewhat below it. Social-Democracy applies different means in different epochs, always making their application dependent on strictly fixed ideological and organisational conditions" (ibid, Lenin, Vol. 11, page 211, German edition)].

... He recognises the most diverse forms of struggle, and indeed it does not 'invent' them, but only generalises forms of struggle of the revolutionary classes which arise of their own accord in the course of the movement, organises them and gives them consciousness. Marxism firmly rejects all abstract formulas, all doctrinaire recipes [for example, those of formal military science - author's note] and calls for an attentive approach to the mass struggle actually taking place, which, with the progressive development of the movement, with the growing consciousness of the masses, with the aggravation of economic and political crises, produces ever new and more diverse methods of defence and attack. Therefore, Marxism does not think of rejecting once and for all any forms of struggle. Marxism does not limit itself to the forms of struggle which are possible and used at a given moment, but considers it inevitable that, as the social situation changes, new forms of struggle will emerge which were unknown in the given period. Marxism learns in this respect, if one may so express it, from mass practice and is far from claiming to teach the masses forms of struggle devised by parlour 'systematists'. We know, said Kautsky for example, when he examined the forms of social revolution, that the coming crisis will bring us new forms of struggle which we cannot now foresee. Lenin took a critical view of each new form of struggle when he drew attention to it:

"Every new form of struggle, involving new dangers and new sacrifices, will inevitably 'disorganise' those organisations which are unprepared for this new form of struggle.(...) Every act of struggle in any war carries with it a certain disorganisation in the ranks of the combatants. But from this one must not conclude that one must not wage war. From this one must conclude that one must learn to wage war. And nothing more" (Lenin, ibid, vol. 11, p. 210, German edition)).

Secondly, Marxism absolutely demands a historical approach to the question of forms of struggle. To deal with this question outside the historical-concrete situation is to fail to understand the ABC of dialectical materialism. At different moments of economic evolution, depending on the different political, national-cultural conditions, living conditions, etc., different forms of struggle come to the fore, become the main forms of struggle, and in connection with this, in turn, the secondary forms of struggle, the forms of struggle of subordinate importance, also undergo a change. To attempt to affirm or deny the question of the applicability of a given means of struggle without examining in detail the concrete situation of the given movement at the given stage of its development is to leave the ground of Marxism altogether" (Lenin, Vol. 11, pp. 202-203, German edition).

Let us take as an illustration of this guideline the transformation of one of the lower forms of struggle into a specific means of struggle of a particular period. Lenin shows here that the removal from Lenin's party of the Otsovists, who sabotaged this transformation as it is natural for every Marxist, was fully justified:

"In our heroes, who have memorised fragments of Bolshevik theses, everything comes out twisted: the higher [the armed forms of struggle, for example - author's note] forms of struggle, which nowhere and never in the world (!!!) - [exclamation mark and underlining by the author] can succeed without direct pressure from the masses, are recommended as 'possible' forms in the first place at a time of furious reaction; the lower forms of struggle [for example, agitation and propaganda - author's note] , on the other hand, which require not so much a direct breaking of the laws by the struggle of the masses as an exploitation of the laws for propaganda and agitation which prepare the consciousness of the masses for struggle, are put forward as 'not possible' forms!!! The Otsovists and their 'remote' followers have heard and memorised that Bolshevism regards the immediate struggle of the masses, which involves even the army (i.e., the most rigid, least mobile part of the population, the most sheltered from our propaganda, etc.) in the movement and makes the fighting actions the real beginning of the insurrection, as a higher form of movement, while parliamentary activity without immediate movement of the masses is regarded as a lower form of movement. The Otsovists and their followers of Maximov have heard this and have memorised it, but have not understood it and have therefore disgraced themselves. The higher - that means the 'effective', think the Otsovist and Gen. Maximov - well, then I will shout quite loudly, 'effective': then it will certainly come out more revolutionary than with all the others, but to find out what for and why, that is of the evil!

(...) Get this into your heads, oh, you quite wrongly removed ones: If indeed a furious and ever stronger reaction really breaks the link with the masses, makes sufficiently broad work difficult and weakens the party, then precisely then the specific task of the party is to learn to master the parliamentary weapon of struggle; and this not because, oh, you quite unjustly distanced ones, the parliamentary struggle represents a higher stage than all other forms of struggle; no, but precisely because it forms a lower form in comparison with these, a lower one, for example, than a struggle which even involves the army in the mass movement, which produces mass strikes, insurrections, etc. etc. In what way can the mastery of a lower form of struggle become a specific task of the party (i.e., a task which distinguishes the given period from other periods)? In such a way precisely that the stronger the mechanical force of reaction and the looser the connection with the masses, the more urgent it becomes to prepare the consciousness of the masses (but not to act directly) and to make use of the ways of propaganda and agitation created by the old power (but not the direct onslaught of the masses against this old power itself)." (Lenin, Vol. 16, pp. 19 and 20, German edition).

"These are the two fundamental theoretical guiding principles which we must take as our guide" (Lenin, Vol. 11, pp. 202-203, German edition).

Thirdly : in the present time, another theoretical guiding principle should be added concerning the transition from the national form to the international form:

Marxism-Leninism, under the present conditions of globalisation of the class struggle, demands that the question of the forms of struggle be examined in the spirit of proletarian internationalism - more precisely: in view of the coming proletarian, socialist world revolution.

The international forms of struggle - in such situations, in which the classes with each passing day are moving more and more to meet each other on the international battlefield of the class struggle, not only to measure their forces there, but also to decide their fate on the world stage (thus also the fate of the proletarians in the individual countries) - are becoming increasingly important. It is inevitable and corresponds to the ABC of Marxism-Leninism that the decisive battles facing the proletariat will be international battles and that the class struggle is not only internationalist in character and content (it has been from the beginning), but that the forms of struggle will adapt themselves ever more closely to this content, that it is in particular the international forms of struggle which will correspond ever better to this content, will bind themselves ever more firmly to it. It is apparently paradoxical today to demand that the tenet of not binding oneself to certain forms of struggle can only be consistently applied by forging the bond between international content and international form of struggle ever more firmly - but this is precisely what corresponds perfectly to dialectical materialism, what corresponds perfectly to the fulfilment also of the second tenet that Lenin established as a basic rule, as a guideline - namely, the historical approach. International forms of struggle are not to be used in a template-like manner, i.e. without taking into account the particularities of the concrete political (and economic) situation in the different countries. This or that means of struggle, whether used in a national or international framework, always has a specific meaning as a precondition, which is shaped by a certain period etc. of the class struggle. Forms of struggle for all, does not mean forms of struggle for every situation, for every moment, for every country, but forms of struggle for all are those forms of struggle which, *under the appropriate preconditions and conditions*, are applicable to all - i.e. *specific* - and *not generalising*.

The third tenet, therefore, does not contradict either the first or the second tenet that Lenin established, but only complements both. Following the first guiding principle, we do not bind ourselves to a certain form of struggle, that is correct. But this does not mean that the forms of struggle are in general unattached, indifferent, indifferent or arbitrary to the content of the struggle. Rather, it means that we have to bind ourselves to those forms of struggle that best express the content. We must therefore bind ourselves to forms of struggle, especially to those which the *international* class struggle of the world proletariat produces in order to achieve the aims of the world revolution. This is not only a purely hypothetical-theoretical-abstract question, but it is posed today in a practical-real-concrete way, to the extent that world imperialism has appeared more and more openly and impudently with its counter-revolutionary troops worldwide. The world proletariat must and will face this challenge by exploiting new global forms of struggle in order to fulfil its historical mission better than before, in accordance with the second theorem of Lenin. It does not need to be justified in more detail that the third theorem - newly established here - must be applied in particular to the international armed forms of struggle. Our task is to clarify the conditions of the international armed class struggle, to point out its possible forms, to show the world proletariat its international place in the coming armed struggle for world revolution and to work on the international organisation of its military forces, on the military enlightenment of its internationalist consciousness. And this means at the present time to expose tirelessly the neo-revisionists and to warn the world proletariat against them, who "recognise" the basic rules of the forms of struggle in words but fight them in practice, so that we cannot complete the armed struggle for international socialism.

As for the *diversity of the international forms of struggle*, in general, due to its *international* character, it is much greater, especially in world revolutionary periods, which differ from the so-called "peaceful periods" in that the world crisis produces such economic conditions that force the peoples of the whole world onto the streets, where the forms of international class struggle reach a high revolutionary stage. The higher the revolutionary stage that a (mass) struggle reaches, the more diverse its forms. If there are no deeper crises, the class struggle cannot produce such diverse forms of struggle, lower forms are used, which is also true for the downturn of a revolutionary mass movement. The forms of revolutionary mass struggle are more diverse than the forms of agitation and propaganda of the revolutionary leaders.

Closely related to the question of the *forms* of struggle is the question of the *organisations* of struggle.

"Every form of struggle requires a corresponding technique and apparatus. If, by virtue of objective conditions, parliamentary struggle becomes the main form of struggle, the characteristic features of the apparatus for parliamentary struggle will inevitably become more prominent in the party. If, on the other hand, objective conditions put mass struggle in the form of mass political strikes and insurrections on the agenda, the party of the proletariat must have 'apparatuses' 'at the service' of these very forms of struggle, and it goes without saying that these must be special 'apparatuses' of a different nature from the parliamentary apparatuses. An organised party of the proletariat which recognises that the conditions for popular uprisings exist and does not provide for a corresponding apparatus would be a party of intellectual chatterers; the workers would migrate from it to anarchism, bourgeois revolutionarism, etc." (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 352, German edition).

That for the use of *international* forms of struggle *corresponding international* 'apparatuses' and organisations of struggle are also necessary, no world revolutionary will deny, and will therefore encourage and support the creation of such international organisations. The question posed by Lenin in the December Days of 1905 was that in the course of the struggle, however, "such a nimbus has been given to the organisations of struggle that they are sometimes virtually made into a fetish". It is believed that these organs are always and in all circumstances 'necessary and sufficient' for the revolutionary mass movement. This results in an uncritical attitude towards the choice of the time for the creation of such bodies, towards the question of what are the real conditions for the success of their activity. The experiences of October and December [in 1905 - author's note] have given the most instructive indications in this respect. The Soviets of Workers' Deputies are organs of immediate mass struggle. They came into being as organs of the strike struggle. Very quickly, under the pressure of necessity, they became organs of the general revolutionary struggle against the government. They transformed themselves inexorably, by virtue of the development of events and the transition from strike to insurrection, into organs of insurrection. That a whole series of 'soviets' and 'committees' played precisely this role in December is a thoroughly indisputable fact. And events have shown most vividly and convincingly that the strength and importance of such organs in a time of struggle depend entirely on the strength and success of the insurrection. Not any theory, not any call, from whomsoever it may come, not any tactics devised by anyone, not any party doctrine, but the force of facts has convinced these non-party mass organs of the necessity of the insurrection and made them organs of the insurrection. And to create such organs today means to create organs of insurrection, to call for the creation of such organs means to call for insurrection. (...) They are necessary (...). But they are not sufficient to organise the forces for the immediate struggle, for the insurrection in the strictest sense of the word. (...) Everyone recognises the need for an immediate organisation of forces, a military organisation to defend their 'parliament', an organisation in the form of units of armed workers. (...) Now we must make it particularly clear in our agitation that it is necessary (...) to create, in addition to the organisation of the soviets, a military organisation for their defence, for the carrying out of that uprising without which all the soviets and all the elected confidants of the masses will become impotent" (Lenin, Vol. 11, pp. 111-112, German edition).

As world revolutionaries, we recognise the necessity of the world republic of councils if we want to establish international soviet power. According to Lenin, we cannot do this without military organisations; they are therefore as necessary as the soviet republic itself.

"These - if we may so express ourselves - 'military organisations' of which we speak must strive to seize the masses not through their elected confidants, but the masses of the immediate participants in the street struggle and the civil war itself. These organisations must have as their lowest cell very small loose associations, groups of ten, groups of five or perhaps groups of three. The idea must be spread as widely as possible that a struggle is approaching in which every upright citizen is obliged to lay down his life and fight against the oppressors of the people. Less formality, less circumstance, more simplicity in organisation, which must have the highest degree of agility and elasticity. All those who wish to champion the cause of freedom must immediately unite in 'groups of five' in loose associations of members of a profession, of workers in a factory, or of people bound together by comradeship, party affiliation or, finally, simply by their residence (a village, a house in a town or a flat). These federations must be made up of members of the party as well as of those who are not party members, and must be united by an immediate revolutionary task: the uprising against the government. These federations must be formed on the broadest possible basis and unconditionally from the procurement of arms, irrespective of the question of armament. No party organisation will be able to 'arm' the masses. The organisation of the masses, on the other hand, in easily mobile small fighting units will be of great service in procuring arms at the moment of action.

Loose fighting units, 'fighting groups', to use an expression which won such fame in the great December days in Moscow, will be of enormous use at the moment of uprising. A combat group that knows how to shoot will disarm a policeman, will surprise a patrol, will obtain weapons. A combat group that does not know how to shoot or has not been able to acquire weapons will help build barricades, will provide scouting services, will help organise connections, will lure the enemy into an ambush, will set fire to a building in which the enemy is entrenched, will occupy flats that can become bases for the insurgents; In a word, the loose units of people who are determined to fight to the death, who are intimately acquainted with the locality and intimately connected with the population, will perform thousands of the most varied tasks.

May the call go out in every factory, in every trade union, in every village to organise such loose fighting groups. If people know each other well, they will proceed to form them in good time. If we do not know each other well, we will form groups of five and ten on the day of the struggle or immediately before the struggle, at the place of the struggle itself, when the idea of creating such groups has become widespread and is really taken up by the masses. (...) Then we will get to the point - and this is by no means a utopia - that in every large city there will not be hundreds of members of the fighting groups, as in Moscow in December, but thousands and thousands. And then no machine guns will hold out, as they said in Moscow, pointing out that the combat groups there did not sufficiently grasp the masses, were not sufficiently rooted in the people according to their character and composition. Therefore: organisation of soviets of workers' deputies, peasants' committees and similar bodies everywhere, at the same time the most extensive propaganda and agitation for a simultaneous uprising, for an immediate preparation of the forces for the uprising and for the organisation of loose fighting groups on the broadest mass basis" (Lenin, Vol. 11, p. 114, German edition).

Lenin was convinced that in the case of victorious armed insurrection, the organs of the soviets would indeed have become embryonic cells of the revolutionary government, "power would inevitably have fallen to them. The emphasis must be shifted to the study of these very historically given embryonic organs of the new power, to the study of the conditions of their work and success" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 115, German edition).

On violence

Before we can scientifically apply the forms of struggle of revolutionary violence, we have to clarify and define the concept of violence in terms of content, scientifically, from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism. We are speaking here in general of class violence and in particular of class violence on a world scale.

"The consciousness of the working class cannot be a truly political one if the workers have not learned to react to all and any cases of (...) violence, whatever classes these cases may concern, and precisely to react from the social-democratic standpoint and not from any other standpoint" (Lenin, Vol. 5, page 426, German edition).

Marx opposed the panacea of the weapon of criticism, which claims to make the violence of the revolutionary people superfluous. By merely criticising, the people will at best be able to alleviate their oppression somewhat, but in no case will they be able to free themselves fundamentally from the violence of the exploiters and oppressors. The view that the socialist goal does not permit "anti-democratic means" is neither new nor correct. If one were to equate the Marxist-Leninist conception with the Tolstoyan renunciation of violence, as some revisionists like to do, and demand that the socialist state not respond to violence with violence, one would be disarming the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the face of its armed enemies. The history of the revolutionary workers' movement, from the Paris Commune to our own time, knows many examples that prove what a bloody and costly price the proletariat and the labouring masses have already had to pay when, in the name of an abstractly understood humanity and entirely in the pacifist sense, they renounce violence against the bourgeoisie, which is always the first to take up arms. Therefore, the question of violence, both in history in general and in the realisation of the socialist revolution, must necessarily be seen in concrete-historical terms. There is a revolutionary and a reactionary violence - in other words: violence against violence. Revolutionary violence becomes superfluous only at the moment when there is no more reactionary violence, as Engels will be quoted below. But when the enemies resort to reactionary violence, the answer can only be revolutionary violence: "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth". In this case, it is not simply moral evil, glorifying violence, inhumanity and contempt for humanity. It is a necessary action to achieve a good goal. To refrain from using violence in such a case would be a grave offence against all victims of reactionary violence. "We would be traitors if we did not strangle these enemies of the proletariat as soon as we have the opportunity" (Lenin, Vol. 16, page 311, German edition). Such a grave crime was also committed by the opportunists in lamenting before the vengeance of the counter-revolution: *"One should not have taken up arms!"* The lawfully maturing process of socialist rebirth cannot be stopped even by counter-revolutionary violence. If we help this new birth with revolutionary means, it is only to facilitate the process of birth. This is not violent towards the new society, but only towards the old society, which does not want to go voluntarily and therefore seeks to prevent the birth by violent means.

"There is no heavy fighting without lazarets near the battlefield. But to be frightened or unnerved by "lazarette" scenes is utterly unforgivable. Let him who fears wolves avoid the forest. (...) The struggle is hard, but success is certain for the workers. The weak or the intimidated may waver at the "extremes" of the struggle, but tomorrow they themselves will realise that without going through this hard struggle they could not advance one step further" (Lenin Vol. 19, pp. 26 and 27, German edition).

Lenin turned against such people who were against violence, against arms, against insurrection, against civil war, against just wars, against revolution, against revolutionary action, etc., with the following parable:

"We, the naked and defenceless, the hungry and tormented, are not able to climb up from our swamp, where we perish, to that mountain where there is light and sun, air and all the fruits of the earth. We do not have the ladder without which the ascent is impossible. We are not able to procure the ladder. Therefore, we must not link our struggle for ascension with the slogan of procuring (or making) the ladder. Therefore, our slogan must be: To the mountain! To the mountain! On the mountain is happiness and salvation, air and light, encouragement and strengthening. Because the ladder is missing, without which one cannot climb up, therefore one should not take as a slogan the procurement of a ladder and work on its production, therefore the slogan should be: Be up on the mountain, on the mountain is happiness etc.! Weakness had saved itself, as always, in the belief in miracles", Marx said. (...) Lying phrases, hollow phrases mean moral death and are the sure pledge of political death (...) 'We are weak' - from this springs inevitably the whole betrayal of the revolution" (Marx quoted by Lenin from MEW, Vol. 8, page 119; Lenin, Vol. 9, pages 290-291-292-293, German edition). "(...) the mass, the people, the crowd will decide by deeds, after the struggle, whether there is strength" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 294, German edition).

"He who comforts the slave instead of rousing him to rebellion against slavery supports the slaveholders. All oppressive classes, without exception, require two social functions to maintain their rule: the function of the executioner and the function of the priest. The executioner is to keep down the protest and indignation of the oppressed. The priest is supposed to console the oppressed, to present them with the prospect of an alleviation of suffering and sacrifice while maintaining class rule (...) and thereby reconcile them to this rule, wean them from revolutionary deeds, undermine their revolutionary spirit, destroy their revolutionary determination. Kautsky has turned Marxism into the most odious and obtuse counter-revolutionary theory, into the filthiest parochialism" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 226, German edition). And the neo-revisionists have gone down the road of neo-Kautskyanism!

"Just as the bourgeoisie will not die as long as it is not overthrown, so the current nourished and supported by the bourgeoisie, which expresses the interests of the small group of intellectuals and aristocrats of the working class who have allied themselves with the bourgeoisie, will not die unless it is 'defeated', i.e., overthrown, deprived of all influence on the socialist proletariat. This current is strong precisely because of its links with the bourgeoisie; it has become a kind of commanding parasitic layer in the workers' movement thanks to the objective conditions of the 'peaceful' epoch from 1871 to 1914. There it is absolutely necessary not only to 'cycle' but to ring the storm, to expose this parasitic layer ruthlessly, to overthrow it, to 'remove it from its posts', to smash its 'unity' with the workers' movement, because such 'unity' in reality means unity of the proletariat with the national bourgeoisie and division of the international proletariat, unity of the lackeys and division of the revolutionaries. (...) They will die neither physically nor politically, but the workers will break with them, push them into the abyss where the lackeys of the bourgeoisie belong, and by the example of their rottenness raise a new generation, more correctly, new armies of the proletariat capable of insurrection" (Lenin, Vol. 21, pp. 359-360, German edition).

"Passivity, that is a characteristic of the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia and not of revolution" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 344, German edition).

And the imperialists paint the spectre of terror, violence, chaos and the wildest anarchy on the wall to justify their united, globalised state terror against the revolutions in the world. "No one denies the inevitability of chaos in this movement. But this chaos creates order - the order of revolution, this highest stage of the chaotic, spontaneous uprisings of the people" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 234, German edition). "Counter-revolutionary periods are characterised, among other things, by the fact that counter-revolutionary ideas gain currency not only in a crude and unapologetic form, but also in a more refined form: the bourgeois moods in the revolutionary parties become stronger. (...) participants and ideologists of the armed insurrection denigrated in every way and threw dirt at them" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 237, German edition).

"The weapon of criticism, however, cannot replace the criticism of weapons; material violence must be overthrown by material violence; theory alone also becomes material violence as soon as it seizes the masses" (Marx, Vol. 1, page 385, German edition). It is Marxist-Leninist military theory in particular that is based on this thesis of Marx's both on a national and, above all, on an international scale. Marxist-Leninist military science is capable of taking hold of the revolutionary peoples because it has developed and will continue to develop as a guide to the military action of the world proletariat.

We communist soldiers are humanists and fundamentally abhor reactionary violence. But when we are struck on the right cheek, we do not turn our left cheek as well, but strike back to defend ourselves, to protect man from man, to bayonet inhumanity with humanity. We are radically opposed to every form of reactionary violence perpetrated against human beings on this earth, but in this world no single form of violence against human beings can be broken without breaking every form of violence. Capitalism, the form of society in which violence for the exploitation and oppression of human beings by human beings has reached its sad peak in the whole history of humanity, at the same time created all the conditions and prerequisites to overcome violence against human beings, exploitation and oppression by human beings forever - the classless, non-violent society of world communism. So if you really want peace, you have to take up the gun for it and turn it against those who, in the name of their "peace", in the name of their "civilisation", in the name of their "salvation and defence of democracy, culture" etc., destroy and annihilate the whole of humanity and the nature of this earth for profit interests.

The Communist Manifesto states at the end of Section II:

"When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared ... public violence loses its political character. Political violence in the proper sense is the organised violence of one class for the oppression of another" (MEW, Vol. 4, page 482, German edition).

"But history is, after all, the cruellest of goddesses, and she leads her triumphal chariot over heaps of corpses, not only in war, but also in times of 'peaceful' economic development. And we men and women are unhappily so stuporous that we can never summon up the courage for real progress unless we are driven to it by corpses that almost exceed every measure" (Engels, 1893, MEW, vol. 39, page 38, German edition).

"If violence is the cause of social and political conditions, what then is the cause of violence? The appropriation of alien labour products and alien labour power" (Materialien zum "Anti-Dühring"; MEW, vol. 20, page 588, German edition).

"So violence makes the economic, political, etc., conditions of life of an epoch, of a people. Living conditions of an epoch, of a people, etc.? But who makes the violence? The organised violence is above all the army" (ibid., page 592, German edition).

The theory of violence created by Engels is based on the law "that the victory of violence is based on the production of arms, and these again on production in general, that is - on `economic power', on the `economic situation', on the material means available to violence" (MEW, vol. 20, page 154, "Anti-Dühring", German edition). Without economic conditions and means of power that help "violence" to triumph, it ceases to be violence. "Armament, composition, organisation, tactics and strategy depend above all on each stage of production and communications. It is not the `free creations of the mind` of ingenious commanders that have had a revolutionary effect here, but the invention of better weapons and the change in the material of soldiers; the influence of ingenious commanders is limited at best to adapting the mode of fighting to the new weapons and fighters (the tactics of the infantry are derived from material causes) [ibid., page 155, German edition].

The army is the main purpose of the state, has become an end in itself; the peoples are only there to supply and feed the soldiers. Militarism dominates and devours Europe. But this militarism also carries the germ of its own downfall [militarism produces anti-militarism - author's note]. The competition of the individual states among themselves forces them, on the one hand, to spend more money every year on armies, fleets, guns, etc., thus accelerating the financial collapse more and more; on the other hand, to become more and more serious with general compulsory service, and thus finally to familiarise the whole people with the use of arms; thus to enable them at a certain moment to assert their will against the commanding military authority. And this moment occurs as soon as the mass of the people - rural and urban workers and peasants - have a will. At this point, the princely army changes into a popular army; the machine fails, militarism perishes in the dialectic of its own development. What the bourgeois democracy of 1848 could not accomplish, precisely because it was bourgeois and not proletarian, namely, to give the working masses a will whose content corresponds to their class situation - this socialism will infallibly achieve. And that means the blasting of militarism and with it of all standing armies from within" (ibid. pp. 158-159, German edition).

"For Herr Dühring, violence is absolute evil (...). But that violence plays another role in history, a revolutionary role, that it is, in Marx's words, the midwife of every old society that becomes pregnant with a new one' [Vol. 23, p. 779, German edition], that it is the tool with which the social movement asserts itself and breaks up ossified, stagnant political forms - not a word about this in Herr Dühring's work" (MEW, Vol. 20, p. 171). Engels also mockingly turned against the other extreme, against the "assertion that violence is revolutionary under all circumstances and never reactionary; the ass does not realise that if there is no reactionary violence to overthrow, there can be no question of revolutionary violence at all; after all, one cannot make a revolution against something that one does not even need to overthrow" (Engels to Bebel, 7 October 1892, MEW Vol. 38, page 489, German edition).

Each bullet can be deadly, but one bullet kills for the sake of defending profit and the other for the sake of defending life. Every war is violent, cruel and bestial, but the imperialist war is a war of robbery and the just war is a war against the war of robbery.

"History teaches that no oppressed class has ever attained to rule, nor could it attain to rule, without passing through a period of dictatorship, i.e., the conquest of political power and the violent suppression of the most desperate, savage resistance, which spares no crime, which has always been made by the exploiters" (Lenin, Vol. 28, pp. 471-472, German edition).

"The great questions of political freedom and class struggle are in the last analysis decided only by violence, and we must provide for the preparation, for the organisation of this violence and for its active, not only defensive, but also offensive use. The long period of political reaction which has reigned almost uninterruptedly in Europe since the Paris Commune has made us too familiar with the idea of action only "from below", has accustomed us too much to the sight of only defensive struggles. We have now undoubtedly entered a new epoch; the period of political convulsions and revolutions has begun. In such a period as Russia is now experiencing, it is not permissible to confine oneself to the old template. One must propagate the idea of action from above, one must prepare for the most vigorous offensive actions, one must study the conditions and forms of such actions" (Lenin, Vol. 9, pp. 16-17, German edition). "Great questions are decided in the life of peoples only by force. The reactionary classes are usually the first to resort to violence, they start the civil war and 'set bayonets to the agenda'" (Lenin, Vol. 31, page 338, German edition).

"As long as the other classes, especially the capitalist class, still exist, as long as the proletariat fights with it, it must use violent means" (MEW, Vol. 18, page 630, German edition).

Marx stated that "revolution is therefore necessary not only because the ruling class cannot be overthrown in any other way, but also because the overthrowing class can, only in a revolution, get rid of all the old filth" (MEW, vol...?).

So what is revolutionary violence based on? It is based on the masses of the people. It is the violence of the revolutionary people against its tormentors in contrast to the reactionary violence over the people. Revolutionary power is a power that is open to all, that does everything before the eyes of the masses, that is accessible to the masses, that emanates directly from the masses, a direct and immediate organ of the masses and their will. All violence, all power emanates from the revolutionary people. "And who brought discipline into the army in the first French revolution?: not the generals, who only acquire influence and authority after a few victories in a revolution, in improvised armies, but the terror of internal politics, of civil power" (Engels to Marx 1851, MEW, Vol. 27, page 353, German edition).

"Without the use of *force* against the perpetrators of violence, in whose hands are the arms and organs of power, the people cannot be *liberated* from the perpetrators of violence" (Lenin, Vol. 31, page 344, German edition). At such moments, when the unarmed people are strangled, maltreated, crippled, physically destroyed by the armed reaction, by the fascist dictatorship of the imperialist bourgeoisie, only representatives of the liberal bourgeoisie, revisionists, reformists, opportunists, etc., etc., can unite in such an "anti-fascist" front, which places itself between fascism and the people. But only that anti-fascist front which is led by the revolutionary working class stands openly and unreservedly on the side of the people. The proletarian anti-fascist front liberates the people not only from the fascist perpetrators of violence of the ruling dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, but also from the betrayal of the bourgeois-revisionist anti-fascist front in order to pave the way to socialism for the people. The proletarian anti-fascist front leads an armed struggle against fascism to eliminate capitalism; the bourgeois anti-fascist front, however, does not touch the bourgeois framework and, with this sin of omission, ultimately only prepares the way for renewed fascism, because capitalism sooner or later leads lawfully, inevitably always to fascist violence; just as the restoration of capitalism has also just as lawfully and inevitably led to social fascism and will always lead sooner or later (socialism in words- fascism in deeds).

The proletariat wants *to arm* the anti-fascist struggle. The liberal bourgeoisie wants to eliminate only the fascist form of dictatorship, but not the dictatorship itself. Whether through parliamentary democracy or bourgeois socialism, the moderate, liberal sections of the bourgeoisie do not want to eliminate the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in the anti-fascist struggle, but to save it. But this is not the aim of the proletarian anti-fascist struggle. The liberal bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie appeal to the fascist butchers of the people to stop the slaughter. But the proletariat appeals to the people, calls on them to arm themselves against fascism and to offer resolute anti-fascist resistance with their weapons, to disarm the fascist butchers, to fight not only the fascist form but all forms of bourgeois violence, to break the whole dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and to conquer the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Because of the difference of interests between the classes in the anti-fascist struggle, the people must never subordinate themselves to the bourgeois-petty-bourgeois forces in the anti-fascist united front - the history of bourgeois-revisionist popular front politics has painfully proved this. A popular front that does not eliminate capitalism is no more and can be no more than a bourgeois popular front to save the bourgeoisie, but not to liberate the people from the bourgeoisie and thus from its dictatorship. Therefore, it is necessary to oppose the bourgeois popular front with the proletarian popular front! Everyone who supports the violent means of the proletarian anti-fascist front to break the fascist violence is on the side of the people. But the fascist violence will only stop when capitalism is eliminated, which never was, can be or become peaceful! That is why there can only be one serious anti-fascist united front, only one true popular front, namely the one that fights for the elimination of capitalism, for the abolition of the bourgeois dictatorship and the conquest of the proletarian dictatorship, for the establishment of socialism - and that can only be a proletarian-led popular front. This is the only correct Marxist-Leninist standpoint on the question of anti-fascist united front tactics. As a Marxist-Leninist, one must look at the situation of the masses under fascism, their objective living conditions, the class difference in these masses, the real content of the struggle against fascist violence that they seek. It is not from a general phrase that one must deduce the commonality of interests in the anti-fascist united front, not from the struggle against fascist violence in general to the common struggle of different classes - but the other way round, from the exact analysis of the situation of the masses under fascism and the interests of the different classes against fascism, one must deduce to what extent and in what the struggle against fascist violence are similar in essence or coincide (and whether they coincide). To fight against fascist violence means first of all to ideologically detach the masses from fascism. Lenin said: "The elaboration of a consistent counter-revolutionary ideology constitutes a key as soon as there is an already fully formed class which has acted in a counter-revolutionary manner in the most important periods of the country's life" (Lenin, Vol. 13, page 491, German edition). The strength and tenacity of the ideological influence on the masses, however, consists not only in the special influence of the fascists, but in the influence of all bourgeois parties in general, including the revisionist parties, which all practise an ideology corresponding to the class position and class policy of the bourgeoisie, without which the fascist ideology could not develop in the first place. This is precisely why we speak of the reformist and revisionist stirrups of fascism, this is precisely why we speak of social fascism. This is the ideology of betrayal of liberation from fascism, which itself ends in its own fascism. It is the bourgeois-revisionist organisations that lie and deceive the proletariat about the nature and tasks of the anti-fascist struggle - and this means that the masses can only slay fascism if they not only break away from the influence of fascist ideology, but free themselves from the overall bourgeois-revisionist ideology altogether. The more brutal the fascist violence due to the sharpening class antagonisms as a result of the crisis of capitalism, the more

miserable the adaptation of the opportunists on the one side and the more determined and stronger the revolutionary counter-violence of the proletarian masses on the other - fascism or socialism !

Lenin quoted *Wilhelm Liebknecht*, who once said - and every anti-fascist must remember this well: "The stupid and brutal acts of violence of the police politicians, the attacks of the Socialist Law, the Subversion Law, the Penitentiary Law could only elicit feelings of pitying contempt from us - but the enemy who stretches out his hand to us for an electoral alliance and imposes himself on us as friend and brother - him, and him alone, we have to fear" (. . .). ... The consciousness of the masses, however, is not clouded by acts of violence and penitentiary laws, but by the false friends of the workers, the liberal bourgeoisie, who distract the masses from the real struggle by hollow phrases about the struggle" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 403, German edition). "'From the moment,' said Liebknecht, 'when the proletariat appears as a class detached from the bourgeoisie and hostile to its interests, the bourgeoisie ceases to be democratic'" (quoted again in Lenin, Vol 11, page 405, German edition).

The necessity of using violence also remains a basic element of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Stalin summarised the Leninist definition of the dictatorship of the proletariat in *three basic elements*: Necessity of the use of force, proletarian leadership and building socialism.

"The scientific term dictatorship means nothing other than a power limited by nothing, confined by no laws and absolutely no rules, based directly on force. Nothing else than this does the term 'dictatorship(...)' mean. Further, (...), we see the dictatorship precisely of the people, because the people, the formless mass of the population, (...), steps itself and directly onto the scene, holds court itself, applies power and creates a new revolutionary law. After all, this is the dictatorship of the revolutionary people. Why only the revolutionary people and not the whole people? Because there are people in the whole people, who suffer constantly and most cruelly (...), there are people who are physically broken and intimidated, people who are mentally broken, for example, by the theory that one must not resist evil by force, or who are simply broken and not by a theory but by prejudice, by habit, by the old rut, indifferent people, what are called philistines, petty bourgeois, who are more inclined to stay out of a sharp fight, to sneak past it, or even to cower away (you might get something in the scuffle!).). It is precisely for this reason that dictatorship is not realised by the whole people, but only by the revolutionary people, who, however, do not fear the whole people in the least, who openly present to the whole people the reasons for their actions and all the details of their actions, who willingly enlist the whole people to participate not only in state administration but also in power (...)" (Lenin, Vol. 31, pp. 345-346, German edition).

How did Lenin define the concept of the *revolutionary people*? "Know that no one will liberate you unless you liberate yourselves. (...) Only then will you be a revolutionary people, that is, a people that knows what it must fight for, a people that knows how to fight, a people that knows how to defeat the oppressors" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 85, German edition). The concept of revolutionary peoples derives from Lenin's definition: The peoples are revolutionary only when they *know* that they can liberate themselves only in a common, united struggle, when they *know* what they must fight for together, when the peoples *know* how to defeat world imperialism unitedly.

"Is it good that the people use such unlawful methods of struggle, not bound by any rules, not planned and not systematic, that they take possession of freedom, establish a new revolutionary power formally recognised by no one and use violence against the oppressors of the people? Yes, that is very good" (Lenin, Vol. 31, page 347, German edition). Every people has the right to respond to violence with violence. All peoples have the common right to respond to the violence of international reaction together with revolutionary violence. Proletarian internationalism means solidarity of the proletarians of all countries with all revolutionary peoples in the common violent struggle against the violence of the international counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. The common revolutionary violence of the world proletariat and the revolutionary peoples is by its nature both a violence of self-defence and a violence of social and national liberation. However, the essence of international revolutionary violence is far from being exhausted with this. What is decisive is *the elimination of the inevitability of international reactionary violence*, i.e. the elimination of its cause - which is world capitalism. And precisely for this reason, the establishment of the dictatorship of the world proletariat is indispensable. Without the dictatorship of the world proletariat there can be no liberation of the revolutionary peoples from their subjugation, just as conversely there can be no social liberation of the entire world proletariat without the violent liberation of all revolutionary peoples from the subjugation of world imperialism.

The Marxist-Leninists are accused of dividing the people, the peoples of the whole world, into classes and of doing so by force! But this is not the work of the Marxist-Leninists, but the work of all (violently) ruling classes throughout the history of class society, continued and carried to extremes by the imperialists. Violence was an inevitable trait of slaveholding society, feudal society, and is all the more so today in capitalist society and its highest imperialist stage. So violence is a lawful driving force of class struggle in every antagonistic class society, especially when the old is replaced by the new. And so also the antagonistic capitalist class society is violently replaced by the socialist society. So the Marxist-Leninists did not invent the division of the people into classes and the violence associated with it, but only provide evidence that this division and the violence associated with it really exists in class society, that there are classes in the people who violently oppress and exploit other classes - a minority of the people rules over the majority of the people. So when we speak of the people, we mean the revolutionary people, we mean the labourers, the bearers of production and thus of progress - we mean the majority of the people. Lenin speaks of "the people, i.e. the proletariat and the peasantry, if we take the basic, decisive forces and divide the rural and urban petty bourgeoisie (which also belongs to the 'people') between them" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 43, German edition).

"Social-Democracy has fought and is fighting with full justification against the bourgeois-democratic misuse of the word people. It demands that this word should not be used to camouflage a lack of understanding of the class antagonisms within the people. It categorically insists that it is necessary for the party of the proletariat to preserve its full class independence. But it does not divide the 'people' into 'classes' so that the most advanced class may isolate itself, confine itself to a narrow measure and curtail its activity by considerations of the kind that the economic rulers of the world merely do not deviate - but so that the most advanced class, but that the most advanced class, unhampered by the half-wittedness, inconstancy and indecision of the middle classes, should fight with all the greater energy, with all the greater enthusiasm at the head of the people for the cause of the whole people" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 102, German edition).

We do *not* count the minority in the people, its oppressing and exploiting part, as part of the people, but we call them, on the contrary, its enemies, enemies of the people, exploiters and oppressors of the people (*in* the people). The *main* criteria for whether a class or social stratum can be considered part of the people is *not* their position in society as "producers of material goods", as "labourers", but is their objectively conditioned interest and their ability to actively participate in the revolutionary development of society. All classes and social forces that oppose the revolution are counter-revolutionary forces, are enemies of the people, do not belong to the people, do not belong to the masses of the people, the main driving force and the creators of the history of every social development. In the socialist revolution, the conscious armed activity of the *masses of the people* and that of the *masses of the peoples* reaches its culmination in the world socialist revolution.

We are therefore not speaking here of the people as a "total population", as members of this or that nation, nor of the people that once developed historically from various tribes, but of the people as they actually exist today under the conditions of capitalism. These different terms - when we speak of the armed struggle of the people, when we speak of the people's revolution, of the people's uprising - must neither be identified, confused nor arbitrarily set against each other, so we use them dialectically.

Of all the labouring strata and classes, the working class is the decisive, most important and leading force of the people as its *only* revolutionary class, and it *remains* the most advanced class even under socialism. But this does not mean that its struggle is only a "*duel*" with the bourgeoisie, because this type of struggle has been completely rejected by history. The working class cannot wage its armed struggle alone, but only at the head in an alliance with all the other exploited and oppressed classes that join the proletariat. The reverse is also true, by the way, of the armed counterrevolution of the bourgeoisie.

The people, therefore, can only free itself from its oppressive minority, from its enemies of the people, from the oppressive and exploiting classes, can only rule as a *socialist* people, can only realise its democracy (people's rule) *when* the proletariat leads this majority of the people to the violent overthrow of the oppressive minority and builds the socialist state, the dictatorship of the proletariat. By the socialist people we understand the entire population, all non-antagonist classes of the socialist state, after the oppressing and exploiting capitalist minority has been deprived of power, the enemies of the people (as classes) forcibly eliminated.

The people *cannot overcome* their antagonistic class division *within the framework of capitalism* - not even by force. This can only be achieved with the violent smashing of the capitalist framework of bourgeois class rule - and the elimination is not exhausted in the smashing of the bourgeois power apparatus itself, but the framework of capitalism is determined *by capitalist private property*; the *capitalist relations of production*, the capitalist system must therefore be smashed by force. The proletarian dictatorship - as a new form of continuation of the class struggle of the victorious working class - serves the people above all for (armed) protection against the exploiting and oppressing classes which, although eliminated as classes by socialism, are still capable of regaining their power - as this has become a historical fact with the restoration of capitalism by the revisionists. The violent resistance of the exploiters begins even before their overthrow and intensifies afterwards from two sides, from outside and from within the socialist people, in which the remnants, the capitalist elements cannot yet be completely eliminated - not even by using the necessary force. This struggle must therefore also be carried to its conclusion in both directions in the whole transition period between capitalism and communism:

It is true that socialism is capable of violently abolishing the antagonism of the classes and of preventing this reactionary development of the restoration of capitalism, even with revolutionary violence, but in the long run this presupposes that further socialist peoples will come along, for a single socialist people alone cannot victoriously bring the violent class struggle against imperialism to a close as long as world imperialism alone holds the international, counter-revolutionary power in its hands. The danger of the restoration of capitalism - and with it the restoration of the violence of a new bourgeoisie - in a socialist country, however, is not only fed from the outside by the world domination of imperialism. The individual socialist people remains a people composed of classes, albeit no longer antagonistic classes, but only non-antagonistic, socialist classes. Through socialism, therefore, the old class structure has been changed to the extent that the exploiting classes have been liquidated. But the remaining classes have also ceased to be the same as under capitalism; they are no longer exploited, violently oppressed classes, but have become socialist, friendly classes, which together as a socialist people have all the means and instruments of production in their hands and build the socialist economic system. As a result, their class segregation also disappears, their economic and then political differences diminish, their differences are reduced not by force but by the method of persuasion. This development is also taking place between the socialist peoples who are bound together by socialist internationalism. Between socialist peoples, therefore, there can also be no violence, no wars. This is only the case in capitalism or revisionism in power.

The remnants of the capitalist elements, however, cannot be completely eliminated at first, because they are fed by the petty bourgeoisie, which also exists under socialism and "produces capitalists every day", as Lenin aptly put it several times. Stalin attributes the intensification of the class struggle under socialism to the following cause: "Secondly, the fact that the capitalist elements do not want to leave the scene voluntarily: They resist and will resist socialism, for they see that their last hour is approaching. For the time being, they cannot resist because, although their relative importance is diminishing, they are growing in absolute terms: the petty bourgeoisie in town and country is, as Lenin said, "daily and hourly eliminating from its midst small and larger capitalists, and these capitalist elements are using all means to assert their existence" [including revisionist violent means - author's note]. Never in history has it been the case that dying classes have voluntarily left the scene [not even the dying revisionist bourgeoisie! - Author's note]. Never in history has it been the case that the dying bourgeoisie has not tried all the strength left to it to maintain its existence. Whether our lower Soviet apparatus is good or bad, our advance, our offensive will decimate and displace the capitalist elements, but the dying classes will resist in spite of everything. This is the *basis of the intensification* of the class struggle in our country" (Stalin, Vol. 12, pp. 33-34, German edition).

From this Lenin derived the formula that the *classless* society can be built only by the way of the *fierce* class struggle of the proletariat, only in the struggle against the resisting class enemies. Lenin and Stalin regarded the village poor as the support of the working class, the middle peasant as an ally and the kulak as a *class enemy*. Stalin answers the question: "Why is the individual peasantry qualified as the last capitalist class? Because of the two basic classes that make up our [*socialist* - author's note] society, the peasantry is the class whose economy is based on private property and small-scale commodity production. Because the peasantry, so long as it remains an individual peasantry engaged in small-scale commodity production, incessantly and ceaselessly eliminates and must eliminate from its midst capitalists" (Stalin, Vol. 12, pp. 35-36, German edition). "Leninism is absolutely for a firm alliance with the main masses of the peasantry, for an alliance with the middle peasants, but not for any alliance, but for such an alliance with the middle peasants as will ensure the leading role of the working class, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and facilitate the abolition of classes" (Stalin, *ibid*, page 37, German edition).

Under socialism, therefore, the non-antagonistic contradictions cannot yet be completely eliminated, the abolition of classes cannot yet be finally achieved, since the remnants of the old society linger on and still threaten danger, and for this very reason the powder of the Bolsheviks must remain dry. The antagonistic contradictions are not eliminated in socialism with the liquidation of the exploiting classes, but continue to work alongside the non-antagonistic contradictions in *every* decision: either courageously continue on the socialist road or give up halfway and return to the capitalist road?

In world capitalism, the principle is: defeat and death of one class, victory and world domination of the other. Strike down the backward peoples in order to consolidate your world domination. In socialism, however, it is necessary to organise the comradely help of the advanced countries for the backward ones in order to achieve a general upswing in the world as a whole and to gradually eliminate the international class differences. Some countries are working badly, others well, the third better - bring in the best and achieve a general upsurge in the world - this does not lead to class antagonisms, does not divide the masses of millions of the earth, but on the contrary, this promotes their growing together and the profound process of the abolition of classes throughout the world. This is the only way to a classless society for all humanity, a peaceful way, without any violence or coercion. Revisionists have joined the remnants of the old society, and therefore classes cannot be abolished until revisionism is abolished. But revisionism does not abolish itself, it must be defeated by all means. Therefore, the Marxist-Leninist theory of the class struggle is characterised in the present period, among other things, by the fact that it facilitates the mobilisation of the world proletariat against the neo-revisionist enemies of the reconquest of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The neo-revisionists, however, distinguish themselves today with a new cathedralsocialism, namely that the reconquest of socialism is only possible on the way of class reconciliation with revisionism. Since the neo-revisionists have obviously laid claim to the banner of the Marxist-Leninist world movement, we cannot carelessly leave aside their ideology, but are obliged to smash this false and harmful theory and free the Marxist-Leninist world movement from its influence. The remnants of modern revisionism no longer have their old significance since the Marxist-Leninist World Movement, with Enver Hoxha at its head, has settled accounts with them. However, this has not prevented them from re-forming and strengthening their resistance against the Marxist-Leninist forces that have taken the principled revolutionary path of reconquering socialism. It is precisely because of this that there is currently an intensification of the confrontation with neo-revisionism, the Marxist-Leninist world movement is being split and its revolutionary elements are being defamed as "sectarians" and "dogmatists". The harmfulness of the neo-revisionists is that it puts the world proletariat to sleep, undermines, decomposes and disorganises the combativity of the revolutionary forces all over the world, demobilises the world proletariat and facilitates the offensive of the revisionist elements all over the world, their reorganisation against the reconquest of socialism.

Non-antagonist classes, therefore, as I said, cannot be forcibly abolished. There, violence is directed exclusively against the remnants of the capitalist elements. We Marxist-Leninists do not perpetuate the class division of society, nor do we perpetuate violence in the class struggle. Lenin once said, "Communism will not take root by the way of violence" (Lenin, Vol. 29, page 160, German edition). He is right in this, for socialism differs fundamentally from communism on the question of violence in that socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the transitional period between capitalism and communism, is no more possible without violence than socialism's entry into communism is possible with violence.

The inevitability of violence in socialist class society

"We have always known, said and said again and again that socialism cannot be 'introduced', that it grows up in the course of the most tense, most violent class struggle and civil war, sharpened to frenzy, to despair, that between capitalism and socialism there is a long period of 'birth pangs', that *violence is always the midwife of the old society* [emphasised by the author] , that to the period of transition from bourgeois to socialist society there corresponds a special state (viz, a *special system of organised violence over a certain class* [emphasised by the author]), namely: the dictatorship of the proletariat. But the dictatorship presupposes and signifies a state of latent war, a state of military combat measures against the opponents of the proletarian state power [underlined by the author] (Lenin, Vol. 26, page 399, German edition). "For these enemies of the people, for these enemies of socialism and of the working people, there must be no sparing. Fight to the death against the rich and their boarders, the bourgeois intellectuals, against the crooks, idlers and hooligans." (...) The rich and the crooks - these are two sides of the same coin, two main kinds of parasites raised by capitalism, they are the main enemies of socialism, these enemies must be placed under the special supervision of the whole population; ruthless action must be taken against them as soon as they transgress the rules and laws of socialist society in the slightest. Any weakness, any vacillation, any sentimentality in this respect would be the greatest crime against socialism" (Lenin, Vol. 26, pp. 409 - 410, German edition). "Not a single crook (not even one of those who shirk work) should be allowed to walk free, but must be imprisoned or put to the heaviest forced labour; not a single rich man who violates the rules and laws of socialism should escape the fate of the crook, which must rightly become the fate of the rich man; "he who does not work, neither shall he eat!" - this is the practical precept of socialism" (ibid., page 412, German edition),[underlined by the author].

"The recognition of the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat is intimately and inseparably connected with the statement of the 'Communist Manifesto' that only the proletariat is a truly revolutionary class" (Lenin, Vol. 6, page 37, German edition). The 'Communist Manifesto' clearly declares that "... the small industrialist, the artisan, the peasant ... are not revolutionary, but conservative. Even more, they are reactionary.... If they are revolutionary" ("they are"!), "they are so with a view to the transition to the proletariat which lies ahead of them, ... so they leave their own standpoint in order to place themselves on the standpoint of the proletariat" (MEW, Vol. 4, page 472) - quoted in Lenin, Vol. 6, page 37, German edition).

As long as there are antagonistic contradictions and a fierce class struggle between socialism and its enemies, between the socialist and capitalist road, the repressive function of the socialist state can neither be abolished nor take second place, the weapons must always be ready and sharp, because:

The possibility of the *transformation of non-antagonistic contradictions back into antagonistic contradictions* is not only a real danger of the restoration of capitalism, but has already become a historical fact, from which we must learn, especially with regard to the question of violence. The non-antagonistic class society of socialism cannot defend itself against a transformation back into an antagonistic class society without class struggle. The enemy fights socialism in the field of politics as well as in the field of economy and ideology, and continues this struggle also by violent means. "The fiercer the resistance of the exploiters, the more energetic, determined, ruthless, successful will be their suppression by the exploited. The more manifold will be the attempts and efforts of the exploiters to assert [or reconquer - author's note] the old order, the faster will the proletariat learn to expel its class enemies from their last loophole, to destroy the roots of their domination [or, rather, of their reconquest - author's note]. of their reconquest - author's note], to erode the very soil on which wage slavery, the misery of the masses, the enrichment and insolence of the money-bag could (and had to) flourish. In proportion as the resistance of the bourgeoisie and its boarders increases, so does the strength of the proletariat and the peasantry joining it" (Lenin, Vol. 26, page 401, German edition). The struggle against the enemies is always the primary task of every socialist society, of the socialist people under the leadership of the working class and its party. If counter-revolutionary violence is used against socialism from within, then it must also be put down with internal revolutionary violence. To prevent this from happening, all other forms of socialist class struggle must be exhausted.

Above all, attention must be directed in five directions, which only work when they are applied in their correct combination.

1. the working class in power must *never slacken* in the class struggle, must not allow itself to be put to sleep and taken by surprise, must not rest on its laurels, must not allow indifference or complacency to arise, must not lull itself into carelessness, above all must not behave passively towards all other classes in socialist class society. It must use its political power properly and never let it out of its hands. 2.

2. The working class must not artificially inflame the socialist class struggle, must not allow hasty, sectarian and adventurous actions. Neither must the working class draw the line of demarcation between itself and the non-antagonist classes too sharply, nor artificially sharpen the antagonisms, nor arbitrarily sharpen them, nor let them get out of control, nor must it leave the development of the non-antagonist contradictions to its own course, must not remain indifferent to it, but must regard this question as a Marxist-Leninist solution to the question of class struggle, must take all appropriate measures to exert a positive influence on the process of change of the socialist classes in the course of socialist development through conviction and its own example, not through paternalism. Violence can be avoided if the danger of the transformation of non-antagonistic into antagonistic contradictions is prevented politically, economically and ideologically, i.e. Marxist-Leninist principled as well as elastic, with the aim of eliminating the non-antagonistic contradictions step by step. However, the avoidance of artificial heating up must not be confused with loosening the reins in the intensifying class struggle. The working class must not shy away from using its weapons at any moment of the class struggle, if this is necessary to preserve its power. The class enemy never sleeps, but is always waiting for an opportunity to weaken the power of the working class, whether through splits, sabotage, sweet-talking, personality cult, political assassinations, etc., the list is long and well known.

3. The working class in power must prevent the abuse of its own leading position, for example, the breeding of privileged strata through material conditions, the degeneration of its cadres and their bureaucratisation, technocratisation, etc., the growth of revisionist forces, careerists, etc., from the ranks of the working people, from the ranks of the working class itself, from the ranks of the communists, so that a new social bourgeoisie does not develop, a development of the bourgeoisie of the working class, a new socialist labour aristocracy, a parasitic bonzocracy in the party and in the other organisations of socialist society, etc., can grow up, which combines with the old remnants and their elements and also organises the non-proletarian classes of socialist society against the power of the working class and also does not shy away from violent means in order to conquer / recapture the power of revisionism. The working class does not allow anyone to go back the capitalist way, itself least of all. As the only revolutionary class, the working class must raise the other classes to its level, and this can only be done if the working class permanently revolutionises itself and its party permanently Bolshevise itself further, keeping itself clean of any opportunist influence and its weapons ready to fire at any moment. 4.

4. The working class *must not confuse* the antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions, must consider them in their context, must neither overestimate nor underestimate them, nor give them the wrong weighting and treatment. It must lead the class struggle in a complex way in all fields of antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions, both in the ideological, economic and above all in the political field. If violence develops against the dictatorship of the proletariat when this transformation of the character of the contradictions is not prevented, it must be answered by force. If the dictatorship of the proletariat has turned into a social-fascist dictatorship of the revisionists, then the dictatorship of the proletariat must be eliminated with a renewed socialist , anti-revisionist revolution. In dealing correctly with the contradictions among the people, the working class must follow its correct, Marxist-Leninist mass line, it must not behave opportunistically or sectarian towards the other classes. The arms must also follow this mass line.

5. The internal enemies of socialism are also supported by the external enemies, which is why the working class must resolutely cut these links, by force if necessary. The question of encirclement cannot be solved by the external enemy without infiltration from within. All internal enemies, without exception, are in one way or another simultaneously agencies of the imperialist and revisionist external enemies, are organised by them acts of violence, such as sabotage, assassinations, etc., and so on. This kind of internal violence against socialism must be opposed by *socialist* violence. If a civil war against socialism becomes inevitable, it must be waged by the working class in defence of socialism. There is no change in principle from what Marx once criticised:

Marx criticised the limitation to purely passive resistance by the people and called for "every kind of force to be opposed to violence. Passive resistance must have active resistance as its basis. Otherwise it resembles the straining of the calf against its butcher" (MEW, Vol. 6, page 32, German edition).

and vice versa:

World imperialism *cannot* be eliminated by the use of force *alone* (without, for example, a corresponding development of the proletariat in the imperialist countries) - it takes a lot more than that. The oppressed nations can take by force everything on earth that the oppressing nations have taken from them, but even if everything is fairly divided, it will eventually be consumed and hunger will knock at the gates again, so it must be produced, and that at the level of development of the given productive forces, which are unevenly developed from country to country. The socialist world economy cannot take the place of the capitalist world economy in a finished state. Its origin coincides with the organisation of the world proletarian revolution, with the arming of the world proletariat and its protracted war against the world bourgeoisie. It develops only in the steps in which the world proletariat succeeds in snatching private property from the world bourgeoisie piece by piece and in freeing the world productive forces piece by piece from the fetters of their international private appropriation, whereby different stages of development of the productive forces are found in all countries and thus also the socialist world economy cannot yet be developed immediately on all sides and in the same way in all countries, which makes the overcoming of the greatest frictions, obstacles and even steps backwards unavoidable. The world proletariat must therefore use more force than the proletarians of all countries put together to cleanse the earth of all vermin, "of the fleas - the crooks, of the bugs - the rich" (Lenin, Vol. 26, page 413, German edition). There must no longer be a spot on the whole earth where these vermin can retreat and gather unscathed, and from there attack the world as a plague of parasites. And only under world socialism does humanity begin to get the capitalist parasite plague under control and finally eliminate it forever.

Only with the appropriation of the total world productive forces by the united peoples does private property, world capitalism cease to exist, do communist conditions develop. Marx chose the following formulation:

"Appropriation is further conditioned by the manner in which it must be accomplished. It can only be carried out through a unification which, due to the character of the proletariat itself, can only be a universal one, and through a revolution in which, on the one hand, the power of the previous mode of production and transport and social division is overthrown and, on the other hand, the universal character and the energy of the proletariat necessary for carrying out the appropriation is developed, furthermore, the proletariat strips itself of everything that still remains to it from its previous social position" (MEW, Vol. 3, p. 68, German edition).

In short: Marx and Engels spoke of "violence (i.e. state power) as economic potency!" And Engels posed the question: "Why then do we struggle for the political dictatorship of the proletariat, if political power is economically impotent?" (MEW, Vol. 37, page 493, German edition). In order to build the socialist world on firm foundations, this presupposes a certain maturation of the economic development of world capitalism, i.e. of the old society. Therefore, in order for violent politics to succeed, certain prerequisites and conditions must be fulfilled and also *be fulfilled* (!) by the creation of a new, international, material mode of production which corresponds to the needs and interests of the new world society. Without the highest stage of development of world capitalism, it is *impossible* for the world proletariat to carry out its world revolution on an economically secure basis. But: If every globalisation of the productive forces under the conditions of capitalism is a *weapon* against the world proletariat, the elimination of world capitalism makes it a *weapon* in the hands of the proletarians of *all* countries. The world proletariat can only fully develop its economic potency when it comes into world possession of its means of production *through victory in the armed international class war*, by which it conquers its world political power.

Marx formulated the greatest world-wide thought of historical science to date, "that in every historical epoch the predominant economic mode of production and exchange and the social division which necessarily follows from it forms the basis on which the political and intellectual history of that epoch is built and from which alone it can be explained; that accordingly the whole history of mankind (since the abolition of the primitive gentile order with its common ownership of land) has been a history of class struggles, struggles between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes; that the history of these class struggles represents a series of developments in which at the present time a stage has been reached where the exploited and oppressed class - the proletariat - cannot achieve its liberation from the yoke of the exploiting and ruling class - the bourgeoisie - without at the same time liberating the whole of society once and for all from all exploitation and oppression, from all class distinctions and class struggles" (MEW, Vol. 21, "Preface to the Manifesto of the Communist Party", page 357, German edition).

"Up to a certain period, the development of the productive forces and the changes in the field of relations of production take place as an elementary process, independent of the will of men. But this only up to a certain moment, up to the moment when the newly arisen and developing productive forces have attained the necessary maturity. After the new productive forces have matured, the existing relations of production and their bearers, the ruling classes, are transformed into the `insurmountable` obstacle which can only be removed by the conscious activity of the new classes, by violent action on the part of these classes, by revolution. Here the tremendous role of the new social ideas, the new political institutions of the new political power, which are called to eliminate the old relations of production by force, becomes particularly clear. On the basis of the conflict between the new productive forces and the old relations of production, on the basis of the new economic needs of society, new social ideas arise, the new ideas organise and mobilise the masses, the masses join together to form a new political army, create a new revolutionary power and use it to violently eliminate the old conditions in the field of relations of production and to establish and entrench new conditions. The elementary process of development gives way to the conscious activity of the people, the peaceful development of the violent upheaval, the evolution of the revolution" (Stalin, History of the CPSU(B), vol. 15, page 163, German edition of the KPD/ML).

The bourgeoisie itself - as Marx taught - is involuntarily called upon *to create the material basis for the new, socialist society during the period of its violent rule*. But these material conditions are created at the price of incredible sacrifices by the peoples whom the world bourgeoisie cruelly exploits and oppresses. It forces all peoples to go the hard way through blood, dirt and environmental disasters, misery and humiliation. Only after the world socialist revolution "will human progress no longer resemble that hideous pagan idol which only wanted to drink the nectar from the skulls of slain people" (Marx, MEW, Vol. 9, page 226, German edition).

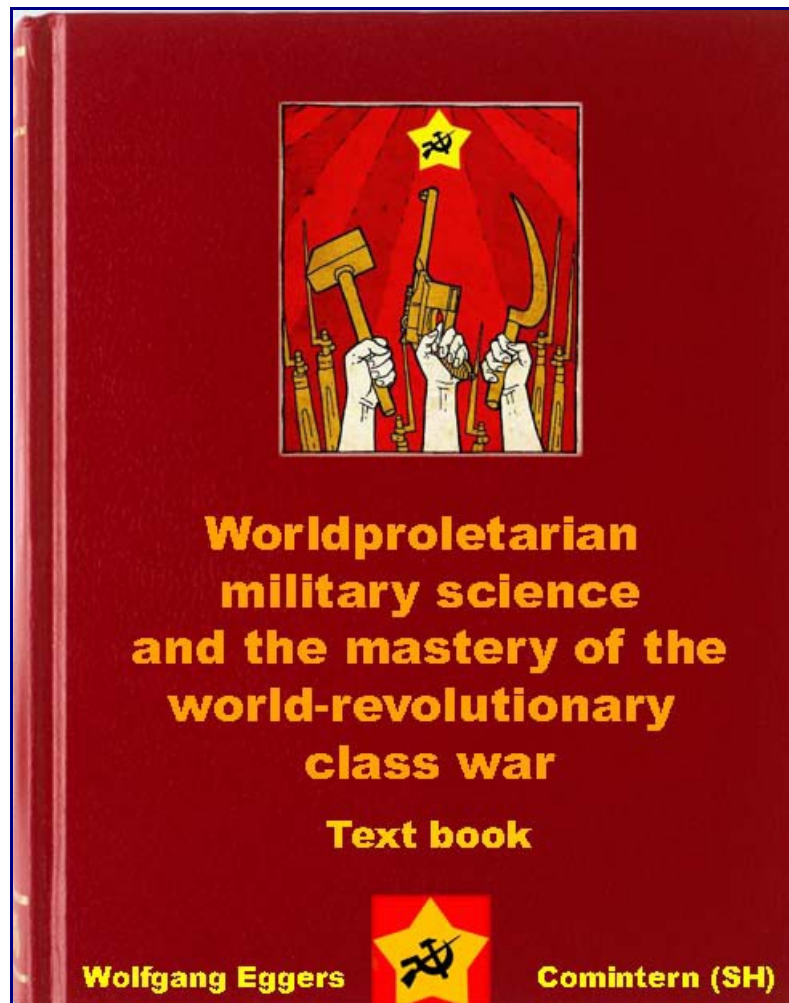
It is communism that world-historically transforms violence back into the position of the negation of negation. Communism is the necessary figure and the energetic principle of the non-violent future, not as a pacifist ideal of non-violent development in an inhuman society, but as the active shaping of human society, its emancipation and reclamation, because: Humanity begins where man violently ends violence as the cruellest expression of inhumanity. Every worker must be aware of this when he takes up the gun. Armed communism disarms private property, armed labour disarms capital. "In order to abolish real private property, this requires *real* communist action" (Marx, MEW, Supplementary Volume 1, page 553, German edition). When the communist soldiers unite, the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, propaganda, etc., is their purpose. But at the same time they thereby appropriate a need, the need for communist society, and what appears to be a means has become an end: "*to overthrow all conditions* in which man is a degraded, a subjugated, an abandoned, a contemptible being" (Marx, *ibid*, page 385, German edition).

The Marxist-Leninists are not peaceable worshippers of bourgeois legality, but the claim that a communist party is a violent, violence-glorifying party was sharply rejected by Engels, because "... if there is no longer any reactionary violence [in communism - addition by the author] to subdue", there can be "no question of revolutionary violence at all" (Engels, vol. 38, pp. 489/490, German edition) [see above]. Engels taught that the party must use both peaceful and non-peaceful methods of struggle in combination according to the conditions of struggle found. "'Peaceful' can remain a historical development only so long as no violent obstacles on the part of any social rulers stand in its way" (Karl Marx, MEW, Vol. 34, page 498, German edition). "One can let the iron fist in the velvet glove feel, but one must let it feel" (Engels to Bebel, MEW, Vol. 34, page 241, German edition). "Legality as long and as far as it suits us, but no legality at any price, even in phrase" (Engels to Fischer, MEW, Vol. 34, page 426, German edition). "(...) and they also know that, if we have the power, we will use it as it serves us and not them" (*ibid*. page 425, German edition).

The revisionists must also feel the fist of the proletariat, because revolutionary violence against *revisionist* violence is necessary. Lenin always stressed: "Violence is effective against those who want to re-establish their rule" (Lenin, Works Volume 42, page 75, 6 December 1920, German edition). And don't the revisionists want to return to power by force, just as they once seized power by force and violently oppressed and exploited the working class and the rest of the labourers? The continuous grovelling of the intellectuals before the revisionists, this is the real content of the howling against the Comintern (SH), which propagates the necessity of systematic revolutionary violence against the revisionists and leads it in an organised way. Whoever rejects revolutionary violence against the revisionists is not a Marxist-Leninist, but a lackey of the bourgeoisie, because: *revisionist* violence is bourgeois violence, reactionary violence against the proletariat, and reactionary violence can only be eliminated with *revolutionary* violence! Revolutionary violence is therefore a politically conscious act of the oppressed classes against the oppressing classes, which has as its goal the overthrow of their power, and not a spontaneous act of despair in which the outraged masses revolt against the arbitrariness of the power of the oppressing classes, but leave their power basically untouched. This would then be the difference between revolutionary and reformist violence, which is particularly evident in the trade union question.

The struggle of the revolutionary peoples is therefore not limited to spontaneous violence - for example, as an expression of desperate venting. Spontaneous violence can at most be a harbinger in the initial stage of the conscious revolutionary process. The highest form of revolutionary violence for the conquest of world power is the centralised armed force of the proletariat, socialist armies in alliance with the national liberation armies of the revolutionary peoples against the armies of the imperialist states, and this brings us to the next chapter.

- End Part V -



Part VI

Textbook

on the Marxist-Leninist foundations of

World proletarian Military Science

and on the Art of

World revolutionary Class Warfare

August 2004

written by Wolfgang Eggers



PART VI

On arming and disarming

our international slogan is:

"Arming the world proletariat and disarming the world bourgeoisie - especially in our own international revolutionary ranks!"

The materialistic weapons are "weapons in themselves". Materialism is recognition of weapons as "objects in themselves" that exist outside and independently of spiritual weapons. The opposite doctrine is idealism. Idealism says that the weapons as objects in themselves do not exist outside of the spiritual weapons. The revisionists fight with the weapon of ignorance to gelatinise this basic distinction between materialism and idealism and fabricate their eclectic weapons from it. Neo-revisionism does not deny the Marxist-Leninist weaponry and disarmament "in itself", but it "only" wants to make the weapon of Marxism-Leninism compatible with the revisionist weapons in the concrete, historical situation through the idealist absolutisation of Marxism-Leninism, to forge them into a united front in order to fill up the bomb craters created in the anti-revisionist struggle and to help the revisionists to polish up the rusty revisionist weapons in order to sell them as new "Marxist-Leninist" weapons. The revisionists want to persuade the world proletariat that it does not need to arm itself because it is supposedly capable and strong enough to disarm the world bourgeoisie peacefully - that it can move peacefully to socialism through "peaceful coexistence" with the world bourgeoisie. Peaceful coexistence of all classes is the peaceful way from arming to disarming. This revisionist peace talk is old news, and we have seen today where it leads - to the unleashing of new imperialist wars, to the unleashing of new civil wars. The idealisation of concrete weapons serves their mental transformation into abstract weapons, serves concrete disarmament by replacing them with abstract "arming" of the proletariat. Thus they serve to maintain the concrete weapons of the bourgeoisie. For the world proletariat the concrete weapon is primary, for the revisionists the spiritual, the abstract, the "Marxist-Leninist" weapon. Spiritual weapons are only the image of concrete weapons, and it goes without saying that the spiritual weapons cannot exist without concrete weapons, which they represent, but that the concrete weapons exist independently of the spiritual weapons and are also consciously used as such in practice by the world proletariat. The highest military question, is the question of the relationship between the spiritual and concrete weapons, that is, how the world proletariat merges the weapon of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete weapons in order to be able to fulfil its military mission victoriously. There is absolutely no difference in principle between the recognition of a weapon and the weapon itself, but only a difference between what is already recognised and what is not yet recognised in a weapon. By recognising the weapons of the world bourgeoisie, the world proletariat recognises its own weapons all the better. In the military science of the world proletariat, one must think dialectically, i.e., not consider our knowledge in the field of this science as something ready-made and unchangeable, but examine in what way this knowledge arises from non-knowledge, how imperfect, non-exact knowledge becomes more perfect and exact, that in this dialectical process of knowledge the weapon "in itself" is transformed into a weapon "for us". The question of whether the weapons we recognise "for us" actually fulfil their effect is a practical question that is only answered and proven by application in armed struggle itself. It is through the armed struggle itself that the correctness of our

military conceptions is verified and that is confirmed in them which corresponds to the absolute necessity of world proletarian armament. The international suitability of a weapon can only be verified by its practical international use; this is also and above all true of the weapon of Marxism-Leninism. A weapon "for us" is that concrete weapon whose positive effect in the class struggle has been correctly recognised and predicted by us. But this is only possible for us if we always snatch these weapons "for us" from the revisionists, their hypocritical evaluation of the weapon "for us". In this context, we attach here a quotation from Engels, which Lenin used in his writing *"Materialism or Empiriocriticism"* (Lenin, Vol. 14, pp. 103 and 104, German edition), defining *"the thing"* concretely as *"the weapon"*:

"The moment we apply these things [i.e. weapons - author's note] to our own use, according to the qualities we perceive in them, at the same moment we subject our sense-perception to an infallible test of its correctness or incorrectness. If these perceptions were incorrect, then our judgment as to the usefulness of such a thing must also be incorrect, and our attempt to use it must fail. If, however, we achieve our purpose, if we find that the thing corresponds to our idea of it, that it does what we would have used it for, then this is positive proof that within these limits our perceptions of the thing and of its properties are in agreement with the reality existing outside us (...). If, on the other hand, we find that we have made a mistake, then it usually does not take long before we discover the cause of it; we find that the perception on which our attempt was based was either itself incomplete and superficial, or was linked with the results of other perceptions in a way not justified by the facts (...). ...) As long as we train and use our senses correctly and keep our way of acting within the limits set by properly made and utilised perceptions, we will find that the successes of our actions provide proof of the correspondence of our perceptions with the objective nature of the things perceived. Not in a single case, so much as is known to date, have we been urged to the conclusion that our scientifically controlled sense perceptions produce in our brains conceptions of the external world which by their nature differ from reality, or that there is an innate incompatibility between the external world and our sense perceptions of it."

In short: Marxism-Leninism answers the question of arming the world proletariat and the question of disarming the world bourgeoisie concretely-practically and not theoretically-abstractly.

But there are no *abstract* weapons. Weapons are always concrete. If one wants to solve the question of weapons, the question of arming and disarming in a Marxist-Leninist way, one must first lead it back to an analysis of the struggle of the classes. The ruling weapons are the weapons of the ruling classes, which are the ruling material power of society and at the same time its ruling spiritual weapons. The class that has the means of material war production thus simultaneously disposes of the means of mental war production, of the means of determining and establishing their strategic and tactical use; in short, of the "mental control" of the weapons produced. The material and spiritual weapons of the ruling classes serve the subjugation of classes, firstly, in order to extend, intensify, secure, defend etc. the system of exploitation, and secondly, in order to paralyse, prevent, put down etc. the striving for freedom of the oppressed and exploited classes, their revolutionary movements, their material and spiritual weapons of liberation, through the counter-revolutions. The ruling weapons are nothing more than the armed maintenance of the ruling material conditions, i.e. the conditions which make one class the ruling class, i.e. the powerful weapons of its rule. The existence of revolutionary weapons in a certain epoch already presupposes the existence of a revolutionary class. Therefore, if the world proletariat exists, the weapons of the world proletariat will also exist. The world proletariat becomes the international armed class not only through the unification of its weapons, but also through the weapon of its growing internationalist consciousness to internationally disarm the class of the ruling world bourgeoisie. By international arming of the world proletariat is meant both its international direct arming with weapons and its world arming with Marxism-Leninism, with the world outlook of the proletariat, with proletarian internationalism. The strength of international arms is measured by the strength of the consciousness of the classes with which they use their international arms. If the Marxist-Leninist criticises the international weapons of the world bourgeoisie, he develops the consciousness of the world proletariat and thus strengthens the world revolution. If a revisionist fogs the world proletariat with his sermons, he clouds its consciousness and weakens the world revolution. The world proletariat, which puts itself as a class in the place of the now ruling class of the world bourgeoisie, is compelled, if only to carry out its purpose, to present its weapons as the common weapons of all peoples, i.e., to give its weapons the international form of universality. The revolutionary world proletariat, from the outset, because it confronts the world bourgeoisie as a class, does not appear as an armed class, but as the armed representative of the whole world society, as the organiser and leader of the armed solidarity of the revolutionary peoples.

The world proletariat appears as the whole *mass* of world society vis-à-vis the single, ruling class of the world bourgeoisie. The world proletariat thus establishes its rule on a broader basis than that of the still ruling class of the world bourgeoisie, whereas in the later course the opposition of the no longer ruling world bourgeoisie against the then ruling world proletariat develops all the more sharply and deeply. Private property in arms, which cannot remain private without arms, is eliminated by the socialisation of their use [turn the guns around against private property!] Thus the final product of the socialised production of weapons is, by law, the weaponless society. Socialism abolishes bourgeois weapons, but not proletarian weapons, communism in general abolishes all weapons that once served to kill, oppress and exploit people by people. So: without expropriation of private weapons, no socialisation of weapons, and without socialised weapons, no abolition of weapons. The necessity of ruling arms only ceases to exist at the moment when the rule of classes ceases to exist at all and thus class interests no longer have to be presented as "general" interests as ruling, i.e. with ruling arms. The world proletariat is the only ruler who rules the rulers, in order to finally eliminate the inevitability of rulers forever (ruling times, [not] another a' time !). Lenin clearly pointed out that "(...) from the point of view of the basic ideas of Marxism, the interests of social development are higher than the interests of the proletariat" (Lenin, Vol. 4 page 230, German edition) and so is the interest in arms.

We Marxist-Leninists do not place proletarian class interests in opposition to general human interests. On the contrary, the founders of Marxism, who pointed out the unity of these interests, underlined the general-human character of the interests of the proletariat, its (armed) struggle against imperialist war and any use of violence against people, and its goal of a classless and non-violent society.

"The *class rule* of the workers over the strata of the old world struggling with them (can) exist only as long ... as long as the economic basis of class existence is not destroyed" (MEW, Vol. 18, p. 636, German edition).

The weapon of the proletarian is thus directed against the bourgeoisie in defence of the existence of his own *class* - for the sole reason of creating his power, without which he cannot destroy the economic basis of the existence of all classes. The working class emancipates itself so that the worker can emancipate himself as a human being. Only in this way has the worker finally ceased to be only a "worker" and nothing else. Only in this way does he create a society for himself in which he can simply be "only" a human being, where he is truly free, where he can be free without ever again being condemned to being only the appendage and instrument of a class. All human beings are only equal when they can finally step out of the shadowy existence of their class membership, emancipate themselves as real human beings and never again have to encounter each other as members of this or that class in the struggle of their own class against the members of this or that class. And to whom alone in this whole world does the honour of accomplishing this greatest work in human history - the communist, classless society - belong? This honour belongs to the worker alone!!! And how does he realise this dream? Only in the only possible way - in the hard, self-sacrificing way of his armed struggle !!!! This is the whole purpose for which the worker must use his own proletarian military theory - the military theory of Marxism-Leninism. And how can he use it? He can use it only on condition and at the moment when he joins as a soldier the great armies of the world proletariat led by the Communist International.

"Real support in the real struggle is given to him who strives for the great (and in case of failure achieves the small), and not to him who opportunistically curtails the tasks of this struggle even before the struggle" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 17, German edition).

He who really fights with the weapon in his revolutionary hand naturally fights for the whole, for world power : freedom or death! But he who fights for the whole with the weapon in his hand must be careful not to lay down his weapon again just because he has fought for small achievements of the moment or achievements for a single country. Those who allow themselves to be diverted from the armed path forget the whole, i.e. everything that is still (internationally) absolutely to be won, but is still relatively far away. Without the whole, however, all the small achievements of the moment, all the achievements of a country or a few countries, are completely vain. Only the revolutionary class of the proletariat is capable of such an armed struggle and capable of not sacrificing the whole halfway only for the vanity of the stage victory already achieved on the road to world revolution. Only the world proletariat is capable and able to lay down its weapon only when the last human being on this earth is liberated from oppression and exploitation! All other classes prefer this armed struggle for the whole to the armed struggle of pacting, which means nothing else than to exert pressure on the old capitalist world by means of the use of weapons in order to ultimately be able to lay claim to a piece of its wealth; in other words: to attack the old world only to be satisfied with small achievements for their own advantage - at the price of basically resigning themselves to the old rule of capitalism ("peaceful coexistence"). In whatever "revolutionary" guise the bourgeoisie uses its weapons, it is alien to any concern for the complete ending of exploitation and oppression throughout the world. Any critical attitude of revolutionary arms towards minor, gradual improvements, towards any half-heartedness and any half-measures is incomprehensible to it and will always remain incomprehensible to it, no matter how "freedom-loving", "pro-people" or "world-revolutionary" it may behave, even "Marxist-Leninist": Revisionist weapons will never be able to be transformed into Marxist-Leninist weapons, they can only be disarmed by Marxist-Leninist weapons.

To want to fight for the whole in words with the weapon in hand, but to misuse the whole weapons in deeds only for the aim and purpose of being satisfied with a part at the expense of the whole, that is betrayal of the whole, that is disarming the whole, that is betrayal of the whole armed world revolution, of the whole arming of the new socialist world order and that is at the same time the whole capitulation before the whole armed, old, capitalist world system. This betrayal of the whole arms exists in the whole history of the armed struggle of the whole proletariat. And this whole betrayal of the whole revolutionary arms will only cease when the whole armed struggle of the world proletariat will also be completely ended forever.

It is an old trick of the revisionists that they use completely meaningless, memorised words of Marxism, such as: Marxist-Leninists must not renounce armed struggle in all countries at all times, just as it is an old trick of the revisionists to quite "recognise", " consider justified", " support it in solidarity", etc. armed struggle in this or that country, but only not concretely in a certain country, only not in their own country - thus: abstract weapons (dummies) are opposed to concrete weapons; abstract Marxism-Leninism (dummy) is opposed to concrete Marxism-Leninism. If we consider this as an international revisionist tactic of building dummies - and we cannot consider it otherwise under the conditions of globalisation - it amounts to arming in words but disarming in deeds, world revolution in words against world revolution in deeds. For the Marxist-Leninist military science of the world proletariat, the full armed solidarity of the international Marxist-Leninist movement is an absolutely indisputable fact, as is the fight against the de facto international revisionist disarmament of the proletariat. And in the words of Lenin, *armed internationalism* means:

There is *only one real armed* proletarian internationalism:

the devoted work on the development of the revolutionary movement and its armed struggle in one's own country, the armed support of just such an armed struggle, just such an armed line and only such an armed line in all countries without exception (compare: Lenin, Volume 24, page 59/60, German edition). The military guideline of proletarian internationalism is: "Never to turn arms against one's own brothers, the wage slaves of other countries, but against the reactionary and bourgeois governments and parties in all countries" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 166, German edition).

There is only a real armed international revisionism to transform armed internationalism, which cannot be eliminated as long as world imperialism exists, into healing forces, into new energy to maintain the old power. The revisionist warfare is a disguised warfare of world imperialism - that is, the war carried out with a Marxist-Leninist camouflage for the imperialist domestication and chastisement of the revolutionary movement and its armed struggle in its own country, the armed *decomposition* of just such an armed struggle, the *decomposition* of just such an armed line and only such a *decomposition* in all countries without exception. This *armed revisionist power* is a piece of this old power, for the maintenance, consolidation or reconquest of the old power. This armed revisionist power is a piece of this old power, for the maintenance, consolidation or reconquest of the old power, is an immunising kind of protective shield, in order to catch the onslaught of the revolutionary peoples with the world proletariat at the head against the old power, to decompose, but no longer to be content with this, but to use this process of decomposition as a basis for the preparation of the de-revolutionised mass in such a way that with it new forces can be produced for the old power for its regeneration, new revisionist immunising vaccine against (for ! !!) the next world-revolutionary mass. !!) the next world revolutionary onslaught of the exploited and oppressed masses. But revisionism can be won from nothing else than the extract of Marxism-Leninism. Only an electrified mass prepared in the class struggle, a revisionist-domesticated world proletariat, can supply the old power with profits, i.e. with the necessary energies for survival. Decomposition of the revolutionary forces for the purpose of rejuvenating the old power, that is the recipe of the revisionist elixir of life of today's world imperialism - defence by taking defensive substances, which can only be extracted from the precious revolutionary movement, which the class struggle produces, which the world bourgeoisie can only produce from the world proletariat, but which it needs for survival and also gets for it so far. Maximum profit through revisionist "cultivation" of the world revolution - that is the last great "secret" of the world imperialist survival strategy, which is revealed here and thus released for firing!

Therefore, if the world revolutionary movement, the world proletariat at the head of the revolutionary peoples really wants to defeat the old power - and they will irrevocably win, sooner or later - then they must first stop the production of the revisionist vaccine, they must immunise themselves against this vaccine, they must then transform revisionism into a deadly weapon against world imperialism, they must beat world imperialism with its own weapons. Beating revisionism with its own weapons is an important, indispensable part of the military strategy and tactics of the future anti-revisionist struggle, the smashing of this piece of old power against the maintenance, consolidation or reconquest of the old power. This is a kind of immunised shield of the world proletariat to absorb and disintegrate the counter-revolutionary onslaught of the world bourgeoisie against the new power, so that the world proletariat can then benefit from it itself. The lifeblood of the revolutionised masses is Marxism-Leninism, the only effective vaccine against revisionism, the decisive weapon against the old power, the decisive weapon for the creation of the new power of the world proletariat, liberated from revisionism!

"An oppressed class which does not strive to gain knowledge of arms, to be trained in arms, to possess arms, such an oppressed class is only worthy of being oppressed, ill-treated and treated as a slave" (Lenin, Vol. 23, page 75, German edition). This is most true of the most oppressed and exploited class in the whole world - the world proletariat.

Lenin wrote in November 1905 of the formation of local social-democratic workers' organisations, mentioning the establishment of "*tirs*". On this he remarked:

" * I do not know an appropriate Russian word and use the French 'tir' to designate a room for target shooting, where all kinds of weapons are kept in stock and anyone who feels like it can shoot at the target with revolvers or shotguns for a small fee. In Russia, freedom of assembly and association is proclaimed. Citizens are entitled to assemble even to hold target practice; this cannot put anyone in danger. In every large city in Europe there are such shooting ranges, accessible to everyone, in cellars, sometimes outside the city, and so on. And it is not at all superfluous for the workers to learn to shoot and handle weapons. Of course, we shall not be able to approach this matter seriously and comprehensively until freedom of association is secured and it is possible to prosecute any police vassal who should presume to prohibit such establishments" (Lenin, Vol. 10, pp. 19-20, German edition).

"In 1850, in anticipation of a new uprising in Germany, Karl Marx wrote to the German comrades of the time: 'The arms and ammunition must not be given out of the hands under any pretext (...), the workers must (...) try to organise themselves independently as a proletarian guard, with self-elected chiefs and their own self-elected general staff (...)' . And this is what the proletariat must 'keep in mind during and after the coming insurrection (see the 'Cologne Trial' address by Marx to the Communists) [quoted in Stalin, Works, Vol. 1, page 316, German edition]. And this is what is also to be 'kept in mind' during and after the world socialist revolution on an international scale.

The Communist Manifesto states:

"The weapons with which the bourgeoisie beat feudalism to the ground are now turned against the bourgeoisie itself. But the bourgeoisie has not only forged the weapons that will bring it death; it has also begotten the men who will wield these weapons - the modern workers, the proletarians!"

Marx and Engels speak not only of the procreation, of the very existence of the proletarian class, but above all of its international development and maturation. A certain degree of maturity, assured conditions and international preconditions must be fulfilled in order to achieve the final victory over the bourgeoisie. How the bourgeoisie not only creates the armed world proletariat, its "own gravediggers", but also finally seals its downfall lawfully and inevitably, Marx and Engels explained as follows:

"All previous society was based (...) on the opposition of oppressing and oppressed classes. But in order to be able to oppress a class, its conditions must be secured, within which it can at least maintain its servile existence. (...) The modern worker, on the other hand, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks ever deeper under the conditions of his own class. The worker becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops even faster than population and wealth. It is hereby openly revealed that the bourgeoisie is incapable of remaining any longer the ruling class of society and of imposing the conditions of life of its class on society as a regulating law. It is incapable of ruling because it is incapable of ensuring the existence of its slave even within his slavery, because it is forced to let him sink into a position where it must feed him instead of being fed by him. Society can no longer live under it, i.e., its life is no longer compatible with society. The essential condition for the existence and for the rule of the bourgeois class is the accumulation of wealth in the hands of private individuals, the formation and multiplication of capital; the condition of capital is wage labour. Wage labour is based exclusively on the competition of the workers among themselves. The progress of industry, of which the bourgeoisie is the will-less and unresisting bearer, substitutes for the isolation of the workers through competition their revolutionary union through association. With the development of great industry, therefore, the very basis is swept away from under the feet of the bourgeoisie, upon which it produces and appropriates the products. It produces above all its own gravedigger. Its downfall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable."

Further to the above quotation from the Communist Manifesto, it should be noted that the bourgeoisie not only begets the men who will destroy it, but also the women who "stand their ground." We assume, and history has long proven, that women are also excellent with weapons in the armed liberation struggle, no less than men (revolutionary women's battalion in China). The commonality of the sexes, the class solidarity of common duties and rights among the sexes, plays the decisive role in the (armed) class struggle, not their difference. The position of women is not the same in all cultures, but with the revolutionary gun in her hand, women all over the world will raise their position, their armed struggle will contribute to their emancipation.

The question of gender-specific armed struggle is not the only question. There are also differences among the proletarians of different countries, states, nations, etc. The commonalities of the proletarians in the different countries, states, nations, etc. play the decisive role in the (armed) class struggle, without disregarding the correct consideration of the given or arising differences that exist from country to country. What is decisive for the world revolution is not which people, which state, which nation has the best revolutionary soldiers, the best Red Army, etc., but that they neutralise each other's weaknesses and all together unite their best qualities against the common class enemy. Certainly there are fighters who deserve a place of honour, certainly there are armies who fight at the head of the world revolutionary centre, this is meritorious and exemplary, but not a privilege, but only an obligation towards all others who have also made sacrifices and contributed. The armed struggle of the world proletariat and revolutionary peoples does not deepen existing differences, but reduces them, because it is about the liberation of all, for which all are fighting equally.

"Political power comes from the barrels of guns", but just *not exclusively* and *not under all conditions*. Even the strongest armed international counterrevolution cannot guarantee the power of the world bourgeoisie forever, because even with arms the social regularity of the downfall of this ruling class cannot be suspended, but at most delayed for a limited time. Nor is the power of the proletariat "coming out of the barrels of guns" guaranteed absolutely and under all circumstances, because the growth of the proletariat into the ruling class is subject to social and economic regularities which can neither be overridden nor overridden. Finally, the Red Armies have been defeated or turned back into Black Armies, as the history of the armed proletariat has painfully shown. The lesson of the Paris Commune is not only the necessity of arming in itself, of the dictatorship of the proletariat in itself, but that the arming of the proletariat must be carried on to the world dictatorship of the proletariat, that *the dictatorship of the proletariat is doomed to failure if it does not grow beyond the stage of "socialism in one country"*, spreading from one country to another over the whole world. And precisely for this, all the necessary conditions have not yet been fulfilled, although they have contributed a giant step towards this. *History has shown that a whole historical intermediate stage is needed between "socialism in one country" and "socialism on a world scale"*, that this process of untransformation could not be achieved in a single leap from the October Revolution to the world revolution, that the world proletariat was not yet capable of this immediate leap, that it would need one, indeed more than one, attempt. Above all, experience shows that many preconditions are needed for the political power of the world proletariat to come "out of the barrels of the gun", which must first be fulfilled. Therefore, when we deal here in particular with the regularities of political power coming "from the barrels of guns", we must not do so unilaterally, but must always use the military weapons in conjunction with all the other weapons that the world proletariat needs all together in order to be victorious in the world revolution. Military weapons are not automatically part of every social order, but only of the order of class society, which we want to and will abolish. It is therefore impossible for the world proletariat to rely only on military weapons to liberate the world from capitalism and to take the road to world communism. In short, the revolutionary world proletariat subordinates its military standpoint to its political standpoint. Lenin, in his commentary on Clausewitz, stresses that "politics is the mind, but war is only the tool and not the other way round. Consequently, there is only the possibility of subordinating the military standpoint to the political one" [underlined by the author].

"The great cause of the replacement of unfree labour by labour for itself, by labour organised according to plan on a gigantic, nation-wide scale (to a certain extent also on an international, world scale), requires, in addition to *'military'* measures to suppress the resistance of the exploiters, gigantic organisational efforts on the part of the proletariat and the poor peasantry. The organisational work is interwoven into an inseparable whole with the task of the ruthless military suppression of the slaveholders of yesterday (the capitalists) and the mob of their lackeys, the gentlemen bourgeois intellectuals" (Lenin, Vol. 26, page 406, German edition).

These bourgeois intellectuals think that the proletariat, the peasantry, the poor masses may be suitable for the violent revolution, but to administer the state, to build the new society, to *harvest and appropriate* the knowledge, the education, the "know-how", the fruits of the revolution, would be reserved only for the privileged strata of the "higher classes", thus, in their view, proletarian socialism would lawfully pass into bourgeois socialism, into their own pockets, pointing to the glorious emergence and sorrowfully ending history of socialism in one country. The world proletariat is struggling and the bourgeoisie is stealing back its power with the help of revisionism. So let the world socialist revolution pull the cart out of the mud, when it is running again with the efforts of the masses, the higher classes will again "arm" themselves with the red flag, sit on the coach-box and determine the direction, will skim and when the achievements of the revolution are tasted, steer the cart straight into the next mud again to beg the world proletariat once more to pull the cart out of the mud "for the last time". This is not the way, gentlemen! We will only get out of the mud for good if and only if *we harness you to our, the proletarian socialism!* "But it is precisely in this that the strength, in this that the vitality, the invincibility of the October Revolution of 1917 consists, that it awakens these qualities, breaks all the old barriers, bursts the rotten fetters, leads the toilers on the road of independent creative construction of a new life" (Lenin, Vol. 26, page 408, German edition). No one can deny that the fetters of world imperialism have become more and more rotten since the October Revolution of 1917, especially through the strenuous resistance to socialism in the Soviet Union and Albania. Thus, no one can have any doubt that globalisation will make it easier for the strengthening world proletariat to break the shackles of world imperialism and achieve victory over it with each new dawn!

In summary, it can be said that in the epoch of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the class antagonisms and thus also the armed struggle of the classes will be simplified, that the international civil war will essentially be fought between the two large classes directly opposed to each other, in the course of which the remaining classes will degenerate and perish, or join one or the other camp. With this, the complications of alliances, intermediate stages, compromises etc. associated with the intermediate classes also disappear. This does not mean that the processes of development of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat have become easier. The polarisation between the world proletariat and the world bourgeoisie does not go smoothly, without a struggle of opposites, not only for these two classes, but also for the classes decaying between them. It is the world revolution itself through which the polarisation of the classes emerges decisively and the classes separate themselves more sharply from one another in order to clash with one another with all the sharper weapons. Class polarisation gives the proletarians of the individual countries the advantage of distinguishing more clearly between friend and foe on the international class front, even beyond their own national borders. The revisionist of each country, hiding behind the new international class front, is all the more easily unmasked as a neo-revisionist.

We know that the bourgeoisie never rules in its entirety, that there are immigrations from other classes, that there are divisions within the bourgeoisie. In the same way, the proletariat has to struggle with the immigration of other classes and above all against the development of the labour aristocracy, which is in alliance with parts of the intellectual petty bourgeoisie and which is causing the proletariat a lot of trouble, also and especially in the leadership of the armed struggle. There are defectors on both sides. It happens that a "gun bearer" gives up the left gun to take the right gun in his hand and vice versa. There are armed forces of the petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie who post themselves behind the barricades of the proletariat and fight heroically, and there are proletarians who continue to work quietly during the revolution (Engels said "that, as is well known, no revolution can be made with well-employed workers" (ibid., page 128, German edition) or the lumpen proletarians, who tear down the barricades of the revolutionary industrial proletariat for a few pennies from the pockets of the counter-revolution and protect the property of the bourgeoisie from the seizure of the revolutionary proletariat with the weapon - which they probably steal from the proletarians and later sell to the bourgeoisie - in order to make a few nice days for themselves with contract killings. The lumpen proletariat, as is well known, can be bought without batting an eyelid in order to murder the insurgent proletariat from behind for a bread and butter. "Every philistine to whom a barricade was placed at the door immediately ran to the town hall and procured a counter-order. (...) The most contradictory orders crossed each other, and only in this did most of these orders agree, that they increased the cosy confusion and prevented any energetic step. The proletariat was thus completely put off the movement, and after a few days the great bourgeois and the petty bourgeois achieved their purpose of making the workers as indifferent as possible. (...) Finally, the bourgeoisie, here reactionary from the beginning and set up directly for the suppression of the workers, declared itself neutral and merely wanted to protect its property (...) ... unorganised workers, badly armed, almost without leaders, and betrayed in the rear by those who had put arms into their hands" (Engels, MEW, Vol. 7, pp. 126 - 130, German edition). Imagine how it would look like on an international scale what Engels described here and how complicated it is for the world proletariat to gain its leadership in the armed struggle against all the hidden enemies or to assert itself against the waverers and traitors, national bourgeoisie, who stab the liberation fighters in the back and sell themselves to the imperialists. So, the centralisation of the links between the insurgents in the different countries are absolutely the A&O in the international civil war for the chances of a victory, for the elimination of betrayals, for further extension of the struggle, for the defence of the conquered territories etc. etc.. Only when the citadels are in the hands of the peoples can the world proletariat do anything with arms in hand. "And this case can only occur either when the military force is terrorised and rendered headless by tremendous external events, or when the military declares itself wholly or partly in favour of the movement. In any other case, an insurrection (...) is lost from the outset" Engels, MEW, ibid, page 131, German edition).

So, with the correct slogan: "*Only the grasp of the masses to the gun creates socialism!*" it is alone and only in itself an illusion and rapture. For the correct development of the armed class struggle, it is important to avoid military one-sidedness. One takes up arms, revolutionary violence, ignoring all other forms of class struggle, emphasising the question of arming, leaving aside the other questions. One-sidedness of the military struggle is incompatible with materialist dialectics. The one-sided use of arms makes them metaphysical. Although arming and disarming are the highest expression of the material forces of the classes, which are measured, the class struggle is measured not only materially, but also morally, ideologically, etc., etc., in the sense of dialectical dialectics. - in the sense of dialectical and historical materialism.

In order to conquer political power and build socialism, slogans of armed struggle are not enough. There are masses who, incited by the bourgeoisie, have massacred armed workers' uprisings. That workers' uprisings have ended tragically in one way or another is, of course, well known. Firstly, it is not possible without the leadership of the masses by the proletariat and its party, and secondly, moreover, the taking up of arms by the masses does not automatically and directly lead to socialism in the national liberation struggle against imperialism. Slogans cannot be applied anywhere and at any time like a panacea in all situations and under all circumstances. Those who do so anyway are adventurers and sectarians! Neither can the workers be prevented from fighting for socialism at gunpoint, nor can they *be forced* to do so (The working class in power can, however, force the other classes to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat at gunpoint, and did so when circumstances demanded it [Russian Civil War]).

The revisionists have often slandered us Marxist-Leninists as *"dogmatists"* because they have accused us of the false, one-sided and absolutist application of the correct slogan: *"Only the grip of the masses on the gun can bring about socialism"* - torn out of the interrelationship of the maturing revolutionary situation. "What a convenient little word that is: 'dogma'! It is enough to distort the theory of the opponent a little, to cover up this distortion with the bogeyman of 'dogma' - and the shop is ready" (Lenin, Vol. 6, page 189, German edition). Every halfway class-conscious worker knows that even the loudest shouting cannot put a slogan into practice if the necessary objective and subjective preconditions and conditions of the revolutionary situation are not yet given. Of course, the revisionists know this too, but precisely because they object to our making propaganda for communism among the workers and pointing out the necessity of revolutionary violence as distinct from the peaceful road to socialism - for example, with this revolutionary slogan - they use the accusation of sectarianism, not to defend Marxism-Leninism against sectarianism, but to cast fundamental doubt on the truth of this slogan and even to dismiss it in principle as the wrong road to socialism. This is precisely the betrayal of Marxism-Leninism by the revisionists on the question of arming the proletariat. To dissuade the workers from the idea of arming and finally from arming themselves is precisely the task that the bourgeoisie has given to the revisionists in order to prevent the revolution.

But what do the neo-revisionists say about arming the proletariat?

There are neo-revisionists who, for example, thoroughly "attack" the old Kautskyan renegadeism, according to which arms are concededly "inevitable during a revolution or insurrection, but..." afterwards - please - to be surrendered again ["The first characteristic of every counter-revolution is the disarmament of the workers and the revolutionary soldiers", (Stalin, Vol. 3, page 105, German edition). "For the bourgeoisie at the helm of the state, therefore, disarming the workers was the first order of business. Therefore, after every revolution won by the workers, a new struggle which ends with the defeat of the workers" (MEW, Engels, Vol. 22, page 190, German edition).].

They also recognise the "necessity" of protecting the dictatorship of the proletariat by a Red Army, but by this they understand something quite different from us Marxist-Leninists. What the neo-revisionists conceal behind Lenin's criticism of the old Kautskyanism is *the armed restoration of revisionism*. It is only for this reason that they feel compelled *to replace the old Kautskyanism with neo-Kautskyanism*, which means nothing other than recognising arming as an instrument for the maintenance or for the recapture of revisionism in power, by which the neo-revisionists try to save Kautskyanism and thus ultimately save the bourgeoisie. Thus, the bourgeoisie would have solved the question of disarming the workers after the revolution by having a revisionist army at its disposal to protect bourgeois socialism, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and to save capitalism again a little from its downfall. That is why the bourgeoisie needs neo-revisionism, why they need the neo-revisionists in the struggle against the Marxist-Leninists. From this, the consistent task for us Marxist-Leninists is to prevent the neo-revisionists from getting their hands on weapons, or our task to disarm the revisionists is to smash their armies and military organisations. This includes that we must never allow revisionists to take part in our armed struggle, that there must never be a united front with the revisionists even in military terms, because they are anti-revisionist, socialist, anti-imperialist, anti-fascist etc. etc. in words only to trap us Marxist-Leninists. This is nothing but disarming tactics of the bourgeoisie. Revisionists on the whole never turn their weapons against the bourgeoisie, but always against the proletariat, even if they try to cover this up by all kinds of deceptive manoeuvres, by "proofs of confidence". This is a question of principle of decisive importance. Between Marxism-Leninism and neo-revisionism there is not only an ideological but also an *armed* line of demarcation, where one does not shoot with empty words and blanks but with live ammunition - whoever is not prepared to take this consistent step to the end, whoever fails halfway in the struggle against neo-revisionism, will - when the going gets tough - end up in the camp of the bourgeoisie and then stand in our vesier.

The neo-revisionists know that they could not get a foothold in the ranks of the anti-revisionist, Marxist-Leninist movement if they - like the modern revisionists in their time - openly attacked the principle of *armed*, socialist revolution and replaced it with their "*peaceful* transition" to socialism. They must therefore proceed in disguise, that is, they would have to use the *principle of armed* socialist revolution as an anti-revisionist mask in order not to openly reveal their true revisionist efforts to prevent it. Revisionism which uses the principles of Marxism-Leninism as an anti-revisionist mask is nothing else than NEO-REVISIONISM = anti-revisionism in words and revisionism in deeds!!! But how will the neo-revisionists manage to fool us on the principled question of arming? Quite simply, the neo-revisionists always put the wedge of division where we Marxist-Leninists ourselves cannot see clearly in view of the changed conditions, or where differences of opinion arise among us on the question of armed socialist revolution, where our anti-revisionist line of demarcation on this or that question becomes fragile and outdated. The old line of demarcation may have been suitable against the modern revisionists, but why are we surprised that today the revisionists could still enter or remain in our Marxist-Leninist organisations in order to further infiltrate and divide them, to further incapacitate us from within, to continue to prevent our urgently needed unification ? We have simply failed to permanently raise the anti-revisionist demarcation line because we thought ourselves all too safe from the revisionists (not only) on the question of armed socialist revolution, because we have let our guard down, because we have not thought this question through to the end, because we have made the anti-revisionist answer to the armed question too simple, because holding on to outdated anti-revisionist doctrines becomes dogmatic if we do not modify these doctrines under changing conditions. And the anti-revisionist struggle has very much changed - especially since the death of comrade Enver Hoxha. Today, it is not enough to merely "recognise as a principle" the armed socialist revolution in a capitalist country, leaving aside the most important thing - the world socialist revolution. If we Marxist-Leninists, especially in the age of globalisation, speak of the world proletarian revolution but remain silent about its arming, which is necessary in principle and in practice, then we allow the revisionists to deny and attack this question - mind you, not from the standpoint of modern revisionism, but from the "Marxist-Leninist" standpoint of armed socialist revolution in one country! Whoever denies the armed world revolution in word and deed, removes it from the agenda, so to speak, how can he - if you please - in reality be in favour of the armed socialist revolution in a country - no matter how vehemently he defends this slogan ?! But the moment the Marxist-Leninist movement becomes united on this question, the moment it affirms the necessity of the armed socialist world revolution in word and deed in complete agreement and unity, then it will also affirm the necessity of working out a new international, Marxist-Leninist military theory, It will use agitation and propaganda to convince the world proletariat of the necessity of its centrally organised international armament, mobilise the masses accordingly and prepare them for the armament, first

theoretically and then practically, and finally *lead* it.

Then no neo-revisionist in our ranks can stand up to deny this question in principle "from the Marxist-Leninist point of view". *Either* they will be for the armed socialist world revolution *or* against it. There can and will be nothing in between for us Marxist-Leninists, and thus we would have fundamentally re-established our demarcation line against revisionism on the question of arming! If they are against it, we throw them out of our ranks as a matter of course and without fail, they must in future fight against our correct standpoint from the outside. Revisionism is more useful to the bourgeoisie inside (disguised revisionism) our ranks than outside (open revisionism). So, once the neo-revisionists have been forced to attack us from the outside and no longer from the inside; once we have torn off their anti-revisionist mask; once then not only the Marxist-Leninists but also the masses will see through the true meaning and purpose of that (disguised) "anti-revisionism" with which the bourgeoisie masks itself to the world proletariat and to us Marxist-Leninists; When all have understood the difference between bourgeois "anti-revisionism" and proletarian anti-revisionism, that there can only be one, the true anti-revisionism, Marxist-Leninist anti-revisionism, then we have already won a decisive victory against the neo-revisionists, and thus against the bourgeoisie in our ranks - and it is precisely this victory that we Marxist-Leninists are concerned with today. Incidentally, this tactical approach is to be applied to all questions of principle against neo-revisionism. In military terms, we must follow the tactic of driving the camouflaged enemy out of our trenches in order to get a better shot at him and disarm him before he succeeds in another attempt to reappear in the night and fog in one of our other trenches with a better camouflage in order to wreak further havoc.

All right, on the question of armed socialist revolution we fought successfully against the modern revisionists at that time, but what is the use of this struggle if the neo-revisionists succeed in recognising the armed principle in words, penetrate our ranks and finally disarm us in practice at the most appropriate moment? It is precisely here that we must continue the principled struggle against revisionism and that means above all: we must attack the centres of power of revisionism from which neo-revisionism feeds. We must, for example, wage a principled struggle for the armed smashing of the revisionists, social-fascists and social-imperialists still *in power* and give all help, including armed international help, to the working class and peoples *still ruled by the revisionists today* so that these treacherous cliques are overthrown and the flag of revolution and socialism is raised. This not only facilitates our struggle against neo-revisionism, but is the precondition for the victorious struggle against the revisionists in our own ranks; this is the only correct line of the Marxist-Leninist world movement to continue its struggle against revisionism.

In order for the weapons to one day end up on the dung heap of history, the world proletariat must first arm itself in order to be able to disarm the world bourgeoisie at all. Without arming the world proletariat, world imperialism cannot be disarmed. If it is then finally disarmed, then one must not hang up one's arms until the last danger of the restoration of capitalism has been averted - on a world scale, of course. We Marxist-Leninists are for the fragmentation of counter-revolutionary arms, but not for our own arms. Centralisation of the armament of the world proletariat - that is our slogan. How this is organised in detail is not important here. Every Marxist-Leninist knows that every supply of arms to the workers requires double strict conspiracy, and the international supply of arms requires at least ten times as strict conspiracy as compared to any other conspiratorial task. To neglect this conspiracy vis-à-vis the revisionists or to omit it vis-à-vis them would be outright suicide, and would be nothing other than to announce the supply of arms directly to the public.

"We say: arming the proletariat for the purpose of defeating, expropriating and disarming the bourgeoisie - this is the only possible tactic, the revolutionary tactic, which is prepared, founded and taught by the whole objective development of capitalist militarism. Only after the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie can it, without betraying its world-historical task, throw in its weapons to the old iron, which it will certainly do then - *but not sooner*" (Lenin, Works, Vol. 23, page 76, German edition).

Lenin attributed the "quick" and "easy" victory of the October Revolution to the "quick" *arming* of the proletariat and the "easy" *disarming* of the bourgeoisie through the *protracted war situation*:

"In Russia the revolution could be carried out so quickly because it proceeded *during* the war. During the war, *tens of millions* of Russian workers and peasants got their hands *on arms*, and against such a force the bourgeoisie and the officers were powerless. In the October days we were threatened to use troops against Petrograd. We received tens of thousands of telegrams from all sections of the front saying: we will march against you and sweep you away. We thought: just try it, and when delegates came from every army, a *half-hour* conversation with them was enough, and it turned out that *the soldiers were for us - the officers had to keep their mouths shut*. The attempts to resist, the conspiracy of the Yudenich, Kolchak and Denekin - that came later, when the army was demobilised. That is why the revolution was able to win so quickly in Russia. The people *were* armed [...equipped by the class enemy for war together were both the workers *and* the peasants, and the people's arming did not have to be organised by the party first, the party thus already found the conditions of arming - note by the author - likewise the emphasis]. The workers and peasants were like one man to us. (Lenin, Vol. 31, page 300, German edition).

In the imperialist countries the conditions of a *people's armament* and a conquest of the power of the proletariat by a socialist revolution looked much more difficult than in Russia, and Lenin reasoned thus in October 1920, that is, after the suppression of the November revolution in Germany:

"In Europe, on the other hand, the war is over. The armies have been demobilised. The soldiers have gone home. The workers and peasants have been disarmed. There, development is now going forward slowly, but it is going forward. As soon as the international bourgeoisie strikes a blow against us, our own workers fall into its arms" (Lenin, *ibid*, page 300, German edition); [emphasis by author].

The question of the organisation of the Hamburg uprising by the party in 1923, despite the support of the Soviet Union and the Comintern, *without* the arming of the *whole* people, which was comparatively already in place in Russia during the war, has taught us how difficult it was, apart from the other factors which led to its defeat (for example, the fact that it was not possible to organise the Hamburg uprising by the party), which led to its defeat (for example, the KPD did not have the quality of the Russian party of the Bolsheviks, opportunism was a stumbling block, the bourgeoisie was better organised and better equipped than in Russia, the revolutionary consciousness of the working class was not yet at the level it was in revolutionary Russia, etc.). etc.).

Socialist revolution begins with the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the seizure of the power of the proletariat.

"But this means that as long as the bourgeoisie has not been completely defeated, as long as its wealth has not been confiscated, the proletariat must necessarily have a military power, it must necessarily have its 'proletarian guard' with the help of which it will repel the counter-revolutionary attacks of the dying bourgeoisie, just as was the case with the Paris proletariat during the Commune" (Stalin, Vol. 1, page 301, German edition). By means of the expropriation of arms, to carry out the economic expropriation of the bourgeoisie of a country, and consequently of the whole world bourgeoisie, that is the only road to socialism. And the more closely the proletarians of all countries unite, the more thoroughly the national barriers erected between them are broken down, the stronger will be the party of the proletariat in each country and thus its union, the Communist International, the more the organisation of the proletariat into an indivisible class of the world proletariat will be facilitated, the faster will come about the world-wide arming of the proletariat of all countries and a centralised, international workers' army.

Lenin led a struggle against the *opportunist ideology of disarmament*, disarmament, petty-bourgeois struggle against militarism, saying:

"The main error of the demand for disarmament is also that all the concrete questions of the revolution are thereby evaded. Or are the disarmament supporters for a whole new kind of disarmed revolution?" (ibid, page 80, German edition).

"Wanting to be sidelined by small states, petty-bourgeois aspirations to stay away from great world struggles, exploiting any monopoly position for narrow-minded passivity - this is the objective social environment that can ensure the idea of disarmament a certain success and spread in some small states [or states facing the hegemony of the superpowers - author's note]. Of course, such aspirations are illusory and reactionary; imperialism will involve the small states in the vortex of the world economy and world politics anyway. (...) Objectively, disarmament is the most national, the specifically national programme of the small states, not an international programme of international revolutionary social democracy" (Lenin, Vol. 23, pp. 82 and 83, German edition).

Lenin saw in the struggle of the small nations for their national freedom, independence and self-determination rather a world revolutionary germ:

"The dialectic of history is such that the small nations, *powerless* as an *independent* factor in the struggle against imperialism, play the role of one of the *ferments*, one of the *bacilli*, which help the real antagonist of imperialism, the socialist proletariat, to come on the scene" (Lenin, Vol. 22, page 366, German edition).

Now, on the question of *provoked insurrection as an instrument of counter-revolution* against the proletariat, there are innumerable examples of this in history, from which the world proletariat will draw important conclusions. So not every insurrection is revolutionary. The fact that the preventive action of the counterrevolution, to disarm the armed workers prematurely in the acute situation of danger of the ruling classes, itself became the fuse on the powder keg and virtually provoked the outbreak of the armed workers' uprising, was shown when peace came about after the capitulation of Paris. The order of the ruling classes to disarm the proletariat failed.

"On March 30, the Commune abolished the conscription and the standing army and declared the National Guard, to which all citizens capable of bearing arms were to belong, to be the only armed force" (Engels, MEW, Vol. 22, page 193, German edition).

"The storm is coming towards us. It is not necessary to clash arms. *It is necessary to prepare the weapons*" (Lenin, Vol. 12, page 110, German edition).

From all this it is clear:

"For the purpose of securing the socialist revolution, its defence against internal and external enemies, rendering assistance to the other national fractions of the fighting proletariat, etc., the full disarmament of the bourgeoisie and its agents and the general arming of the proletariat is necessary. (...) "The basic method of struggle is the mass actions of the proletariat up to open struggle with arms in hand against the state power of capital" (Sentences 5 and 7 of the Platform of the Comintern, "Aims and Tactics", Letter of Invitation to Participate in the First Congress of the Comintern ; 24. 1. 1919, German edition).

Demonstrations, strikes and general strikes

Demonstrations and rallies

At demonstrations and rallies the workers take their demands and the struggle for the realisation of their demands to the streets, they strive to publicly demonstrate their large numbers, their power, their class consciousness and their determination. "It is time," said Lenin, "to emphasise and bring to the fore also in the workers' demonstrations those traits which bring them ever closer to the real open struggle for freedom" (Lenin, Vol. 8, page 20, German edition).

With the street, the proletariat begins to conquer its power. "The inevitable going out of the workers into the street, even if only to inform uninformed colleagues of the strike, is transformed into a political demonstration with revolutionary songs and speeches(...). The mass strike turns into a mass mobilisation of fighters for true freedom" (Lenin, Vol. 9, p. 346, German edition). And Lenin outlines in a few words how the worker fights for the road and transforms it into a broad army road of liberation for all labourers:

"Soon the day will come when the working people will not only rise in the cities to march through the streets shouting, but will rise for the mighty final struggle, when the workers will say like one man: 'We fall in battle or win freedom!' , when thousands of new, even more determined fighters will take the place of hundreds killed and fallen in battle. The peasants, too, will then rise up, will rise all over Russia and rush to the aid of the workers of the cities, will fight to the end for the freedom of the workers and peasants. No Tsarist regiments will then be able to withstand. Victory will be on the side of the working people, and the working class will tread the broad army road to the liberation of all toilers from all oppression, the working class will make use of freedom to fight for socialism" (Lenin, Vol. 6, page 427, German edition).

Lenin replied to a letter from a student of St Petersburg University on the occasion of the editorial "What is to be done?" published in Iskra as follows:

"It seems to us that the letter writer (...) underestimates the organisational side of the demonstrations. We have done very little on this most important point, and it is necessary to use the forces first and foremost and most for the organisation. As long as we do not have firmly welded revolutionary organisations that are capable of putting a few squads of selected people on the march and thus leading a demonstration in an all-round way - as long as this is the case, failures are inevitable. But if such an organisation is formed and consolidated in the course of the work itself, through repeated experience - *then it (and only it) will be able to solve the question of when and how to arm, when and how to make use of the weapon* [emphasis added by the author]. This organisation will have a serious job to do in order to speed up the 'rapidity of mobilisation' (a very important fact which the letter writer has rightly emphasised), to increase the number of active demonstrators, to train the stewards, to broaden the agitation among the masses, to attract the 'crowd of the curious' to participate 'in the action' and to 'seduce' the troops. Precisely because a step such as the transition to armed street struggle is 'abrupt' and because it is 'sooner or later inevitable', it can and must be taken only by a strong revolutionary organisation which directly directs the movement" (Lenin, Vol. 6, page 254, German edition).

In 1903, Lenin drafted a resolution for the II. Party Congress of the RSDWP, which stated:

"The Party Congress regards the organisation of public demonstrations against autocracy as an extremely important means for the political education of the working masses. In this connection the Party Congress recommends, firstly, that such times and conditions be used for the demonstrations in particular when an outrage of tsarism has aroused the feeling of indignation in especially broad strata of the population; secondly, to direct its efforts above all towards drawing broad masses of the working class to participate in the demonstrations and towards organising the demonstrations as well as possible, both as regards their preparation and the service of stewards during the demonstrations themselves and the management of the resistance of the military and police by the demonstrators; thirdly, to begin the preparation of armed demonstrations, strictly observing the instructions of the CC in this respect. The Party Congress further recommends all committees and other Party organisations to discuss the preparation of the armed uprising in all directions and to strive with all their strength to spread among the working masses the conviction that the uprising is necessary and inevitable. The Party Congress entrusts exclusively and completely to the CC the practical measures which can already be taken in preparation for the insurrection" (Lenin, Vol. 6, page 467, German edition). The fact that Lenin here introduced the preparation of the insurrection into a draft resolution on demonstrations shows the special importance he attached to demonstrations for the insurrection. The October Revolution fully confirmed this importance of the demonstration. Lenin studied the different character of demonstrations and their different forms. He distinguished several types of demonstrations, higher and lower types. The highest type he called those cross-country (armed) mass demonstrations which lead to open outbreaks of the revolutionary people's movement and finally lead to armed insurrection. From the street demonstration to the armed street struggle, Lenin followed a direct line of Bolshevik tactics. (The form of struggle of the urban guerrilla proper will be dealt with in detail elsewhere in the chapter on "Civil War").

Demonstrations are therefore undoubtedly a serious *science*, a form of class struggle, an organised action and act of struggle, and especially in its violent, militant, illegal etc. form and extension. expression and extension - and thus an integral part of Marxist-Leninist military science - this has become more than clear from Lenin's brief quotations on demonstrations. In particular, Marxist-Leninists set themselves the task of taking the lead in spontaneous demonstrations and transforming them into political demonstrations, exploiting them for the aims of communism, in order to one day develop enough strength and ability to set up their own demonstrations independently. The question of internationalisation of demonstrations is, in the broadest sense, a question of approaching the proletarian, socialist world revolution, a form of struggle which the world proletariat in its totality can and will use *in many ways* in the increasing globalisation. Through its globalised content, the form of struggle of the demonstration acquires a new historical globalised form, a qualitatively higher form, which will inevitably emerge in the further course of the international class struggle.

Demonstrations, rallies and actions, factory occupations up to bloody confrontations with police and army of the capitalist state are not a "dumping of emotions", but the result and concrete expression of the grown political class consciousness of the working class and the rest of the exploited masses, the sharpening of the contradictions between capital and labour all over the world and the deep crisis in which world capitalism is stuck. In the centuries-long history of demonstrations as a particular form of struggle, their content had changed frequently. Revolutionary demonstrations are generally banned by the class enemy, used for identification purposes, demagogically defamed, violently broken up, counter-demonstrations are organised, etc. The counterrevolutionary measures against revolutionary demonstrations are as varied as they are numerous. Well known is the separation of the "good, the peaceful" from the "bad, violent" demonstrations (whereby not every violent demonstration is also at the same time a revolutionary demonstration, because: - what applies to violence in general and has already been described in this textbook also applies in particular to the violence of demonstrations!) Above all, the class enemy has always tried, with more or less success, to abuse demonstrations and rallies to maintain the power of bourgeois class rule, by the bourgeoisie seizing the organised leadership of these demonstrations and steering them into peaceful channels, robbing them of their revolutionary content and trying to infiltrate them, even presenting them as "proof of tolerance and a "strong, functioning democracy" or organising counter-demonstrations. In short: demonstrations were and are also used as a cover, as an integral part of a functioning capitalist state of oppression and exploitation.

Demonstrations reflect the class struggle in a society as if in a mirror and "demonstrate" to us not only the forceful weight of this or that class, the participation of this or that class or the ability of classes to form alliances, their relationship to and against each other, but they are also indicative of the degree of political maturity, of the degree of class consciousness and autonomy or an expression of a certain stage in which the class struggle is at, how far, how sharp, how boldly the working class is prepared to stand up. It is necessary to follow and analyse the particular form and means employed by the demonstrations in their development, to draw conclusions from them in order to predict their development to a certain extent, as far as this is at all possible. If one is too weak to set up one's own demonstration, one has to be clear about the usefulness of taking part in this or that demonstration and how one does or does not take part, how one influences or does not influence the participants. These are all questions that are quite complicated to solve and require a certain amount of experience and knowledge, but cannot be discussed in detail here.

Sometimes *demonstrations and counter-demonstrations* are in stark contrast to each other and even starker are tangible provocations, (violent) clashes of different participating groups on a demonstration, the scramble for the head of the demonstration procession, the demonstration route, the final rally and the struggle for the demonstration leadership, stewards etc. etc., This struggle already takes on a more or less sharp character in the run-up to the preparation, for example, when it is a question of which organisations should participate as allies and which should be excluded as opponents, how to mobilise for the demonstration, which appeals and leaflets should be written, who should be allowed to speak, in which order the participating organisations should be placed, etc., etc. All this needs great experience and mastery of tactical skills, persuasion, negotiation and assertiveness etc. etc. If you want to organise a good demonstration, a demonstration with mass character, then the organisation has to train and educate its people thoroughly, they have to unite their ranks firmly, you need a good strategy and tactics to combine the maximum of unification of all progressive forces with the maximum of firmness of principle and thereby to develop the maximum of strength to keep the influence of the opponent on the demonstration as low as possible. Demonstrations are a question of struggle for the greatest possible political influence and not least a question of political power or the continuation of this struggle by violent means - i.e. up to demonstrations where the solution of the military question comes to the fore. The history of demonstrations shows how, for example, the struggle for power between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between fascists and communists, was fought out in the streets in a bloody manner, where the police protected the fascists or where the fascists used the state apparatus to put down the workers' demonstrations in blood either with the police or the military or both; where the organisation of the protection of the demonstrations of the proletariat by its party was banned and violently eliminated, where the freedom of demonstration of the workers is brutally eliminated as soon as the proletariat shakes at the gates of power. But the history of demonstrations also shows the ebb of the movement in the course of the parasitic process of decay of capitalist society, when the demonstrations "slough off" and "die down", so to speak, of their own accord, when the masses temporarily feel doubts about the ability of demonstrations to carry them through, when the classes no longer attach sufficient attention or importance to them to enforce this or that demand or to express this or that indignation, to protest against this or that grievance, scandal, and against the ever deeper encroachments on their living conditions. This does not mean that the demonstration as a form of struggle has lost its importance, that we can renounce this form of struggle and leave it as an instrument to our class enemies, or that we cannot develop new forms of demonstrations:

"Demonstrations are an excellent thing, but only if we have no better means of action" (MEW, Engels, Vol. 22, page 404, German edition).

Surely Engels *does not mean here anarchist side actions with the aim of "inciting" and "rousing" the demonstrators, in order in this way to "instil revolutionary strength into the wavering, discouraged, forces shaken by the sad outcome of many demonstrations"*. This is the often observed, characteristic means of action of anarchists at demonstrations, in order to impose their will on the demonstrators, namely to disperse the forces in a small war with the police - whereby in principle nothing is to be said against the usefulness of militant demonstrations, for example against the use of effective, well-trained and well-equipped combat units at demonstrations. We Marxist-Leninists are by no means opposed to violent demonstrations, but they look different from those of the anarchists. What has been said in general about the criticism of anarchist forms of struggle, or what will be said in the future, also applies here, of course, to the anarchist forms of struggle on *demonstrations: Destruction of the unbreakable link of Marxist-Leninist work with the mass of the revolutionary class*. Harmfulness of the actions of the anarchists, since it has no connection with work in the masses, for the masses and together with the masses. "Each step of real movement is more important than a dozen individual assassinations and acts of resistance, is more important than a hundred organisations and 'parties' composed only of intellectuals" (Lenin, Vol. 6, page 274, German edition). "Without a working people all bombs are powerless, manifestly powerless" (Lenin, Vol. 6, page 183, German edition). "To lay down the life of a revolutionary for an act of revenge on the scoundrel Sipjagib, whose place is taken by the scoundrel Plehwe - that is 'great' work. But to prepare the masses, for example, for an armed demonstration - that is 'small' work" Lenin, Volume 6, page 186, "*Revolutionary Adventurism*", German edition). The decisive power of the demonstration lies in the mass character of its movement, in the clout of the *crowd* concentrated by a revolutionary organisation.

"We must not forget that a revolutionary party deserves its name only when it is in fact leading the movement of the revolutionary class. We must not forget that every popular movement assumes infinitely varied forms, that it is constantly forming new forms, shedding old ones, producing modifications or new combinations of old and new forms. And it is our duty to actively participate in this process of working out methods and means of struggle. (...) Without predicting the forms of the demonstrations, (...) when the demonstrations had become established, we called for their organisation, for the arming of the masses, we set the task of preparing the popular uprising. (...) Without in the least rejecting violence and terror in principle, we demanded to work on the preparation of such forms of the use of force, which should be calculated on the direct participation of the masses and guarantee this participation. (...) The passion for terror is no more than a fleeting mood. The Social-Democrats must close their ranks even more firmly, and we shall weld the fighting organisation of the revolutionaries and the mass heroism of the Russian proletariat into a unified whole!" (Lenin, Vol. 6, pp. 186, 187, 188, German edition).

The demonstrations are an "excellent thing" precisely because they are a school for the masses of revolutionary (planned, disciplined and well organised by the party and not spontaneously disorganised by the anarchists...) street struggle. This includes the study of this form of struggle and the development of counter-tactics by the demonstrators, etc., i.e. learning from the experience of the mass movement. The police have also learned from their experiences. Meanwhile, the class enemy has its own sophisticated strategy and tactics of the "internal with the external" combined fight against demonstrations and plenty of financial resources and all kinds of experts, which the bourgeoisie also exports to its dependent and colonised countries for the benefit of its imperialist exploitation and oppression. There, armies and police forces are now being trained and educated by police and military experts of the capitalist countries in order to put into practice the experience they have gained, also against the demonstrations taking place there. This is a phenomenon of the globalisation of the military strategy and tactics of the world bourgeoisie and Marxist-Leninist military science cannot stand idly by and ignore this development, but must scientifically evaluate, assess, criticise and, above all, draw conclusions from it for its own world revolutionary class war art. Demonstrations must be understood as the art of class warfare. If the class enemy here develops globalised forms of the art of fighting demonstrations, then the world proletariat, together with the oppressed peoples fighting for their freedom, must likewise develop common, globalised strategies and tactics against it. The question of mastering the demonstration as an art of class struggle has become an international question for the workers - and Marxist-Leninist military science must take this into account today, it must not lag behind the *internationalisation* of demonstrations, but must contribute to making this form of struggle more effective.

At the first congress of the representatives of the socialist parties on 14 July 1889 in Paris, where the II. International was formed, it was decided to celebrate every year May Day - the anniversary of the bloody massacre of the Chicago workers who had demanded the eight-hour day - as a day of international proletarian solidarity, as a day of struggle of the world proletariat. Engels once described May Day rallies as an army show of the fighting proletariat. Celebrations and feast days of the working class must always be political demonstrations of the strength of the working class, the determination of its international solidarity and the development of internationalist consciousness, but also a demonstration to *demoralise our opponent*. The demoralisation of the enemy begins with the demonstrations, continues with the strikes and finally with the general strike and passes over into the armed demoralisation of the class enemy. However, May Day is not only an international holiday, but it must also be linked to the concrete political class struggle in a country or in the whole world, as a demonstration against world imperialism. Above all, it must express to the reactionary violence against the demonstrating workers the united international will for revolutionary counterviolence, i.e., use Engel's concept of the "army show" of the world proletariat not only in its figurative political sense, but also in its actual military sense.

Strikes:

"All wheels stand still when your strong arm wills it!"

"When the pauperisation of the people goes so far that there are constantly masses of unemployed both in the cities and in the countryside, when the factory owners accumulate enormous wealth and the small entrepreneurs are displaced by millionaires, then the individual worker becomes completely powerless against the capitalist. (...) Seeing that each of them is quite powerless on his own and that he is threatened with ruin under the yoke of capital, the workers begin to rise up together against their employers. Workers' strikes begin. Initially, the workers often do not even understand what they want to achieve, they are not aware of why they are doing it: they simply smash the machines, destroy the factories. They only want to make the factory owners feel their indignation, they try out their common forces to get out of the intolerable situation, without yet knowing why actually their situation is so hopeless and what they must strive for" (Lenin, Vol. 4, pp. 307 and 308, German edition). Lenin wrote this in 1899, when the Russian workers' movement was still in its infancy, but when one reads this Lenin quote today, one feels transported back to the time of the 19th century in the face of the rapidly increasing, naked, insolent, capitalist, reactionary arbitrariness - the old powerlessness comes up again. In the beginning, the workers' indignation was discharged at the machines because they felt their powerlessness first towards the machines. At the beginning of the international workers' movement, "machine storming" appeared everywhere to a greater or lesser extent, the workers made their first experiences with this spontaneous violence. Their experiences taught the workers that the destruction of machines does not lead to victory, that it was not the machine that was the source of their suffering but the capitalist relations of production, that it was the capitalist class itself that exploited the workers inhumanely. Today, too, the class struggle of the working class is not directed against the automation of the machines, but against the social conditions and causes that make this automation a terror of rationalisation for the working class. (Later, conscious forms of struggle of the factory workers in the armament industry developed from the spontaneous machine storming, such as the tactics of acts of sabotage in war production at the time of the fascist dictatorship and the Second Imperialist World War. The Communist International and its sections at that time supported the organisation of illegal acts of destruction of the "inner front" especially in the armament factories, in the arms transports to the Eastern Front, etc., etc. These forms of struggle of the workers are still current, for example, they were used sporadically in the imperialist war of robbery against Iraq, and it was incidentally also one of the first combat slogans of the Comintern (SH) and the new RILU - Red Trade Union International).

Today, however, the *feeling of powerlessness* is not limited to the capitalists, not limited to the capitalist state and its capitalist government, not limited to international finance capital and its globalised attack on all working people throughout the world, but this powerlessness is felt by the workers especially in the face of the betrayal and stalling tactics of the trade unions, which, by means of the labour aristocracy, have transformed themselves over time from instruments of struggle of the working class into instruments of struggle of the imperialists *against* the working class, from revolutionary schools of communism to schools of reformist anti-communism, and which do not shrink from using violence against revolutionary workers, respectively members of revolutionary trade union organisations to the anti-communist violence of the imperialist state's instruments of power. It is therefore inevitable that at some point the workers' indignation will be unleashed against the imperialist trade union and that sooner or later there will not only be violent action against it, but that the revolutionary elimination of the imperialist trade unions by the workers will be only a matter of time. The working class will then quickly feel the brutal violence of the oppressors and exploiters and their lackeys and go on the counter-offensive. Already in the historically very first strikes, the strikers felt the violence of the bourgeoisie and the state apparatus, the strikers and their leaders were murdered, persecuted, punished and put into prisons, so that the workers developed early forms of counter-struggle, for example they resorted to illegal struggle. We also remember the bestial violence against the workers, their physical destruction, who participated in the resistance against the fascist dictatorship. The bourgeoisie has always - for example, under Bismarck's "exceptional laws against socialists" and later under its fascist dictatorship - used the method of direct violence over the workers, but also demagoguery and bribery, to weaken and destroy the workers' and trade union movement. With strikes, which sometimes took on forms of armed insurrection, the workers waged a fierce and bitter, bloody and bloodless struggle from the very beginning. With trade unionism, trade unionism only, then began the ideological enslavement of the workers by the bourgeoisie, by which the economic forms of struggle were separated from all political and armed forms of struggle and these were excluded. Thus, the International Trade Union Confederation declared World War I to be a "political affair" from which the trade unions had to "stay out", their leaders turning out to be ardent supporters of the chauvinist and militarist ideology of their countries, who held important state posts there in order to support the imperialist war. These international trade union leaders set the workers of one country with weapons on the workers of the other country, who belonged to one and the same international trade union, and as trade union leaders (!) they let the workers bleed to death on the battlefields for the profit of the capitalists.

In the economic struggle, it is first of all a question of concessions by the capitalists and reforms which are wrested from their government - with or without violence. It is necessary to transform these defensive struggles of the proletariat into offensive struggles in order to lead them towards the fundamental abolition of drudgery here and unemployment there, which must end with the complete overthrow of the system and not only with the elimination of its grievances. All these economic struggles are training for the later decisive battles for power. If the proletariat does not go through this school of class struggle, it will not be able to learn to liberate itself. That is why these economic and social defensive struggles are so extremely important, why the proletariat must mobilise all its forces in order to push out and finally overcome the limits of legalism. The military struggle is therefore necessarily preceded by a period of fierce defensive struggle against the deterioration of material conditions and its transformation into political struggle. In order to be able to change the world, the proletariat must first change itself, it must consolidate its class consciousness in the class struggle, it must train itself politically and ideologically, it must appropriate Marxism-Leninism, it must form its vanguard in these struggles, it must create a party for itself in order to be able to organise and lead the struggle, to concentrate and centralise its forces, and thus make it a manoeuvrable instrument. Already in these defensive struggles against the deterioration of the living conditions of the proletariat, the proletariat will face headwinds with every intensification of the forms of struggle. As early as 1912 Lenin wrote of a Hamburg firm which exported lumpenproletarian strikebreakers who were armed by the capitalists with revolvers, and who also shot workers with them (see Lenin, Vol. 18, page 150, German edition). The workers had soundly beaten up the murderers and answered the capitalists with a 24-hour general strike, which they carried out on a different day from the one they had announced, in order to take the capitalists and their police by surprise and undermine their provocation of violent acts. The capitalists retaliated with a three-day lockout, the occupation of the People's House and the arrest of the workers' leaders. Opportunist Social Democrats voted FOR the *use of the military* in the city council - what a betrayal of the Social Democratic Workers Party to the strikers! The whole thing happened in Zurich, Switzerland. At that time, strikebreaking and the struggle against it were still largely spontaneous. In the course of time, the capitalists organised the strike-breaking in a generalised way, just as the workers responded against it in a generalised way (e.g. resolutions of the RILU). Today, strike-breaking is organised by imperialism on a world scale, and the organised world proletariat responds on a world scale, against both economic and political international strike-breaking! From the defensive, the first germinal forms of military ideas and organisations will emerge in the proletariat, it will learn proletarian military strategy and tactics and will appropriate the military theory of Marxism-Leninism, which is, after all, nothing other than a generalisation of the experiences of the fighting working class on all fronts of the international class struggle in its entire historical development. It is thus familiar to the proletariat and is more and

more consciously recognised and accepted as its own scientifically elaborated strategy and tactics. "The strikes are the war-school of the workers, in which they prepare themselves for the great struggle which can no longer be avoided" (Engels, MEW, Vol. 2, page 441, German edition).

"In no country in the world - except in the presence of a revolutionary social situation - could hundreds of thousands of workers be mobilised for political action several times a year on the most diverse occasions. With us, however, such an uprising takes place spontaneously, and this because the millions and millions of the semi-proletarian and peasant population transmit to their vanguard a mood of concentrated indignation, if one may so express it, which swells powerfully and bursts its banks" (Lenin, Vol. 18, page 465, German edition).

Furthermore, the strike is not only a form of struggle of the working class, but also, for example, a form of struggle in the countryside, as Lenin pointed out:

"When the village poor are prepared for a strike, when all have long since agreed on the common demands, when these demands have been made clear in pamphlets or simply well-debated in meetings, then all will stand together with one accord, and the landowner will have to give way or at least moderate his robbery somewhat. If the strike is unanimous and scheduled for harvest time, the landowners and even the authorities with their troops can hardly do anything - time passes, the landowner is threatened with heavy loss, and he will soon give in. (...) Thus the peasants, too, will learn how to defend themselves against cruel marauders, how to demand relief with one accord, and how to prepare themselves gradually, steadfastly and everywhere for the great battle for freedom (...) and will open the people's eyes more and more, accustom them to united resistance and to the thought that it is necessary to bring about a change in the state order by force" (Lenin, Vol. 6, Seite 427, German edition). The international idea that the poor peasants and the proletariat must unite on a world scale and organise their common war against world imperialism - especially against the international imperialist agrarian monopolies - should be explicitly mentioned here. Hammer, sickle and rifle - this old revolutionary flag stands today for the international unification and centralisation of the armed struggle under the direct leadership of the world proletariat and its world party for liberation from world imperialism. This is the programme and declared aim of the Communist International (Stalinist-Hoxhaists)!

"Mass strikes have their own objective logic in revolutionary epochs. They throw hundreds of thousands and millions of sparks on all sides - and all around them lies the easily ignited stuff of bitterness carried to extremes, of outrageous agonies of hunger, of unbridled arbitrariness, of shameless and cynical mockery of the `beggar`, the `mushik`, the common soldier" (Lenin, Vol. 18, page 98, German edition). "Hundreds of thousands of members of the Petersburg proletariat - and after them the workers in all parts of Russia - have gone on strike and organised street demonstrations not as the various classes of bourgeois society, not with `their` trade union slogans, but as a hegemon raising the banner of revolution for the whole people, in the name of the whole people, in order to rouse and involve in the struggle all those classes which need the freedom they are capable of winning" (Lenin, Vol. 18, pp. 102-103, German edition). In the 1905 revolution, the Russian proletariat used the "mass political strike" as a "purely proletarian weapon of struggle" (Lenin, Vol. 31, p. 341, German edition) as had never been done before in the world history of bourgeois revolutions. Lenin mentioned the question of the mass political strike, which was the main question of the Jena Party Congress of the German Social Democratic Party in 1905, as a question "which moves the whole international social democracy (...) And the decision of the German social democracy will undoubtedly exert a not inconsiderable influence on the whole international workers' movement in the sense that it will consolidate and strengthen the revolutionary spirit of the fighting workers" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 285, German edition). And we must continue to hold fast to this today!"

In 1912, Lenin knew very well how to distinguish the political strike in the old "*free, constitutional Europe*" from the political strike in tsarist Russia:

"In free, constitutional Europe, the political strike has hitherto (as long as the socialist revolution has not yet begun) served the struggle for individual reforms. In enslaved, Asiatic, tsarist Russia, which is approaching the next bourgeois-democratic revolution, the political strike is the only serious means of getting the peasantry and the best part of the peasant army moving, stirred up, in revolt and mobilised for revolutionary struggle! (...) This means is the revolutionary strike, the persistent strike which spreads from place to place, from one end of the country to the other, the repeated strike, the strike which raises those left behind to new life through the struggle for economic improvements, the strike, the strike which denounces and scourges every outstanding act of violence and arbitrariness and every crime of tsarism, the strike demonstration which unfurls the red banner in the streets of the capital, which carries revolutionary speeches and revolutionary slogans to the masses, to the masses of the people. Such a strike cannot be artificially provoked, but neither can it be stopped when it has seized hundreds of thousands" (Lenin, Vol. 18, page 469, German edition).

"People who endure so much to bend a single bourgeois will also be able to break the power of the whole bourgeoisie" (Engels, MEW, Vol. 2, page 442, German edition). And people who endure so much in order to bend the power of the whole bourgeoisie of a country will also be able - to speak in the words of Engels - *to break the power of the whole world bourgeoisie*. "Every strike awakens in the workers with great force the thought of socialism - the thought of the struggle of the whole working class for its liberation from the yoke of capital" (Lenin, Vol. 4, page 311, German edition). And to use Lenin's words, a strike in several countries, a strike waged internationally against the international monopolies and corporations awakens in the world proletariat the thought of world socialism - the thought of the struggle of the proletarians of all countries for their common liberation from the yoke of world capital.

For Marx, the strikes were the clear expression of the *class war raging in capitalist society*, the *wars between labour and capital*. Marx provided evidence that strike struggles were a *lawful* phenomenon peculiar to the capitalist order, that the strike movement was a product of the capitalist system, that they were a means of restraining the arbitrariness of the factory owners and securing for the workers the necessary conditions of existence. Particularly important are the conclusions drawn from the importance of the strike as a factor that awakens the energies of the toilers and welds them together for the struggle against the exploiters. Strikes are schools of proletarian class struggle. They are the best barometer for the liberation struggle of all oppressed and exploited classes. Marx saw the greatest importance of strikes in the moral and political influence they exert on the workers and their class consciousness, in the fact that they educate the workers to proletarian solidarity and help to unite and organise the workers. It is well known that the biggest strikes have also been organised in the biggest factories, and that it is there that not only the greatest frequency of strikes is to be found, but also their intensity and militancy. The larger the company, the higher the percentage of companies on strike. Downsizing, outsourcing, rationalisation, etc. of the factories has no less influence on the strikes in these factories. The largest factories also recruit the strongest armed proletarian forces, for example, in the Hamburg uprising of 1923 the Hamburg shipyard and dock workers. The smaller factories are quickly swept along at the height of the strike wave, but their willingness to strike ebbs away more quickly than in the large factories, where the aim is rather to fight persistently and consistently in order to hold off the retreat of the strike wave for as long as possible.

"Only when the economic condition of the working man is improved does the mass become involved in the movement, does it participate energetically in it, does it appreciate it, does it manifest heroism, self-sacrifice, steadfastness and devotion to the great cause. (...) By fighting for an improvement in the conditions of life, the working class grows at the same time morally as well as spiritually and politically, it becomes more capable of realising its great aims of freedom" (Lenin, Vol. 18, page 73 German edition).

The question of improving the living conditions of the working class is *also* a question of principle in combination with other manifold strike demands, especially the interweaving with political strike demands, a fundamental question of the approach of the revolution. In any case, it is a *general law* of Marxism-Leninism that the strengthening of the economic struggle has a decisive influence on the strengthening of the *political* struggle and consequently on the *armed* struggle of the proletariat - and vice versa. If we look at the international dimension of this law, the international upswing of the economic strike struggles of the world proletariat follows from the world economic crisis, these struggles form the basis for more and more internationalist, transnational, political strike struggles, which in the last consequence also form a basis for the development towards the armed socialist world revolution. These connections must be dealt with much more in the agitation and propaganda of the Comintern (SH) , the world proletariat must be politically enlightened and the emergence of the conditions for the armed international struggle much better. This general international law is logically related to the globalisation of world capitalism. It is the proletarians in the world industrial centres who will carry away the forces in the backward areas of the world. If the revolutionary movement comes to a head in the world industrial centres, which are closely linked by globalisation, this movement also awakens all the other areas in the world. Other than through economic struggles, the world of labour cannot be drawn into the world revolution. Today, one can no longer speak of the independent, detached strikes in the different countries. Today one must speak of the international concatenation of the strike movement, which is triggered by the concatenation of the world economic crisis. In this respect, today one must also speak of a concatenation of political and, in the final analysis, of the international concatenation of armed struggles, if one adopts the standpoint of an internationalist Marxist-Leninist. In this entire international strike movement, bourgeois elements are increasingly repelled and non-bourgeois elements are drawn in, the class forces polarise at the poles of world bourgeoisie and world proletariat, the strike struggle assumes more and more clearly an international class character, i.e. important preconditions for the development of the world socialist revolution and the armed class struggle of the world proletariat. The stronger the international pressure of the strikes becomes, the more successful for all. In a strike struggle of the world proletariat forced to retreat, the defeats logically increase again. If the strike struggle of the world proletariat increases, the sympathy of the peoples with the strikers increases and vice versa.

Marx underlined that the economic struggle *alone*, for all its importance in uniting and educating the workers, is not sufficient, that the proletariat must organise itself first on a national and then on an international scale, that it is important for the working class to form its own mass political party and to develop the struggle for the conquest of political power on a national and then on an international scale.

Every strike against the capitalists leads to the bourgeoisie mobilising against the strikers with all means at its disposal, from inflammatory propaganda in its media to the use of the police (and the military) in the case of acute, violent and illegal strikes (through which, for example, capitalist private property is "touched" in the case of factory occupations...). Thus, every economic strike, one more and the other less, raises itself to a political level and, in times of acute crisis, sometimes also to violent confrontations between the classes. And vice versa: every aggravation of the political crisis entails a revolutionary upsurge not only of political but also of economic strike struggles. In their union lies not the weakness but the strength of the workers' movement. Without the close connection of economic and political strikes, a really broad, genuine mass movement is impossible; but the concrete form of this connection consists, on the one hand, in the fact that at the beginning of the movement and in the inclusion of new strata in the movement, the purely economic strike plays the dominant role, while, on the other hand, the political strike awakens and sets in motion those who are backward, generalises, extends and raises the movement to a higher level (just as the armed struggle raises the movement to the highest level).

It is above all the economic as well as political strikes of the working class through which the broadest masses are involved in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. The working class ensures that it does not stand alone in the strike. It leads the movement, which expands in breadth and depth. It is thus always supported in solidarity by other layers of the rightless people. By linking the economic and political struggle, every economic strike becomes the school of the political class struggle, the continuation of the economic struggle to eliminate wage slavery by political and ultimately violent means. In strike struggles the proletariat recognises and tries its power.

In the capitalist/revisionist countries, the state as well as the capitalists recognise the legal strike for the most part, especially when it is in the hands of the imperialist/social-imperialist trade union leadership. Any strike that takes place without or against the consent of these imperialist/social-imperialist unions is considered illegal by these unions themselves, as well as by the state and the capitalists. When the workers strike against the will of these trade union leaderships, the bourgeoisie calls it a "wildcat strike". These "wildcat strikes" are generally a higher form of struggle of the legal strike. "Wildcat strikes" are not only a manifestation of the sharpening of contradictions between capital and labour, but also between the trade union members on the one hand and the reformist/revisionist trade union leadership on the other. To the same extent that the reactionary trade union leaders gain the confidence of the capitalists, they lose it among the workers and vice versa. In the "wildcat strikes" the strikers learn to organise strikes on their own, to form strike committees, to fight strikebreakers, provocateurs etc., to fight confrontations with the union apparatus and the police etc. etc. "Wildcat strikes" in this respect sharpen the class consciousness against the reactionary character of the imperialist/social-imperialist trade union, awaken in them the will to create their own revolutionary counter-union organisations and to organise the struggle against the reactionary trade union leaders in the reactionary trade unions themselves. Globalisation strengthens the number and unity of the world proletariat, while in the big and small bourgeoisie the division and fragmentation of interests is constantly increasing. If the state exerts too much pressure against "wildcat strikes", the proletariat will continue to unite and strengthen against police arbitrariness. If the police arbitrariness reacts too weakly, then the proletariat of other enterprises, other countries will encourage to organise "wildcat strikes" for their part and will show solidarity against the police arbitrariness against "wildcat strikes" of the workers abroad. Both the capitalists and their arbitrary bureaucratic rule will be careful not to provoke the proletariat unnecessarily with the police truncheon. "This is undoubtedly a concession to the growing strength of the workers, a renunciation by the enemy of one of its positions, which the revolutionary proletariat has in fact already as good as conquered and which the more far-sighted leaders of the enemy army no longer wish to defend." (Lenin, Vol. 6, page 215, *"The Draft of a New Strike Law"*, German edition)

However, in order to be able to conquer the entire state power, or rather its lifeblood, heart and node in the centres, long training, years of struggle testing during strikes and demonstrations, exposing and chasing away the opportunists, the neo-revisionists, etc., are needed. , it requires above all the party to achieve success. This category of forms of struggle can be called germinal forms, preparatory forms of armed forms of struggle. In this phase, the armed forms of struggle are formed only through the intensification of the class clashes. Thus, they cannot yet acquire their full significance in this phase, but still play a subordinate role. As such, and only as such, we want and must mention them here, because from here - from where else? - the course is set for armed struggle. As soon as the forms of struggle listed here exceed the legal inhibition threshold (when the revolutionary tide replaces the ebb tide), they pass fluently over into their own, independent quality of the armed forms of struggle, they step back behind them. Here we have to do with forms of struggle which the bourgeoisie tries to steer into peaceful channels with the help of the reformists and revisionists. We Marxist-Leninists, on the other hand, try to steer them into militant channels during a revolutionary upsurge of struggles, and for this the Marxist-Leninist military theory must guide us, for this we must carry it into the working class and anchor it there, so that it can be applied by the working class, because military class consciousness cannot develop spontaneously. "Strikes (...) must always be exploited also as a stimulus to the revolutionary struggle for freedom and for socialism" (Lenin, Vol. 6, page 162, German edition).

Trade unionism and the role of violence

The chiefs of the bourgeois reformist and revisionist trade unions, the trade unions in the hands of the imperialists and social-imperialists, portray us Marxist-Leninists as "enemies of trade unions", as "hotheads" and "rioters", "left extremist perpetrators of violence", "enemies of democracy", "enemies of socialism", etc..., etc., who get "carried away" by mass movements and are "against trade unions", consider them "useless and unnecessary" or only want to harness them to their communist "cart". Of course, we are not against trade unions, we are even very much for trade unions, but for red trade unions, which replace the reformist and revisionist slogans with revolutionary slogans, and which organise the revolutionary workers in their class struggle and do not hinder them as the *yellow* trade unions do. This is the reason why we are not only waging an irreconcilable struggle against the yellow unions, but also an irreconcilable struggle for revolutionary unions. But even the best trade union alone, trade unionism only, (anarcho-) syndicalism can NOT eliminate wage slavery. The elimination of wage slavery, the real improvements in the lives of the workers, the future perspective of the trade union under socialism (the capitalist trade union has no future because, as part of the whole of capitalism, it inevitably perishes with it!) All this cannot be secured without the leadership of the party, which embodies the highest form of organisation of the proletarian class struggle. In the struggle for socialist revolution, the trade union is subordinate to the party, it is only one part, albeit one of the most important. In any case, only the party and not the trade union can lead the armed struggle, without which the political system of wage slavery will not be abolished. It is the fascist or social-fascist trade union that exercises or serves reactionary violence to maintain capitalism and it is the revolutionary trade union that responds to reactionary violence with revolutionary violence or serves it to reclaim socialism. This is the Marxist-Leninist answer to the contemporary question of the union and the role of violence.

One of the indicators of the revolutionary or reactionary character of a trade union is its attitude in the armed struggle in class society in this world, that it sides with reactionary violence and against revolutionary violence. Trade unions are class unions, so they serve either the imperialists/social imperialists or the workers, are on the side of either capital or labour in the class struggle, both on a national scale and on a world scale. Behind the so-called "non-partisanship", "neutrality and passivity towards the armed conflicts in the world", behind trade union pacifism, defeatism, behind the "peaceful coexistence" between antagonistic contradictions on the question of violence, behind the thesis that trade unions are above the classes and above their armed struggle, means nothing but maintaining the "status quo", to support the existing class rule of imperialism/social imperialism and thus to give a free hand to counter-revolutionary armed violence, to immobilise the working class on the "internal front" so that it does not stand up independently with revolutionary arms against imperialist/social imperialist arms on the international theatre of war and to respond to imperialist/social imperialist war with revolutionary war. The reformist trade unions have always sided directly or indirectly with the imperialists, whether in peacetime or in wartime. Today, they support the global predatory wars of the imperialist big powers to increase the profits of the capitalists. They defend the imperialist world order with and without violence. They undermine the unity of the world proletariat, all their actions are aimed at dividing the workers of the different nations, deepening wage slavery in the oppressed countries and dividing the workers into different categories, extending and consolidating the rule of the labour aristocracy over the mass of workers globally with and without violence. The theory of the "neutrality" of the trade unions is a mendacious theory of the bourgeoisie, which disarms the trade union class struggle of the proletariat even on a world scale, but instead justifies and consolidates the influence of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat: Lenin demonstrated that trade union neutralism "puts in the foreground the union of the workers for the improvement of their condition and not the union for the struggle which would be conducive to the liberation of the proletariat" (Lenin, Vol. 13, page 476, German edition). "The class interests of the bourgeoisie inevitably lead to the endeavour to confine the trade unions to a narrowly limited petty work on the ground of the existing order, to keep them away from any connection with socialism, and the theory of neutrality is the ideological garment of these bourgeois endeavours. The revisionists within the social-democratic parties will always know how to make a way for themselves in capitalist society in some way" (Lenin, Vol. 13, page 474, German edition); [and we must add today as a historical lesson: even in socialist society the revisionists have understood this!]. Bourgeois/revisionist trade unions forge the chains of the proletariat ever tighter to capital. Proletarian trade unions serve to break these bourgeois/revisionist trade union chains and thus to liberate the working class from capitalism. The world proletariat today cannot free itself from the chains of world capitalism without breaking all the chains of bourgeois/revisionist trade unions around the world! Our internationalist,

revolutionary slogan is: create a world socialist trade union system on the ruins of the international, world imperialist trade union system that still exists today. The world bourgeoisie will violently organise resistance, which must be broken with revolutionary violence. For this purpose, therefore, the world proletariat needs not only an independent Red Trade Union International, but above all a Communist International to smash the world imperialist trade union system by force.

There can no longer be a free trade union under capitalism today. Whoever wants to fight today for free trade unions, free from the influence of capital, must fight for the overthrow of capitalism and the smashing of its yellow unions.

Freedom and independence of the union must not be confused with non-partisanship of the union. The trade union must not only be partisan for the working class in the broader sense, but from the Marxist-Leninist point of view it must also be as close as possible to the communist party, must serve it. A trade union can only be a weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie *or* in the hands of the proletariat. If the bourgeoisie has rendered this weapon useless, or if it commands this weapon against the proletariat, then the proletariat must turn over the trade union weapons, seize the trade union weapons, it must forge its own, a new weapon, in order to smash the reactionary trade union apparatus which has left it defenceless against capital. If in a trade union the reformists and the revisionists triumph, if they sell the interests of the working class to capital before the struggle against capital has begun or after this struggle has ended victoriously with the socialist revolution, then the reformists and revisionists must be sent packing!

According to Lenin, "trade union egoism or 'economism' is linked with opportunism (revisionism) in Germany as well as in Russia and everywhere in general" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 288, German edition) ... and Bebel warned about the "guildish stupidity" of the trade unions: "Comrades, be on your guard, think over what you are doing, you are walking a very fatal road, at the end of which you are bringing about your own downfall..." (quoted in Lenin, ibid, page 289, German edition). The revisionist trade union leaders adopt a two-faced attitude towards the national liberation struggles. In order to save their face and not get into opposition with the peoples fighting against imperialism, social imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, they support these struggles in words for demagogic reasons, but sabotage them in deeds. Imperialist and social-imperialist trade unions have always made common cause against the armed liberation struggles, are still doing so today and must continue to do so in the future according to their imperialist nature - sometimes more and sometimes less under the guise of solidarity and support for the armed struggles of the oppressed peoples. The yellow trade union international forms a unity against all efforts of the world proletariat to overcome its division by the world bourgeoisie through its own revolutionary trade union organisations, forms an anti-communist unity against the revolutionary trade union policy of the Marxist-Leninist world movement. The Albanian trade union federation at the time of comrade Enver Hoxha led an exemplary struggle against this, as did the revolutionary trade union organisations and groups all over the world linked to the Albanian trade union. Lessons must be learnt from this, this struggle must be continued, will get new revolutionary international content. One more reason for the necessary appearance of the revolutionary trade union international on this international field of struggle, which upholds the old fighting tradition of the revolutionary trade union and breathes new life into it. The world proletariat will unite better and better in the trade union struggle against its enemies, and this is a key problem of the world socialist revolution, a key problem of the unification of the proletarian forces in the international armed class struggle. Marxist-Leninist military science is thus also concerned with the support of the armed class struggle by the revolutionary trade unions and likewise with the counterrevolutionary role of trade union pacifism as a tactic of imperialist warfare. Marxist-Leninist military science has to oppose this imperialist/social-imperialist war tactic, considers the trade union members as a necessary and important reserve of proletarian warfare in the anti-imperialist, anti-social-imperialist class struggle, both on the national and international level and the combination of these two levels.

Karl Marx said:

"Trade unions do good service as rallying points of resistance to the violent acts of capital[underlined by author]. They miss their purpose in part as soon as they make an improper use of their power. They miss their purpose entirely as soon as they confine themselves to waging a petty war against the effects of the existing system, instead of at the same time trying to change it, instead of using their organised forces as a lever for the eventual liberation of the working class, i.e., for the final abolition of the wage system" (Marx, MEW, Vol. 16, page 152, German edition).

From a *military* point of view, it is clear that the workers can only free themselves from their wage slavery by revolutionary violence, only under the leadership of the party through armed revolution, and that wage slavery can only be abolished through socialism - and its defence at gunpoint [how the relationship between the party and the trade union is determined from the Marxist-Leninist point of view and on what foundations the party's trade union policy rests is assumed to be known here - only the aspect of violence is considered here, which of course cannot be the only aspect). It is an irrefutable fundamental principle of the Marxist-Leninist trade union struggle that it is a real school for socialist revolution only if, as class clashes intensify, it is transformed into a school of armed struggle of the proletariat to overthrow world capitalist domination. How else but by the means of violence is reformist trade union legalism to be broken? And if it is not broken, then the demands of the trade union members will also only be enforced as far as trade union legalism allows them; every trade union member experiences daily what this means. The point is that trade union members have no choice but to break trade union legalism because it is an existential question for them, a legal, foreseeable necessity that does not depend on the will of the trade union members themselves but is made inevitable by capitalism at a certain stage of development. Certainly, we are absolutely obliged to make revolutionary use of trade union legalism, especially in times of slackness - *but just not at any price* ! Those who can only pay lip service to the necessity of breaking through trade union legalism, but are too cowardly to follow up words with revolutionary deeds, cut a pitiful figure in the trade union struggle, for the daily struggle of "labour against capital" is one of the most nerve-racking, energy-sapping, difficult and tough. It requires a lot of skill and tact, stamina in the face of provocations, harassment, denunciations, warnings, labour lawsuits etc., Mastery of all possible forms and tactics of struggle, toughness in the face of the class enemy [not to be confused with adventurism and blind actionism], but also at the same time a collegial example, great empathy, educational skills, the ability to inspire confidence, power of persuasion and great responsibility towards the colleagues, in short, the ability to organise class solidarity and to hearus form class consciousness. And then, when trade union legalism is broken in an organised way, this poses an enormous challenge for a revolutionary worker. Mind you, there is also a wrongly understood breaking of trade union legalism, namely when this form of struggle exhausts and wears itself out in small-scale warfare, in a cat-and-mouse game with the employers, the state and the reactionary trade union apparatus, which sooner or later ends in a demoralising defeat; when the real goal is sacrificed for tactical sham victories, namely to forge the lever for the eventual liberation of the working class: Breaking trade union legalism is an indispensable form of struggle for learning the war craft of proletarian revolution and nothing else! Breaking through reformist trade union legalism is thus the applied violent form of revolutionary trade union struggle (and this form of struggle, mind you, is far from being the only form of revolutionary trade union struggle, not a panacea for all

situations!), and only through this can revolutionary trade union struggle prove to be a school of breaking through state legalism, a school of insurrection and overthrow of the bourgeois state. And finally:

By breaking through the national barriers of trade union legalism, the Red Trade Union International makes the trade union the school of the world proletarian revolution, just as international finance capital must in turn break through the national barriers of trade union legalism according to law. International finance capital doesn't give a damn about the trade unions in the individual countries, boots them out and doesn't give a damn about international trade union conventions, which are not worth the paper they are written on anyway. International finance capital has now declared total, global war on the whole world of labour, on all the world's workers, treating them even more ruthlessly as its private "big world territory", where national trade union fences are no longer allowed to obstruct the free field of fire. And trade union legalism? It legalises its own breakthrough and has nothing better to do than shed crocodile tears over it. Powerless surrender, neutral trade union globalism, passivity - this is the hypocritical imperialist trade union mask. But in reality, behind it is the centralised organisation of the world trade union aristocracy to actively help the finance-capitalist big world hunters behind closed doors to drive the hunted back through the back door, so that they can be hunted down all the more easily like sheep to the slaughter. The hunting fever that drives these finance-capitalist big-world hunters unrestrainedly across the globe is maximum profit. They blindly exterminate their hunting game, the world proletariat, and thus themselves ensure the extinction of their own species and thus the extinction of their union-aristocratic hunting helpers. In this way, hunters become hunted, trade union hunt helpers become anti-trade union escape helpers of the hunted finance capital.

What is the aim of Marxist-Leninist trade union policy in the capitalist countries today? The aim of Marxist-Leninist trade union policy is not exhausted in breaking through trade union legalism, is not the defensive struggle, but its transformation into the counter-offensive, which finally ends with the revolutionary elimination of the imperialist/social-imperialist trade union of the bourgeoisie itself, whereby finally the proletarian trade union, its traditional anti-capitalist revolutionary spirit can be completely liberated and recaptured, thus the creation of a new class-struggle trade union as one of the most important instruments of the Bolshevik Party for the conquest of the political power of the proletariat, as an instrument of the socialist revolution - on a world scale, the international Red Trade Union as an instrument of the world proletarian socialist revolution. Without revolution, the abolition of the yellow trade unions and the establishment of revolutionary trade unions is hardly possible today because of the capitalist power relations. The revolutionary trade unionists cannot conquer the trade union without violently smashing its reactionary, capitalist rule. But they *can and must* conquer the *mass* of trade union members, without whom there can be no Marxist-Leninist trade union.

There is an antagonistic opposition between the imperialist/social-imperialist and the proletarian trade union which can only be abolished by revolutionary violence through the elimination of the imperialist/social-imperialist trade union and the establishment of the proletarian trade union as one of the most important instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But where is the proletarian trade union to come from? It can only be born from the womb of the rotting, parasitic and dying imperialist/social-imperialist trade union, with revolutionary violence as its obstetrician. Who is to create the proletarian trade union? Only the masses of millions of trade unionists themselves can do that. But the trade unionists cannot simply take over the imperialist trade union apparatus peacefully by voting out the union bosses, "by majority vote", etc., because it has become an inseparable part of the power apparatus of the whole capitalist system, has grown with it to a certain degree. Our forms of struggle must take into account precisely this degree of being grown together and be combined with those appropriate forms of struggle which correspond to the degree of not yet being grown together. Thus, the contradictions between the yellow union and the capitalist system must be properly exploited in order to soften, weaken, etc., to a certain extent the closing of ranks between the capitalist state and the capitalist/revisionist union. But the whole aim of conquering the trade union must be directed towards the aim of conquering the whole political power of the proletariat and must be understood as its subordinate part and not detached from it. On the exclusive path of conquering the trade union, without the party - as propagated by the Sydicualists - the working class today does not come to political power, not to socialism. So the proletariat cannot conquer power in the trade union today without conquering its political power over the bourgeoisie. There can be no freedom to strike as long as there is no political freedom. The bourgeoisie does not stand idly by when the imperialist/social-imperialist trade union is attacked and eliminated in order to be replaced by a proletarian trade union, but prevents this by using violent means of the whole capitalist apparatus of oppression if it cannot prevent it in any other way. We know from thousands of historical examples that one must warn against acts of violence provoked by the police and by stool pigeons in the trade unions. One must warn against such provoked acts of violence. But should one warn against violent acts of struggle by the workers when there is *seething* among the masses ? Should one warn against mass demonstrations? Should we stop the masses from breaking union legalism when the union members are forced to do so in the face of their desperate situation? Should one renounce violent means of trade union struggle *only because* it might be a provocation of the class enemy? It is only with the systematically prepared breaking of trade union legalism, in which any provocation of the class enemy is overcome and rendered harmless, that the higher stage of the revolutionary trade union movement is reached.

Today, *within the legal framework of capitalism*, one cannot abolish the imperialist/social-imperialist trade union and put a proletarian trade union in its place. One must therefore smash the capitalist/revisionist system itself in order to eliminate forever the inevitability of capitalist/revisionist trade unions. For this, first of all, the creation of a Marxist-Leninist party is necessary, which in turn works towards the creation of red trade unions, which supports progressive trade unionists in their struggle against the imperialist/social imperialist trade union, organises, centralises, leads this struggle and influences the formation of new organisational forms of revolutionary trade union opposition, through which rallying points of resistance against the violence of the imperialist/social imperialist trade union apparatus are created, i.e. are formed as reserves of the socialist revolution - on the trade union class front. Conquest of the trade unions means on the one hand the use of violence against the social-fascist, trade union power apparatus of the bourgeoisie, the use of violence against the labour aristocracy (= irreconcilable class enemy of the proletariat!) and at the same time the conquest of the millions of trade union members for communism, for the communist party, for red trade unions through the solidary force of our conviction, which consists in helping the masses through our exemplary daily class-struggle (thus also necessarily illegal, violent etc.) trade union work.) trade union work to convince themselves from their own experience of the necessity of revolutionary violence in trade union work, of the necessity of the revolutionary elimination of the yellow trade unions and the creation of red trade unions. With this trade union tactic, the party lays down the line of trade union action for the relatively short period of the tide and ebb of the trade union movement, the rise and fall of the revolutionary movement of labour against capital. It is the struggle for the implementation of the revolutionary trade union line by means of replacing the old forms of struggle and organisation with new ones, the old slogans with new ones, by means of combining these forms, etc. And precisely for this reason, this revolutionary view of the party's trade union tactics must also be carried into the trade union movement. However, can the military forms of struggle replace the trade union forms of struggle? No, they can be used mainly only as a continuation of the trade union struggle with violent means, with means of revolutionary breaking through bourgeois trade union legalism especially in a revolutionary situation. The trade union struggle is not replaced or even abolished by the insurrection, by the revolution, by the dictatorship of the proletariat, by socialism, but only its forms of struggle are adapted, raised to a higher level, to the corresponding changes and conditions of the revolution and thus to achieve the communist goals. The *proletarian* trade unions, before (then still as germinal forms, RGO etc.), during and after the revolution, under socialism up to the transition to communism, are indispensable for the emancipation of the working class, and thus for the creation of the classless society - *and must therefore necessarily be defended by force against the violent resistance of the bourgeoisie and its labour aristocracy (which has already begun before the revolution!), and indeed as long and as strongly as this reactionary violence continues.*

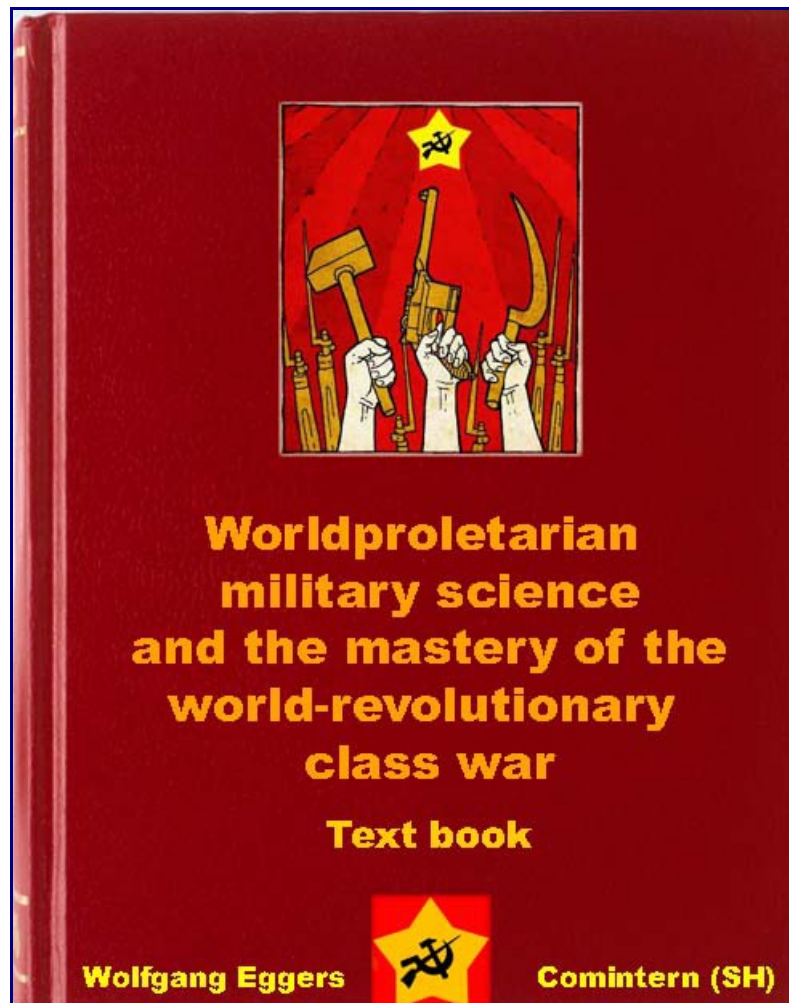
So when the civil war is ended by the victory of the revolution, when it is a question of building the socialist economy, then the methods of struggle also change, one must not transfer the methods that were necessary militarily to the trade unions. Trotsky made this mistake. And Stalin quite rightly criticised Trotsky's "underestimating the difference between the army and the working class, putting the military organisations and the trade unions on the same level and (...) trying to transfer the military methods from the army to the trade unions, to the working class" (Stalin, Works, Vol. 5, page 5, German edition). "There are two methods: the method of coercion (the military method) and the method of persuasion (the trade union method). The first method in no way excludes elements of persuasion, but here the elements of persuasion are subordinated to the requirements of the method of coercion and form an aid to it. The second method, for its part, does not exclude elements of coercion, but here the elements of coercion are subordinated to the requirements of the method of persuasion and form an aid to it. To confuse these two methods is as inadmissible as it is inadmissible to lump the army and the working class together" (Stalin, ibid).

For Marx, strikes were the clear expression of the class warfare raging in capitalist society, the wars between labour and capital. Marx provided evidence that strike struggles were a lawful phenomenon peculiar to the capitalist order, that they were a means of restraining the arbitrariness of the factory owners and securing for the workers to a certain extent the necessary conditions of existence. Particularly important are the conclusions drawn from the importance of the strike as a factor which awakens the energies of the labourers and welds them together for the struggle against the exploiters. Strikes are schools of proletarian class struggle. Marx saw the greatest importance of strikes in the moral and political influence they exert on the workers and their class consciousness, in the fact that they educate the workers to proletarian solidarity and help to unite and organise the workers. We must not fail to mention that Lenin had always opposed the overestimation of the strike as the so-called "best" means of struggle. He considered the strike as "only one of the means and not even always necessarily one of the best. The importance of strikes must be recognised, strikes must always be exploited and directed, but overestimating them is all the more dangerous the more 'economism' has done so. (...) And it is quite wrong to declare strikes to be "the best means of developing class consciousness" (Lenin, Vol. 6, page 162, German edition). Lenin stated in 1905 "that the peaceful general strike has proved inadequate as the movement has continued to grow, and that its partial application has turned out not to achieve the aim and to disorganise the forces of the proletariat; that then the whole revolutionary movement, with elementary violence, led to the armed insurrection of December, when not only the proletariat but also new forces of urban poverty and the peasantry took up arms to assert the liberties won by the people against the attacks of the reactionary government" (Lenin, Vol. 10, page 144, German edition). Lenin, moreover, was against overestimating the means of struggle anyway. He emphasised the weak side of strikes as an independent means of struggle, when they are exhausted without uniting with the means of struggle of armed insurrection, without passing over into this higher form of struggle: "In general, it has been persuaded that an extraordinarily important precondition for the success of a political strike is that it should begin suddenly, that it should succeed in taking the government by surprise. Now this is impossible. The government learned to fight the strike in December and is currently very well equipped for such a struggle. (...) Under such conditions the strike may - indeed, usually it must inevitably - lead to direct and immediate clash with the military" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 107, German edition). The usefulness of the strike as a form of struggle depends on the concrete, historical situation, as does the danger of its transformation into a stumbling block. Lenin admitted: "A single strike may be inopportune or may be launched at an inopportune moment" (Lenin, Vol. 18, p. 468, German edition). He further conceded: "Frequent strikes can disenfranchise the workers. It is quite possible that one will then have to call for shorter strikes, for better prepared demonstrations" (ibid.).

"If the workers' strikes are debilitating, it is necessary to alternate them, letting some rest and those who have recovered or 'fresh' forces enter the struggle. You have to organise shorter strikes. Sometimes you have to replace strikes with demonstrations. But the most important thing is that the strikes, the rallies, the demonstrations do not stop, that the whole peasantry and the whole army learn about the workers' persistent struggle (...). The dull bitterness and restrained grumbling of the village, together with the indignation of the barracks, must find a centre of attraction in the revolutionary strike of the workers" (Lenin, Vol. 18, page 470, German edition).

To call for demonstrations and protests in situations where civil war is in full swing, Lenin considered "nonsensical" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 146, German edition). Calling a strike at the wrong time and in the wrong place can even become a disastrous trap for the class enemy. The extent to which, in a situation where armed insurrection is inevitable and immediate from the strike, the call for a strike can lead to making the insurrection impossible was shown by Lenin in the revolutionary situation in Russia in 1906: "Demonstrate we will not, said the workers. We will fight wholeheartedly and resolutely when the moment of general action arrives. (...) They understood that partial actions and especially demonstrations (...) would be ridiculous, that the aggravation of the political crisis would not allow us to start again 'from scratch', that peaceful demonstrations would be extraordinarily beneficial to the government, which took pleasure in 'licking blood' in December. They would weaken the proletariat completely uselessly, they would only further train the police and the soldiers to arrest and shoot unarmed people (...) But the 'demonstration' would have been interpreted as a struggle, it would have been made into a (hopeless) struggle and the cessation of the demonstration would have been presented before the whole world as a new defeat" (Lenin, Vol. 11, pp. 105-106, German edition). "The advanced workers correctly recognised the situation. They quickly corrected a strategically wrong action and saved their forces for the coming struggle. They have instinctively realised that a strike connected with the insurrection is inevitable, but a demonstration strike is harmful" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 125, German edition). "It would therefore be downright recklessness bordering on crime to call for a general strike throughout Russia without calling for an insurrection, without making it clear that the general strike is inseparable from the insurrection. Therefore, all forces must be directed to explaining in agitation the connection between the one and the other form of struggle, to creating the conditions so that the three streams of struggle - workers' uprising, peasants' uprising and 'military revolt' - unite in one stream" [underlined by author]; (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 108, German edition). "All efforts must be directed towards bringing about the unification of the workers, peasants, sailors and soldiers, so that together they take up the active, armed struggle" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 109, German edition).

- End Part VI -



Part VII

Textbook

on the Marxist-Leninist foundations of

World proletarian Military Science

and on the Art of

World revolutionary Class Warfare

August 2004

written by Wolfgang Eggers



PART VII

General Strike:

"The general strike is hardly conceivable without a non-party strike committee supported by the masses" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 77, German edition).

The imperialist trade unions reject the general strike in general, but in principle they reject the *political* general strike against the capitalist system, whose maintenance they serve. They try to fight it openly and to prevent it with *all* (!!!) means. Thus, even the president of the National Union of Mineworkers (!!) called for a counter-revolutionary armed suppression of the general strike of the English miners in May 1947, because nothing else can be meant in his call: "*The government must use all [!!!] means to put down this criminal [!!!] attack [!!!] [!!!!]* (exclamation mark by the author) *which endangers production*" (G. Lefranc, "*Trade Unionism in the World*", French ed. Edition, Paris 1963, page 93). This social-imperialist / social-fascist attitude of the trade union leaders towards the general strike is based entirely on the theoretical dogmas of the II International. On this Stalin:

"The third dogma: the method of the political general strike is unacceptable to the proletariat because it is theoretically untenable (see the criticism of Engels), practically dangerous (it could disrupt the normal course of the economic life of the country and have a disastrous effect on the trade union treasuries), and cannot replace the parliamentary forms of struggle which are the main form of the class struggle of the proletariat. Fine, reply the Leninists, but firstly Engels did not criticise *every* general strike, but only a certain type of general strike, namely *the economic general strike of the anarchists*, which the anarchists proposed *as a substitute for the political struggle* of the proletariat - what has this to do with the method of the political general strike? Secondly, where and by whom has it been proved that the parliamentary form of struggle is the main form of the struggle of the proletariat? Does not the history of the revolutionary movement show that the parliamentary struggle is only the school and auxiliary for the organisation of the extra-parliamentary struggle of the proletariat, that the fundamental questions of the workers' movement under capitalism are decided by violence, by the immediate struggle of the proletarian masses, by their general strike, their insurrection? Thirdly, how does one arrive at the question of a substitution of the parliamentary struggle for the method of the *political* general strike [emphasised by the author]? Where and when did the supporters of the political general strike attempt to replace parliamentary forms of struggle with extra-parliamentary forms of struggle? Fourthly, has not the revolution in Russia, for example, shown that the political general strike is a formidable school of the proletarian revolution and an irreplaceable means of mobilising and organising the broadest masses of the proletariat on the eve of the storming of the strongholds of capitalism[underlined by the author] - so what is the use here of philistine complaints about the disruption of the normal course of economic life and about the trade union coffers? Is it not clear that the practice of revolutionary struggle smashes even this dogma of the opportunists?" (Stalin, Vol. 6, pp. 75-76, "On the Foundations of Leninism", German edition).

Lenin said: "But a `school of war' is not yet war itself. When strikes become widespread among the workers, some workers (and some socialists) begin to believe that the working class can confine itself to strikes and strike funds or unions alone, that the working class can achieve a serious improvement in its situation or even its liberation through strikes alone. When they see the strength that their union and even small strikes give to the workers, some believe that the workers only need to call a general strike throughout the country and they can achieve anything they want with the capitalists and the government. Such an opinion was also expressed by workers of other countries when the workers' movement was only beginning and the workers were still very inexperienced. But this opinion is erroneous. Strikes are one of the means of struggle of the working class for its liberation, but not the only means, and if the workers do not pay attention to the other means of struggle, they thereby slow down the development and the achievements of the working class. (...) And the strikes have really in all countries gradually taught the working class to lead the struggle against the governments, for the rights of the workers and for the rights of the whole people in general. (...) If all class-conscious workers become socialists, i. e. i.e., people who strive for such liberation, if they unite throughout the country to spread socialism among the workers, to acquaint the workers with all the means of struggle against their enemies, if they form a socialist workers' party, which fights for the liberation of the whole people from the yoke of government and for the liberation of all labourers from the yoke of capital - only then will the working class have fully joined that great movement of workers of all countries which united all workers and unfurled the red flag with the cry 'Proletarians of all countries, unite! ' (Lenin, Vol. 4, pp. 313-315, German edition).

In contrast to the view of the Marxist-Leninists, the anarcho-syndicalists regard the general strike as the highest form of struggle of the proletariat "with folded arms". The ultimate aim of their general strike is the overthrow of capitalism without violent, socialist revolution and without the seizure of political power through the dictatorship of the proletariat. They regard the general strike as an *"expression of violence that avoids bloodshed"*. With this reactionary general strike tactic, the anarcho-syndicalists deny the necessity of the communist party, its leading role in the armed insurrection and in the dictatorship of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. The general strike must *grow over* into the insurrection. The conquest of proletarian power - this is the Marxist-Leninist goal and the political general strike is an important means to achieve this goal. The opportunists do not understand and do not want to understand this essential difference between a peaceful demonstration strike and the general strike linked to the armed insurrection. The opportunists also do not understand the difference between the forms of struggle limited in the national framework and the forms linked in the international struggle. Peaceful solidarity actions in all countries for the internationalist support of the revolutionary movement in one country are important, but they are completely insufficient as the only international form of struggle against the globalised counter-revolutionary opponent today, who can easily cope with the revolutionary movement in each individual country one by one, but not with a united world front of all revolutionary movements. There have been numerous examples in the history of the revolutionary workers' movement of events where the workers have resorted to forms of struggle across national borders that were international in character, but these are isolated examples. If one wants to achieve a permanent internationalisation of the revolutionary movement, one needs a more effective tactic, and this can only be an international tactic which, for example, is not limited to the tactics of peaceful demonstrations or other international individual actions within the national framework, but goes beyond this and includes the combination of the most diverse international militant and armed forms of struggle, presupposes them. The proletarians of all countries cannot unite their armed struggle into a concentrated force if they do not organise, combine, link, fuse it in a coordinated way beyond their national borders. The forms of struggle confined within the national framework will elementarily and inevitably give way to higher forms of struggle, will make way for international forms of struggle, will necessarily bring them forth as independent and principal forms of struggle of the world proletariat. Through what? The world socialist revolution is breaking out in the production of a globalised, closed and powerful counter-revolution, which *forces* the world proletariat to use ever more international means, ever more extreme international means, for its defence, and thus to develop ever more powerful means of its international attacks on world imperialism.

The political general strike is often the link between the pre-revolutionary upsurge of the movement and the triggering of the armed insurrection. Thus, it is the highest stage of the pre-revolutionary phase and at the same time the initial stage of direct revolutionary struggle, the revolutionary movement can rise from the political general strike to the armed insurrection. This is also one of the reasons why social-democratism and trade union reformism have always tried to prevent a general strike, precisely in order to prevent its further development into an insurrection. At this juncture, weaknesses in the history of the labour movement often became apparent: These weaknesses consisted for the most part in the fact that the workers (and even more so their allies) did not go over to offensive economic and armed political struggle with sufficient determination, in sufficient numbers or quickly enough, that the strikers could not overcome their fragmentation by concentrating their forces, that they could not unify their struggles into a united front. But the greatest obstacle has always been the lack of preparation in the procurement of arms, the lack of preparation of the masses for armed insurrection. And it need not be surprising that at this interface of all places ALL opportunist forces - "left" as well as right - became active against the working class in order to *prevent this transition* from the general strike to the armed insurrection in the most diverse ways.

Here is a historically striking example of how strikes, the economic struggle of the proletariat, developed into the first Russian revolution in 1905. This is also an example of how diverse the forms of struggle were in Russia at that time and how quickly they developed, how the most diverse forms of struggle replaced each other, one merged into the other, one outstripped the other, how the revolution united all forms of struggle with each other on the highest level, *how the content and form of the revolution merged into each other*. When Lenin heard of the Russian revolution of 1905, he wrote in Geneva on January 10:

"The working class, seemingly long aloof from the bourgeois opposition movement, has raised its voice. With dizzying rapidity the broad masses of workers have caught up with their advanced comrades, the conscious Social-Democrats. The Petersburg workers' movement has truly advanced in these days with seven-league boots. Political demands have taken the place of economic ones. The strike became a general strike and resulted in an unprecedented colossal demonstration; the prestige attached to the name of the Tsar has been destroyed forever. The uprising has begun. Violence against violence. Street fighting rages, barricades are erected, volleys crack and cannons thunder, rivers of blood flow, civil war for freedom breaks out, Moscow and the South, the Caucasus and Poland are ready to join the proletariat of Petersburg. Death or freedom! Has become the slogan of the workers. Today and tomorrow will decide many things. With every hour the situation changes. The telegraph brings breathtaking news, and all words pale from the events we are witnessing. Everyone must be ready to do his duty as a revolutionary and social democrat! Long live the revolution! Long live the insurgent proletariat!" (Lenin, Vol. 8, page 58, German edition).

Lenin taught that the bourgeoisie resorts to a tactic of confusion in the proletarian camp, namely, to slow down the course of the swelling struggle by propagating adherence to the previous forms of struggle in order to impede the transition to higher forms of struggle. In the race against time, the counterrevolution tries to provoke the proletariat to such forms of struggle where it can exploit its superiority. For example, calling for peaceful demonstrations and general strikes where armed insurrection has already been called: "From the given situation as it arose after December 1905, it therefore follows with compelling necessity that the strike is of secondary importance to the insurrection" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 108, German edition). But *regardless* of both the will of the revolutionaries and the will of the counter-revolutionaries, "the sharpened revolutionary revolution will transform the demonstration into the strike, the protest into the struggle, the strike into the insurrection. Of course, the insurrection as a mass armed struggle can only come to fruition with the active participation of this or that section of the troops. A strike among the troops, a refusal to fire on the people, can therefore undoubtedly lead in one case or another to the victory of a merely peaceful strike. But it hardly needs proof that such cases would be only isolated episodes of an exceptionally successful insurrection, that there is only one means of bringing about such cases as often as possible, of making them a reality: the successful preparation of the insurrection, the energy and force of the first insurrectionary actions, the demoralisation of the army by foolhardy raids or by the falling away of large bodies of troops, etc." (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 108, German edition). Lenin also reckoned with the Menshevik Lenin and his mistaken treatment of the question of spontaneous and planned forms of struggle:

"Larin does not understand that the question he touches upon has two sides: 1. the juxtaposition of spontaneous struggle and planned struggle of the same scope and forms, and 2. the juxtaposition of (in the narrow sense of the word) revolutionary epoch and counter-revolutionary or 'only-constitutional' epoch. Larin's logic is not worth a damn. He contrasts the spontaneous political strike not with a planned insurrection but with a planned trade union struggle. And that is why his Marxist analysis degenerates into a petty-bourgeois apotheosis [divine glorification - author's note] of counter-revolution. (...) He compares the spontaneous uprising of the Russians in December 1905 not with the 'planned' uprising of the Germans in 1849, of the French in 1871, but with the plannedness in the growth of the German trade unions. He compares the spontaneous and failed general strike of the Russians in December 1905 not with the 'planned' and failed general strike of the Belgians in 1902, but with a planned parliamentary speech of Bebel or Vandervelde. That is why Larin does not understand the world-historical advance in the mass struggle of the proletariat which the strike of October 1905 and the uprising of December 1905 signify. (...) ... the Marxist who uses any ground, even the reactionary ground, to fight for the revolution, does not sink to the apotheosis of reaction, does not forget the struggle for the best possible ground for his activity. That is why the Marxist is the first to foresee the approach of a revolutionary epoch, and begins to awaken the people and to ring the storm while the Philistines are still sleeping their slavish subject sleep. That is why the Marxist is the first to enter the path of direct revolutionary struggle, to go towards the immediate clash and expose the conciliatory illusions of all sorts of wavering social and political elements. That is why the Marxist is the last to leave the road of immediate revolutionary struggle, to leave it only when all possibilities have been exhausted, when not even a glimmer of hope for a shorter road has remained, when the call to prepare for mass strikes, for insurrection, etc., manifestly loses all ground. That is why the Marxist punishes with contempt the countless renegades of the revolution who call out to him: We are more 'progressive' than you, we used to renounce the revolution! We used to 'subordinate' ourselves to the monarchist constitution!" (Lenin, Vol. 11, pp. 347 and 348 and 349, German edition). "By adding a wavering and treacherous opposition to the really fighting revolutionary elements, you do not always get a plus, much more often a minus" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 143, German edition).

Marx underlined that the economic struggle alone, for all its importance in uniting and educating the workers, was not enough, that the proletariat had to organise itself first on a national and then on an international scale, that it was important for the working class to form its own mass political party and to develop the struggle for the conquest of political power on a national and then on an international scale. It fulfilled this task brilliantly with the creation of the I International. Therefore, the economic globalisation of the international monopoly capital as an important factor for the emergence of a globalised economic struggle of the workers in all countries of the world must not be ignored here; for example, the extension of strikes beyond national borders, example Europeanisation of strikes, up to international strikes (e.g. against international corporations). The united and unified economic struggle leads the proletarians of all countries to organise as a world proletariat, to fuse all national sections into one big world army with a world proletarian class consciousness. The strength of the international workers' movement consists in the correct combination of the economic struggle with the political struggle. Thus, the revolutionary trade union movement has always opposed the imperialist wars and fascism with political resistance up to revolutionary violence, as well as the social-imperialist wars and social fascism. The revolutionary world trade union movement has never and will never be lulled by the revisionist thesis of peaceful coexistence against the imperialist trade union movement. The anti-revisionist world trade union movement with Enver Hoxha at its head has not fatalistically watched the transformation of the socialist trade unions into tools of the restoration of capitalism, but has consistently and principledly fought the basic economicist line of the revisionist trade unions. The workers in the revisionist countries have also opposed their reactionary rape with counter-violence, with powerful strikes and actions, have defended their dictatorship of the proletariat also with trade union forms of struggle.

The political struggle for the liberation and emancipation of the world proletariat has never stopped at the social-fascist and social-imperialist trade union houses, and could not do so at all, since the reactionary trade unions themselves exercised violence against their own members or the bourgeois state power called for help every time the trade union members no longer bowed to the principles of class collaboration, opportunism, reformism and revisionism and no longer wanted to have their class struggle put into the social-fascist straitjacket of "social peace". Since the I International, the international communist trade union movement and the international bourgeois trade union movement have been waging a *hundred-year class war*. This war has not yet been decided, has not been buried, but will continue to intensify, and above all will be reignited and spread through globalisation, through the subordination of the world trade union movement to the UN and thus to American imperialism and the imperialists of the other countries. The class war in the world trade union movement will be decided on the international battlefield.

And from this, the Communist International (Stalinist-Hoxhaists) and the Red International of Labour Unions will today draw its historical conclusions from the attitude of the Comintern and the old RILU at that time, namely, to lead the world proletariat fully equipped onto this battlefield, onto the battlefield of the world socialist revolution. The bourgeois/revisionist trade union movement has never voluntarily subordinated itself to the communist one - or vice versa - and neither can do so, because they are irreconcilably opposed to each other, their struggle against each other has a class antagonistic character and thus they are subject to the lawfulness of the class struggle. Thus, the international trade union question is also: "who - whom?" The military strategy and tactics of the world proletariat has never left any doubt that it will never abandon the revolutionary trade union movement, the revolutionary trade union organisations, the revolting masses of members of the trade unions all over the world when world imperialism violently attacks them and tries to liquidate them or to paralyse and divide them. Any bourgeois/revisionist violence against the trade union members - whether it takes place outside or inside the trade union halls - always and lawfully generates revolutionary counter-violence of the trade union members against the bourgeois/revisionist violence. In the proletarian, socialist world revolution, in the dictatorship of the proletariat, there can be no separate roof for bourgeois/revisionist trade union houses. There is only room for the proletarian world trade union house and this can be built nowhere else than on the ruins of the bourgeois/revisionist world trade unions. To convince the masses of trade union members of the need for their own revolutionary trade unions and to mobilise and lead them in the struggle to smash the existing imperialist/social imperialist trade union organisations throughout the world - this is the main tactic of the Red Trade Union International. This tactic includes and presupposes the support and involvement of the revolutionary struggle of the peoples. In this way, the world proletariat puts itself in a position to collectively rouse the exploited masses throughout the world in the struggle for immediate improvements in their situation, and ultimately to be able to call upon them as a reserve for the world proletarian revolution. Through the revolutionary world trade union movement, proletarian internationalism is being transformed into a qualitatively higher stage and thereby acquires a hitherto unimagined power for the revolutionary upheaval of the whole old imperialist world order. Asia, Africa and Latin America today form the weakest links in the imperialist/social-imperialist world trade union system, and it is there that the contradictions between labour and capital are hit by the colonialism of the imperialists and often combined with the increasing brutal exploitation and oppression by their own bourgeoisie in the dependent countries. The revolutionary trade union struggle on these continents is not only an important part of the national and social liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples, but also at the same time a powerful support for the workers and peoples all over the world.

Due to globalisation, the young workers' movement on these continents is developing more rapidly than ever before, albeit differently in the different regions. The trade union struggle, which developed there from the struggle against the colonialism of foreign imperialist bourgeoisies and against their economic, political and military power, and which in part was and in part still is closely linked to the revolutionary national liberation movement, is now taking on more and more independent forms against its own bourgeoisie due to the economic development of the country and the associated strengthening of the proletariat. The imperialist/social imperialist character of the trade unions in the metropolises of the capitalist countries shows its open grimace especially in not supporting the trade union movement on these continents, which is partly even exposed to the most brutal military terror and violence of the reaction in its own country (possibly in words as a fig leaf function, but in any case not in deeds!), on the contrary ! The imperialist/social-imperialist trade unions have no interest in proletarian internationalism, but in fighting it, especially fighting revolutionary developments within the trade union movement of these countries, taking the side of imperialist violence and not shying away from violence themselves. At the same time, the imperialist/social-imperialist trade unions prevent or impede the efforts of progressive trade unionists to support, cooperate and interweave international trade union solidarity. Whoever as a communist trade unionist openly supports proletarian internationalism in the sense of the proletarian world revolution within the imperialist/social-imperialist trade union is exposed to blind hatred and terror by the social-fascist trade union leadership and thus "buried alive".

"We have introduced the working masses to the `sixth' of political freedoms (freedom of speech, conscience, press, assembly, association and strike). We must now repeat a million and a billion times over the `six-piece' of the next revolutionary tasks (armed insurrection, revolutionary army, provisional revolutionary government)" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 217, German edition).

"If the strikes grow, so does the insurrection!" (Lenin, Vol. 18, page 224, German edition).

The question of insurrection must be spoken of seriously, without liberal sniggering, as Lenin once put it.

"To evade an open treatment of the question of the insurrection - that has always and always been the endeavour of our opportunists" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 147, German edition).

The insurrection

Marxism-Leninism methodically examines the question of the insurrection with the help of dialectical and historical materialism. It analyses the conditions of the real insurrection, how it was led and how it is led. Who undertakes the insurrection and who carries it out? The Marxist-Leninist method demands to determine which interests of which classes require the overthrow, which material conditions cause the revolutionary uprising, which connections and relations exist between the "to be overthrown" and the "overthrowers". One must not forget the ABC of Marxism-Leninism and must first of all try to determine, on the basis of the actually existing revolutionary movement, which classes are forced by the course of the revolutionary movement itself, often independently of their "consciousness", to overthrow the institutions of power that stand in their way. The history of the uprisings in all countries of the world contains enough examples of how the institutions of power were overthrown there and which therefore helps us in a generalised way to think about the world revolutionary, complete overthrow of the central power of world imperialism and to draw the right conclusions and lessons.

Marxist-Leninist military science is thus concerned with the military laws of international uprisings.

Lenin taught: "It is unworthy of a workers' party to play with insurrection";

"To call for insurrection without making serious military preparations for it, without believing in it, would be to play with insurrection unworthily" (Lenin, Vol. 10, pp. 134 and 135).

"Premature attempts at insurrection would be the height of unreasonableness. The proletarian vanguard must understand that the fundamental conditions for a sufficient - i.e., victorious - armed insurrection in Russia are the support of the working class by the democratic peasantry and the active participation of the army. (...) Without an illegal party, this work cannot be carried out and there is no point in even talking about it. (...) The growth of the mass strikes, the involvement of other classes in the struggle, the state of the organisations, the mood of the masses - all these will of themselves show the moment when all forces will have to unite in the unanimous, determined, offensive, unreservedly bold advance of the revolution against the Tsarist monarchy. Without victorious revolution there will be no freedom in Russia. Without overthrow of the Tsarist monarchy by the insurrection of the proletariat and the peasantry, there will be no victorious revolution in Russia" (Lenin, Vol. 18, pp. 98/99, German edition).

"Insurrection - that is a very big word. The call to insurrection is an extremely serious call. The more complicated the social order becomes, the higher the organisation of state power and the more perfect the military technique, the more inadmissible it is to issue such a slogan carelessly. And we have said more than once that the revolutionary Social-Democrats have long been preparing to raise this slogan, but only issued it as a direct appeal when there could no longer be any doubt about the seriousness, breadth and depth of the revolutionary movement, any doubt that things were drifting towards their decision in the true sense of this word. Great words must be handled with care. The difficulties of translating them into great deeds are colossal. But for this very reason it would be unforgivable to pass over the difficulties with phrases (...)" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 366, German edition).

"This slogan must not be issued as long as the general conditions of overthrow have not ripened, as long as the agitation and readiness of the masses for action have not become clearly apparent, and as long as the external circumstances have not led to an obvious crisis. But once such a slogan has been put forward, it would be downright disgraceful to shrink back from it and again be content with moral force, with one of the conditions which prepare the ground for the insurrection, with one of the 'possible transitions' [Lenin means here the peaceful, opportunist transitions - author's note], etc., etc. No, once the die is cast, all prevarication must be set aside, it must be explained directly and openly to the broadest masses what are now the practical conditions of successful overthrow" (Lenin, Vol. 9, pp. 367-368, German edition).

Lenin defines the insurrection (among other things) as

"the most energetic, the most united and expedient `response' of the whole people to the government" (Lenin, Vol. 5, page 537, German edition)....

"at the moment of the greatest headlessness of the government, at the moment of the greatest agitation of the people" (Lenin, Vol. 8, page 11, German edition).

Lenin described armed insurrection "as the highest form of struggle achieved by the movement" (Lenin, Vol. 10, page 135). Lenin defined the forms of insurrection as special forms of revolution (see Lenin, Vol. 11, page 342).

Further, "Insurrection is civil war, but a war requires an army" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 214, German edition). "The slogan of insurrection means that the question is decided by material force (...) only military force" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 367, German edition). But what are the forces that together form the revolutionary army? Lenin enumerated what the military forces of the people consisted of in 1905:

"1. of the armed proletariat and the armed peasantry,

2. of the organised vanguards of the representatives of these classes,

3. of the detachments of troops which are ready to go over to the side of the people. All this together makes up the revolutionary army" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 365).

So here we have the classic Marxist-Leninist definition of the composition of the revolutionary army: hammer, sickle and rifle!!!!

And this is what still guides the Marxist-Leninist parties today, the Communist International, this is what has been expressed in all the important documents and repeated a hundred times:

"We cannot and must not give up hope that it will eventually be possible to make the three separate streams of insurrection - of the workers, the peasants and the military - flow together into the united victorious insurrection" (Lenin, Vol. 10, page 106, German edition).

"The insurrection throbs at the gates when the revolution has already matured, when the offensive has gone full steam ahead and the drawing of the reserves to the vanguard is the decisive condition for success" (Stalin, Vol. 6, page 138, German edition).

The insurrection makes its appearance at a high stage in the development of the revolution, when the strength of the revolutionary forces has reached such a climax that they must discharge themselves violently. All previous forms of struggle, such as the growing number and size of mass demonstrations at ever shorter intervals and finally in an increase in their immediate succession, economic and political mass strikes, transgressions of legality, clashes with the counterrevolution throughout the country (concentration on the climax, gathering of forces without being worn down beforehand by the provocations of the counterrevolution, fixing of partial uprisings, formation of an insurrectionary centre, insurrection grows in depth and breadth; individual outbreaks come together to form the image of a blazing conflagration!) , general strike etc. etc. culminate, heat up, merge into one another, in order to pass directly into their highest aggregate state of revolution, into the armed people's uprising, and thus into a qualitatively new force which, at the apex of the class struggle, is transformed by leaps and bounds from a force which is already no longer exclusively concerned with shaking off the yoke which has become unbearable, with the movement of liberation from the old fetters of wage slavery and mass misery, into a force which, at the same moment, puts itself entirely on the agenda of its own accord: The new revolutionary power of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Whether this power will triumph or fall again is another question that depends on many conditions. But in any case, the decisive factor will be how the proletariat organises its power, what it relies on, how it consolidates its power, to what extent it can allow itself breathing space in order to reactivate its enormously spent forces and, on the other hand, to what extent the enemy succeeds or fails in putting down the uprising again by gathering *and* concentrating its forces and reserves. The fate of world history hangs in the balance, so to speak, for a fraction of a second in such dramatic situations.

"No one can necessarily vouch that it [Lenin means here the unprepared, spontaneous, fragmented insurrection - author's note] will advance to the comprehensive and united armed popular uprising, for that depends both on the state of the revolutionary forces (which can be fully gauged only in the struggle itself) and on the attitude of the government and the bourgeoisie, as well as on a number of other circumstances which cannot be precisely calculated" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 57, German edition). And Lenin further stressed that "the revolutionary moment differs from the ordinary, everyday, preparatory historical periods precisely in that the mood, the excitement, the conviction of the masses must and do appear in action. Vulgar revolutionarism does not understand that the word is also an act; this principle is indisputable in its application to history in general or to those epochs of history when there is no open political action of the masses, which, after all, cannot be replaced or artificially evoked by any coup. The revolutionaries of the post-trab politics do not understand that at a time when the revolutionary moment has dawned, when the old 'superstructure' is cracking at the seams, when the open political action of the classes and masses creating a new superstructure for themselves has become a fact, since the civil war has begun - that it is then alienation from life, rigor mortis, rhetoric, or else betrayal of the revolution and desertion, if one confines oneself, as in the old days, to the 'word' without issuing the direct slogan of the transition to the 'deed'" (Lenin, Vol. 9, pp. 58-59, German edition).

"The dialectical process of development really brings forth elements of the new society already in the womb of capitalism, both material and spiritual elements" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 370, German edition). In the same way, conversely, socialist society brings forth in its womb elements of the old society, capitalist-revisionist elements, both material and spiritual elements. Today we Marxist-Leninists must know how to distinguish the bits from the whole, must put up the whole and not the bits as a slogan. This is also true of socialism in a country.

The historical moment of the extreme intensification of the struggle of certain *classes* as a precondition of the uprising must be underlined. The character of the armed uprising as a special kind of *mass* movement, as a special kind of proletarian class struggle, should be emphasised. It is also necessary to examine the role of the individual classes, the dependence of the movement in the masses on the social balance of forces, the inseparability of the political side of the insurrection from its military side, the importance of broad organisations of the masses as a precondition for a provisional revolutionary government which will emerge directly from the insurrection. The resolution adopted by the III Party Congress of the SDAPR states: "(d) to organise armed resistance to the actions of the Black Hundreds and, in general, of all reactionary elements led by the government" (quoted in Lenin, Vol. 9, page 23, German edition). As soon as the first hostilities of an insurrection begin, the lack of military organisations becomes more and more acutely felt, sins of craftiness and poor systematic preparation of these hostilities are cruelly punished by the counter-revolution - after the shortest possible time of a surprise effect. "As long as the forces are not yet sufficient for the armed insurrection and its victory, it is ridiculous to speak of a revolutionary self-management of the people. This is not the prologue but the epilogue of the insurrection" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 191, German edition). "If the insurrection is possible and necessary, it means that the government has 'put the bayonet on the agenda', opened the civil war and put the siege tar sands into the field as an anti-criticism of democratic criticism" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 269, German edition). "Only to the extent that the insurrection will be victorious and its victory a decisive defeat of the enemy - only to that extent will the assembly of the people's representatives also be elected by the whole people, not merely on paper, and not merely constitute in words" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 465, German edition).

The insurrection creates the direct juxtaposition of the mobilised revolution against the mobilised counter-revolution, and broader elements are mobilised on both sides after the insurrection. Usually the consequences of the insurrection, whether defeat or victory, are bloodier and with much greater sacrifice than during the insurrection itself. In the October Revolution of 1917, for example, not a shot was fired, but in the civil war that emerged from it and followed it = 3 million dead. Another 5 million died as a result of the economic disruption.

The experience of defeat in the hundreds of workers' uprisings has not been in vain, and workers' blood has not flowed in vain:

The lessons of the 1905 uprising in Russia

Lenin summarised these lessons in his article "The Lessons of the Moscow Uprising". (to be read in Volume 11, pages 157 - 165). This article is strongly recommended here as an important training text. For the moment, we limit ourselves to brief quotations and excerpts from Lenin's text :

"The main forms of the December movement in Moscow were the peaceful strike and the demonstration. The overwhelming majority of the masses of workers participated actively only in these forms of struggle. And yet it was precisely the Moscow December action which vividly showed that the general strike had survived as an independent and hip form of struggle, that the movement was breaking through this narrow framework with elementary, irresistible violence and giving birth to a higher form of struggle, the insurrection.

When the revolutionary parties and the trade unions in Moscow proclaimed the strike, they all realised, indeed felt, that it must inevitably turn into the insurrection. On 6 December, the Soviet of Labour Deputies decided to 'seek the transition of the strike into armed insurrection'. In reality, however, no organisation was prepared for this, even the Coalition Council of Combat Groups spoke (*on 9 December!*) of the uprising as something far removed, and undoubtedly the street struggle broke out over its head and proceeded without its participation. The organisations lagged behind the growth and momentum of the movement.

The strike grew into an insurrection, especially under the pressure of the objective conditions that had developed after October. It was already no longer possible to take the government by surprise with a general strike; it had already organised the counter-revolution, which was prepared for military action.

From strike and demonstrations to individual barricades, from individual barricades to mass erection of barricades and street fighting with the troops.

From the mass political strike, the movement was raised to a higher level. It forced the reaction to go to the last in its resistance, and thereby brought with giant strides the moment close when the revolution will also go to the last in the use of the means of attack. The reaction cannot go further than the artillery fire on barricades, houses and the crowds in the streets. The revolution can go further than the struggle of the Moscow fighting groups, it can go much, much further, in breadth and in depth. And the revolution has gone far since December. The base of the revolutionary crisis has become immeasurably wider - the edge of its weapon must now be much sharper.

The change in the objective conditions of the struggle, which required the transition from strike to insurrection, was felt by the proletariat earlier than by its leaders. Practice, as always, preceded theory. The peaceful strike and demonstrations ceased at one stroke to be sufficient for the workers; they asked: what next? - and demanded more active action. The order to build barricades arrived in the districts with a huge delay, at a time when barricades were already being built in the centre. The workers went to work en masse, *but were not satisfied with that either*, asking: What next? - and demanded more active action. We, the leaders of the social-democratic proletariat, in December resembled the army commander who has deployed his regiments in such a nonsensical way that the majority of his troops do not take an active part in the battle. The masses of workers sought in vain instructions for active mass action.

To conceal from the masses the necessity of a bitter, bloody, annihilating war as the immediate task of the coming action is to deceive oneself and the people. This is the first lesson of the December events

The second lesson concerns the character of the insurrection, the way in which it was carried out, the conditions for the transition of the troops to the side of the people [all underlined by the author].

It goes without saying that there can be no question of a serious struggle as long as the revolution has not become a mass movement and has not also taken hold of the troops. Of course, the work among the troops is necessary. But one must not imagine this transition of the troops as a simple, one-off act, the result of conviction on the one hand and consciousness on the other. The Moscow uprising shows us vividly how template-like and out of touch with life such a conception is. In practice, the wavering of the troops, which every real popular movement inevitably entails, leads to a struggle for the army in the truest sense of the word when the revolutionary struggle intensifies. The Moscow uprising shows us precisely the picture of an extremely bitter, desperate struggle of reaction and revolution for the army. Dubasov himself declared that of the 15,000 men in the Moscow troops only 5,000 were reliable. The government sought to hold back the waverers by the most manifold and desperate means: They tried to convince them, flatter them, bribe them by distributing watches, money, etc., they were not sparing with liquor, they tried to deceive them, to intimidate them, they locked them up in the barracks, disarmed them, by means of treachery and violence they picked out soldiers whom they considered particularly unreliable. And one must have the courage to admit straightforwardly and openly that we have lagged behind the government in this respect. We did not know how to use the forces at our disposal for an active, bold, proactive and offensive struggle for the faltering army, as the government started and successfully completed. We have begun the mental 'work-up' of the troops and will pursue it even more persistently. But we will be sad pedants if we forget that at the moment of insurrection a physical struggle for the troops is also necessary. (...) Malakhov had the soldiers surrounded by dragoons, but we did not surround the Malakhovs by bombardiers. We could have and should have done so.

December vividly confirmed another profound proposition of Marx's, forgotten by the opportunists, namely, that insurrection is an art and that the main rule of this art is the offensive conducted with daring boldness and the greatest determination. We have not made this truth sufficiently our own. We have not sufficiently learnt this art, this rule of the offensive at all costs ourselves and have not sufficiently taught it to the masses. We must now make up for what we have missed with all our energy. It is not enough to group the people according to their relation to political slogans; moreover, it is necessary to group them according to their attitude towards armed insurrection. Those who are against it, those who are not preparing for it, must be ruthlessly eliminated from the number of supporters of the revolution and counted among its opponents, among the traitors or cowards, because the day is approaching when the course of events, the situation of the struggle will force us to separate enemies from friends according to this characteristic. Not passivity must we propagate, not a simple 'wait and see' that the troops 'pass over' - no, we must beat the drum and proclaim far and wide that it is necessary to attack boldly and with arms in hand, that it is necessary to destroy the military leaders in the process and to wage the most all-out struggle for the wavering troops.

The third great lesson Moscow has given us concerns tactics and the organisation of forces for the insurrection. Military tactics depend on the level of military technique[underlined by the author] - this fact Engels [Anti-Dühring for example - author's note] has repeatedly explained and hammered into the Marxists. Military technique is different now from what it was in the middle of the 19th century. To go against artillery in droves and to defend the barricades with revolvers would be foolishness. And Kautsky was right when he wrote that after the Moscow uprising it was time to review Engels' conclusion and that Moscow had created a '*new barricade tactic*'. This tactic was the tactic of partisan warfare [emphasised by author]. The organisation conditioned by such tactics was the easily mobile and extraordinarily small detachment: groups of ten, groups of three, even groups of two.

Moscow produced this tactic, but it was far from being sufficiently developed, far from being really made into the tactic of the broad masses. There were few fighting groups, the slogan of daring raids was not carried to the working masses and was not realised by them, the partisan detachments were all too homogeneous in character, their weapons and their method of struggle were inadequate, their ability to lead the masses was poorly trained. We must make up for all this and we will make up for it by evaluating the lessons of the Moscow Uprising, by spreading these lessons among the masses and by awakening the creative power of the masses themselves to develop these lessons further. The guerrilla warfare, the mass terror which is now being waged almost non-stop everywhere in Russia after December, will undoubtedly help to teach the masses to use the right tactics at the moment of insurrection. Social-Democracy must approve this mass terror and make it part of its tactics, while organising and controlling it, of course, subordinating it to the interests and conditions of the workers' movement and of the general revolutionary struggle, and ruthlessly eliminating and eradicating the 'lumpenproletarian' distortions of this partisan war with which the Muscovites so splendidly and ruthlessly cleaned up in the days of the insurrection and the Latvians in the days of the much-named Latvian republics.

In the very recent period, military technology is again making new advances. The Japanese war introduced the hand grenade. The rifle factories have thrown the quick-loading rifle on the market. Both are already being used successfully in the Russian revolution, but not nearly to a sufficient extent. We can and must make use of technical perfections, must teach the workers' sections to mass-produce bombs, must help them and our fighting groups to obtain supplies of explosives, detonators and self-loading rifles. If the masses of workers take part in the uprising in the city, if the masses throw themselves on the enemy, if the struggle for the troops, who are wavering even more after the Duma, after Sveaborg and Kronstadt, is waged resolutely and skilfully, and if the participation of the village in the common struggle is secured, then we shall be victorious in the next armed uprising which will seize the whole of Russia!"

So much for the lessons of the Moscow uprising. Long before this, resolutions were passed by the III Party Congress of the CPSU (b). For example, the resolution of the III Party Congress of the CPSU (b) says about the uprising:

1. That the proletariat, which according to its situation is the most advanced and the only consistent revolutionary class, is precisely thereby called to realise the leadership in the general-democratic revolutionary movement of Russia;

2. That this movement has at present already led to the necessity of armed insurrection;

3. that the proletariat will inevitably participate in this uprising in the most energetic way and that this participation will decide the fate of the revolution in Russia;

4. That the proletariat can realise leadership in this revolution only if it is united into a single and independent political force under the banner of the Social-Democratic Labour Party, which will lead its struggle not only ideologically but also practically;

5. that only the realisation of this leadership can secure for the proletariat the most favourable conditions for the struggle for socialism against the propertied classes of bourgeois-democratic Russia-.

the IIIrd Congress of the SDAPR recognises that the task of organising the proletariat for immediate struggle against autocracy by way of armed insurrection is one of the most important and postponable tasks of the Party at the present revolutionary moment. The Party Congress therefore instructs all Party organisations:

(a) to make clear to the proletariat, through propaganda and agitation, not only the political significance but also the practical-organisational side of the forthcoming insurrection;

b) to explain in this propaganda and agitation the role of mass political strikes, which can have great importance at the beginning and in the course of the insurrection;

(c) to take the most energetic measures for arming the proletariat and for drawing up a plan of armed insurrection and directing the insurrection directly, and, as far as necessary, to form special groups of party functionaries for this purpose" (quoted by Lenin in Vol. 9, pp. 61-62).

"If it is necessary to prepare for the insurrection, this preparation necessarily includes the dissemination and explanation of the slogans: people's armed insurrection, revolutionary army, provisional revolutionary government. We must both study ourselves the new methods of struggle, their conditions, their forms, their dangers, their practical implementation, etc., and educate the masses about them" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 245, German edition).

"The thesis 'We are for the time being unable to provoke the insurrection' is false. On the contrary, the events on the 'Potyomkin' have shown that we are *unable to prevent premature outbreaks of the insurrection in preparation*. The sailors of the 'Pozjomlin' were less prepared than the sailors of other ships, and the uprising was therefore less extensive than it could have been. What follows from this? That part of the task of preparing for an insurrection is to prevent premature outbreaks of an insurrection that is in preparation or almost ready. That the elementary growing insurrection overtakes our conscious and planned work of its preparation" (Lenin, Vol. 9, pp. 245-246, German edition).

"Theoretical discussions on the necessity of the insurrection can and must be held, tactical resolutions on this question should be carefully thought out and worked out, but in all this it must not be forgotten that the elementary course of events is breaking its way powerfully without any regard for wisdom pieties. It must not be forgotten that the development of all those great contradictions which have accumulated for centuries in Russian life is taking place with inexorable force, that it is calling the masses to the scene and throwing the dead, lifeless doctrines of peaceful progress on the rubbish heap (. ..). ..." "Dead doctrines always lag behind the stormy current of revolution which expresses the fundamental requirements of life, the deepest interests of the masses of the people (...) *A bad doctrine has been brilliantly corrected by a good revolution*" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 196, German edition).

"Whoever is for the insurrection, with him the proletariat will 'strike united', though 'marching separately' ; whoever is against the insurrection, him we will fight ruthlessly" (Lenin, Vol. 10, page 136, German edition).

As for the elaboration of a plan of armed insurrection and what the leadership of the struggle should look like in concrete terms, Lenin described very forcefully - far from being content with drafting resolutions of the Party Congress. Thus Lenin wrote frankly "as a consultant" to the Struggle Committee of the St Petersburg Committee on 16 October 1905:

"All these schemes, all these plans of the organisation of the Struggle Committee give the impression of paper formulaic rubbish - I beg your pardon for my frankness (...) I see with horror, truly with horror, that they have been talking about bombs for *more than half a year* and have not yet made a single one! (...) Go to the youth. Immediately form combat groups, everywhere and in all places, both among the students and especially among the workers, etc., etc. Squads of 3 to 10, up to 30, etc. They are to form themselves immediately. They are to arm themselves immediately, as well as anyone can, with revolvers, knives, petroleum-soaked rags to start fires, and so on. These fighting detachments should immediately elect leaders and, if possible, *contact* the fighting committee of the Petersburg Committee. Demand no formalities of any kind, for God's sake whistle at all schemes, for God's sake send all 'functions, rights and privileges' packing. Do not insist on joining the CPSU (b) - that would be an absurd demand for the armed insurrection. Do not refuse to associate with any coven, even if it consists of only three persons, on the sole condition that it be unsuspicious as regards the police and ready to fight against the Tsarist troops. Let the groups who wish to do so join or affiliate to the CPSU (b), that would be excellent; but I would absolutely consider it a Gehler to demand it. The role of the Struggle Committee at the Petersburg Committee should be to help these sections of the revolutionary army, to serve them as a liaison bureau, and so on. Every section will gladly accept your services, but if you arrive at such a matter with schemes and with speeches about the 'rights' of the Combat Committee, you will wreck the whole thing, believe me, wreck it irretrievably! Here you have to work through broad propaganda. Let 5-10 people in a week visit hundreds of workers' and students' circles, penetrate everywhere where it is at all possible, and everywhere propose the clear, short, direct and simple plan: form a fighting section at once, arm yourselves as well as you can, work from all your strength, we will help you as far as possible, *but don't expect anything from us*, work yourself.

The main emphasis in such a thing lies in the initiative of the mass of the small circles. They can do everything. Without them, your whole struggle committee is nothing. I tend to measure the labour productivity of the struggle committee by the number of such sections with which it is associated. If in one or two months the Struggle Committee does not have a minimum of 200-300 sections in Petersburg, then it is a dead Struggle Committee. Then it must be buried. Whoever does not raise hundreds of fighting sections in the present boiling heat is out of life. The propagandists should give each division short and simple bombing recipes and an elementary explanation of the whole method of work, but then leave the whole activity to it. The divisions are to begin their military training *right now, immediately*, with practical combat operations. Some will immediately kill an informer or blow up a police station, others will raid a bank in order to confiscate funds for the uprising, still others will organise an exercise or make sketches of maps, and so on. In any case, one must learn in practice right from the beginning, must not be afraid of these tentative raids. Of course, they can go to extremes, but that is a danger of tomorrow, but the danger of today lies in our inertia, in our doctrinarianism, in our learned sluggishness and senile fear of initiative. Let each section learn independently, even by beating up policemen: the dozens of victims will be amply outweighed by the hundreds of experienced fighters who will lead hundreds of thousands into battle tomorrow" (Lenin, Vol. 9, pp. 342-344, German edition).

Lenin worked out the tasks of the departments of the revolutionary army to be created in concrete terms down to every little detail:

"1. independent military action.

2. leadership of the masses.

The detachments can be of any strength, from two to three men. The detachments must arm themselves, each with what he can (rifle, revolver, bomb, knife, brass knuckles, truncheons, rags soaked in paraffin to start fires, ropes or rope ladders, shovels for building barricades, explosive cartridges, barbed wire, nails {against cavalry}, etc., etc.). Under no circumstances may one expect help from elsewhere, from above or from outside, but must procure everything oneself.

The detachments must be formed, if possible, of persons who live close to each other or who meet frequently, regularly, at certain hours (preferably both, because the regular meeting can be interrupted by the uprising). Their task is to arrange it so that they can come together at the critical moments, in the most unforeseen situations. Each section must therefore establish in advance ways and means to ensure joint action: Signs at the windows, etc., to find each other more easily; arranged shouts or whistles to recognise the comrade in the crowd; agreed signs in case of a night meeting, etc., etc. Any energetic man can work out with two or three comrades a whole series of such rules and methods, which must be compiled, memorised and practised. It must be remembered that there is a 99 per cent probability that events will come as a surprise and that it will be necessary to come together under extraordinarily difficult circumstances.

Even unarmed detachments can play a very important role in 1. directing the crowd; 2. when the opportunity is favourable, assaulting and disarming a policeman or a Cossack who happens to be separated from his comrades (a case in Moscow), etc.; 3. rescuing the arrested or wounded when the police force is weak; 4. climbing to the roofs of houses, to upper floors, etc., and throwing stones at the troops, pouring boiling water on them, etc. An organised, united and energetic detachment is a formidable force. Under no circumstances must the formation of a division be refused or postponed on the pretext of lack of arms.

Divisions must distribute functions as far as possible in advance and sometimes elect the head, the division leader, in advance. It would, of course, be unreasonable to fall into a gimmick of rank insignia, but one must not forget the colossal importance of unified leadership, of swift and decisive action.

Determination and bold attack are three-fourths of success (underlined by the author].

Immediately after their formation, i.e. already now, the sections must set to work on a variety of subjects, by no means only theoretical, but necessarily also practical. To the theoretical work we count the study of war science, the preoccupation with military questions, lectures on military questions, discussions with military men (with officers, non-commissioned officers, etc., etc., not least also with ex-soldiers from the working class); the reading, discussion and processing of illegal pamphlets and newspaper articles on the street struggle, etc., etc.

We repeat, the practical work must begin immediately. They break down into preparatory and military operations. The preparatory work includes the procurement of all kinds of weapons and ammunition, the selection of favourably situated dwellings for street fighting (suitable for fighting from above, for the storage of bombs, stones, etc., or of acids for watering the policemen, etc., etc., as well as for staff quarters, for intelligence, as a place of refuge for the persecuted, accommodation for the wounded, etc., etc.). Preparatory work also includes timely reconnaissance and exploration: Obtaining plans of prisons, police stations, ministries, etc., scouting out the division of labour in state institutions, banks, etc., as well as their guarding; establishing relations that may be useful (with police, bank, court, prison, post office and telegraph officials, etc.), ascertaining arms caches from all the arms shops in the city, etc. There is a great deal of work to be done here, work in which everyone can be of the greatest use, even those who are completely unfit for street fighting, even people who are physically quite weak, women, young people, old people, etc. It is necessary to make every effort now to unite in the departments, without exception, all those who want to take part in the uprising, for there is and can be no one who would not be of the greatest use if he wanted to work, even if he has no weapons, even if he is personally unfit for fighting.

Next, the sections of the revolutionary army must by no means confine themselves to preparatory work; they must as soon as possible also proceed to military action in order to:

1. to exercise their fighting capacity; 2. to reconnoitre the weak points of the enemy; 3. to inflict partial defeats on the enemy; 4. to liberate prisoners (arrested); 5. to capture arms; 6. to win funds for the insurrection (confiscate government money), etc., etc. The sections can and must immediately seize every opportunity for lively work; they must by no means postpone this until the general uprising, for if one is not already in the fire beforehand, one does not acquire fitness for the uprising either [underlined by the author].

Certainly, all exaggeration is evil; all that is good and useful, carried to extremes, can become bad and harmful, indeed it must, if a certain limit is exceeded. Undisciplined, unprepared little acts of terror, carried to extremes, can only fragment and waste forces. That is true and, of course, must not be forgotten. But on the other hand, we must not forget that the slogan of the uprising has already been issued, that the uprising has already begun. To begin offensive actions when the circumstances are favourable is not only the right but also the direct duty of every revolutionary [underlined by the author]. Killing informers, policemen and gendarmes, blowing up police stations, freeing arrested persons, confiscating government funds for the needs of the insurrection - such actions are already being undertaken wherever the insurrection is spreading, in Poland and the Caucasus, and every section of the revolutionary army must be ready for such actions at any moment. Every section must remember that it is *guilty of unforgivable inaction, of passivity*, if it does not take advantage today of the opportunity favourable to action - and such guilt is, in the epoch of insurrection, the greatest crime of a revolutionary, the greatest disgrace for anyone who strives for freedom not only in words but in deed [underlined by the author].

The following can be said about the composition of these departments: the most appropriate number of members and the distribution of their functions will be taught by experience. One must begin to acquire this experience oneself, without waiting for instructions from outside. One should, of course, ask the local revolutionary organisation to send a militarily trained revolutionary for lectures, debates and advice, but if such a person cannot be found, one must necessarily manage everything oneself.

As far as party groupings are concerned, members of one party will naturally prefer to group together in the same sections. But one should not necessarily refuse members of other parties to join a section. It is precisely here that we must realise the union, the practical understanding (without any fusion of parties, of course) of the socialist proletariat with revolutionary democracy. Whoever wants to fight for freedom and proves his willingness by action can be counted among the revolutionary democrats, with whom one must strive to work together on the preparation of the uprising (of course, only if there is full confidence in the person or the group). All other `democrats` must be sharply rejected as quasi-democrats, as liberal chatterers, for it would be unpardonable of revolutionaries to rely on them and criminal to place confidence in them [underlined by author].

It is of course desirable for the sections to unite with each other, and extremely useful to work out forms and conditions for joint activity. But in doing so, one must by no means fall into the extreme of inventing complicated plans, general schemes, etc., and detract from the living cause by pedantic fiddling. The circumstances surrounding the uprising will inevitably be such that the non-organised elements will be a thousand times more numerous than the organised ones; it will be unavoidable to have to act immediately, on the spot, in pairs or alone - and one must prepare to act on one's own initiative. Delays and discussions, tardiness and indecision are the death of insurgency. To proceed with the utmost determination and energy, to take immediate advantage of every favourable moment, to kindle at once the revolutionary ardour of the multitude, to point it in the direction of more resolute and determined action - this is the first duty of the revolutionary [underlined by the author].

An excellent military *exercise* for the soldiers of the revolutionary army, in which they receive their baptism of fire and through which they bring immense benefit to the revolution, is the struggle against the Black Hundreds. The detachments of the revolutionary army must immediately ascertain by whom, where and how the Black Hundreds are organised, and must then not confine themselves to agitation alone (this is useful, but is not sufficient), but must also proceed by force of arms, strike down the Black Hundreds, kill them, blow up their headquarters, etc., etc." (Lenin, Vol. 9, pp. 423-427; written at the end of October 1905, German edition).

There can be no doubt here that the day is coming when we must proceed to transform the revolutionary armies into sections of the international world army. In the not too distant future, the armed insurrection will cover the whole world, not only as a single event, but repeatedly and more and more in breadth and depth - and we must prepare for this now!

Lenin thus not only proved the necessity of the uprising and called for it, but he also demanded the "immediate organisation of a revolutionary army (...). Only the boldest, broadest organisation of such an army can be the prologue to the insurrection" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 180, German edition). Lenin called the revolutionary government the "organ of the insurrection" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 202, German edition). Lenin considered revolutionary state power to be "one of the greatest and highest *'means'* to realise political overthrow" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 245, German edition).

Nevertheless, for Lenin, two institutions were necessary for the success of an uprising: "The revolutionary army and the revolutionary government are two sides of the same coin. They are two institutions which are equally necessary for the success of the insurrection and for the anchoring of its achievements. They are two slogans which must necessarily be established and explained because they are the only consistent revolutionary slogans" (Lenin, Vol. 8, page 571, German edition). The revolutionary government must mobilise the 'people' and organise their revolutionary activity" (Lenin, *ibid*, page 570). "To speak of the 'victory' of the popular uprising, of the establishment of a provisional government, and not to point out the connection of these 'steps' and acts with the struggle for the republic - that is to write a resolution, not to lead the struggle of the proletariat, but to trot along behind the proletarian movement" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 24, German edition) Therefore the Marxist formula: No revolutionary government without the collaboration of an insurrection and no insurrection without the collaboration of a revolutionary government - otherwise the insurrectionary people cannot be victorious - this is the Marxist-Leninist formula of the armed insurrection and the insurrectionary government as its organ.

"Of course, the real backing of such a government can only be the armed insurrection. But the planned government will be nothing but the organ of this already growing and maturing insurrection. In practice, the formation of a revolutionary government could not be tackled until the uprising had reached proportions that were visible to all, tangible to all, so to speak. But just now it is necessary to unite this uprising politically, to organise it, to give it a clear programme and to make all the sections of the revolutionary army, which are already numerous and rapidly increasing in numbers, the support and levers of this new government, which is really free and really supported by the people (Citizens! ...) Stop the payment of all duties and taxes, direct all efforts to the organisation and arming of a free people's army (...) Whoever is not for the revolution is against the revolution. Whoever is not a revolutionary is a Black Hundred (...) This is roughly how I conceive of the development of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies into a provisional revolutionary government" (Lenin, Vol. 10, pp. 10 and 12, German edition). So how is the collapsed reactionary government replaced by a revolutionary government? "The organ of people's power which temporarily takes over the duties of the collapsed government is called, in plain and clear Russian, a provisional revolutionary government. Such a government must be provisional, for its powers expire as soon as a constituent assembly elected by the people convenes. Such a government must be revolutionary, because it replaces the collapsed government, based on revolution. This change cannot take place otherwise than by revolutionary means" (Lenin, Vol. 10, page 53, German edition). "The provisional revolutionary government is the organ of the insurrection which unites all the insurgents and directs the insurrection politically" (Lenin, Vol. 10, page 54, German edition).

Climax and decline of the 1905 Russian uprising

Lenin assessed the events in Moscow, comparing them with the other preceding uprisings and positively estimating their further process of development despite defeats suffered:

"However scanty these news items may be, they allow us to draw the conclusion that the outbreak of the uprising in Moscow, compared with the other uprisings, does not represent a higher stage of the movement. Neither did revolutionary fighting detachments, prepared in time and well armed, go into action, nor did at least a certain proportion of the troops go over to the side of the people, nor did the `new` types of people's armament, the bombs (which had given the Cossacks and soldiers such a fright in Tiflis on September 26 [October 9]), come into extensive use. But if even one of these conditions was lacking, neither the arming of large numbers of workers nor the victory of the insurrection could be expected. The significance of the Moscow events, as we have already noted, is different: a great centre has thereby received its baptism of fire, a vast industrial area has been drawn into the serious struggle. The growth of the insurrection in Russia does not, of course, and cannot, proceed in a uniform and straightforward upsurge. In Petersburg on January 9, the predominant feature was the rapid and unanimous movement of gigantic masses who were unarmed and did not enter the struggle, but who received a great lesson in fighting. In Poland and the Caucasus, the movement was characterised by tremendous tenacity and a relatively more frequent use of arms and bombs on the part of the population. In Odessa, the special feature was the transition of part of the troops to the insurgents. In all cases and always, the movement was proletarian at its core and inextricably linked to the mass strike. In Moscow the movement proceeded within the same framework as in a whole series of other, less large industrial centres. The question naturally arises before us: Will the revolutionary movement stop at this stage of development already reached, `used to` and familiar with, or will it rise to a higher stage? If one can venture at all into the field of assessing such complicated and confusing events as the events of the Russian revolution, we inevitably arrive at the incomparably greater probability of the second answer to this question. Certainly, the given, already learned, if one may so express it, form of struggle - guerrilla warfare, incessant strikes, exhaustion of the enemy's forces by raids and street fighting soon at one end of the country, soon at the other - this form of struggle also produced and produces the most serious results. No state can in the long run endure this persistent struggle, which paralyses industrial life, brings complete demoralisation into the bureaucracy and into the army, and sows discontent with the state of things in all circles of the people. The less is the absolutist government able to endure such a struggle. We can be fully convinced that the persistent continuation of the struggle, even if it remains in the forms already produced by the workers' movement, will inevitably lead to the collapse of tsarism.

It is, however, highly unlikely that the revolutionary movement in Russia today will stop at the stage it has already reached at present. On the contrary, all the facts indicate that this is only one of the first stages of the struggle. All the consequences of the disgraceful and ruinous war are still far from being felt by the people. The economic crisis in the cities and the famine in the countryside are increasing the bitterness enormously. The Manchurian army, judging from all information, is in an extremely revolutionary mood, and the government is afraid to recall it; but it is impossible not to recall this army, for otherwise there is a threat of new and even more serious uprisings. The political agitation among the workers and peasantry has never been so extensive, so planned and so profound in Russia as it is now. The comedy of the Reich Duma will inevitably bring new defeats to the government and arouse new bitterness among the people. The insurrection has grown tremendously before our eyes in scarcely ten months, and it is neither a pipe dream nor a pious wish, but a direct and unconditional conclusion from the facts of the mass struggle to state that within a short time the insurrection will rise to a new, higher stage, to a stage, where the fighting detachments of the revolutionaries or mutinous lines of troops will come to the aid of the masses, where they will help the masses to procure arms, where they will bring into the ranks of the 'tsarist' (still tsarist, for already far from completely tsarist) troops the greatest fluctuations, where the insurrection will lead to a serious victory from which tsarism will not be able to recover.

The tsarist troops have won a victory over the workers in Moscow. But this victory has not debilitated the defeated, it has only welded them more firmly together, deepened their hatred and brought them closer to the practical tasks of the serious struggle. The troops are only now beginning to realise, not only by law but also by their own experience, that they are now mobilised solely to fight the 'inner' Enemy. The war with Japan is over. But the mobilisation continues, the mobilisation against the revolution. We do not fear such mobilisation, we do not stand to welcome it, because the greater the number of soldiers that will be called up to fight systematically against the people, the more rapid will be the political and revolutionary enlightenment of these soldiers. By mobilising more and more troops for war against the revolution, tsarism is postponing the decision, but this postponement is of the greatest advantage to us, because in this protracted guerrilla warfare the proletarians learn to fight, while the troops are inevitably drawn into political life. And the call of this life, the battle cry of young Russia, penetrates even through the thickest barrack walls, awakens the most unenlightened, the most backward and the most intimidated. The outbreak of the uprising has once again been suppressed. Once again, long live the insurrection!" (Lenin, *Bloody Days in Moscow*, Vol. 9, pp. 337-339, German edition). Lenin admitted in the course of the revolutionary events, "But this movement was still extremely unconscious in revolutionary terms and completely helpless in the sense of arming and military readiness" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 351, German edition). "The Moscow events have shown the real grouping of the social forces: The liberals have run from the government to the radicals in order to talk them out of the revolutionary struggle. The radicals have fought in the ranks of the proletariat. Let us not forget this lesson" (ibid, page 353, German edition). "On the whole, the movement in Moscow did not reach the point of a decisive struggle of the revolutionary workers with the forces of tsarism. These were only minor outpost skirmishes, in part perhaps a military demonstration in the civil war, but none of those battles which determine the outcome of the war (...) that we have to do not with a beginning but only with a rehearsal of the decisive onslaught" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 375, German edition). "In every war the opponents, whose forces are in balance, stop for a while, gather forces, rest, evaluate the experience gained, prepare themselves and - plunge into the new struggle. (...) So it was and so it will always be in every great civil war" (Lenin, Vol. 10, page 392, German edition).

Lenin clearly assessed the tactics of the government in the state of relative balance of the fighting forces: "It is undoubtedly a manoeuvring and a retreat with rearguard battles. And this is quite a correct tactic from the point of view of the interests of self-rule. It would be a great mistake, a fatal illusion, if the revolutionaries forgot that the government can continue to retreat for a long, very long time without giving up what is essential" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 378, German edition). "Self-rule no longer has the strength to act openly against the revolution. The revolution has not yet the strength to strike the decisive blow at the enemy. This wavering of the forces, which almost balance each other, inevitably produces headlessness in the state power and causes it to pass from reprisals to concessions, to laws on freedom of the press and freedom of assembly" (Lenin, Vol. 9, pp. 394-395, German edition) and the thumbscrews are loosened a little, valves opened a little, so that the indignation of the people can again escape without danger and the balance of power can be maintained. "Negotiations with the rebellious people, withdrawal of troops - that is the beginning of the end. This shows better than all reason that the military tops felt insecure to the highest degree. It shows that the discontent among the troops had reached a truly frightening level. In Kiev, soldiers were arrested for refusing to fire. There were similar cases in Poland. In Odessa, infantry were held back in the barracks because they were afraid to lead them into the streets. In Petersburg an open ferment began in the fleet, and there was talk of complete unreliability on the part of the Guards. And as far as the Black Sea Fleet was concerned, it had not yet been possible to really find out the truth. As early as October 17, telegrams reported that the rumour of a new outrage in this fleet was persisting, that all telegrams were being intercepted by the authorities, who were using all means to prevent the spread of news of the events. If one strings all these fragmentary messages together, one inevitably comes to the conclusion that the situation of self-rule was desperate even from a purely military point of view. It is true that individual revolts were still suppressed, it is true that the troops still took barricades here and there, but these individual clashes only inflamed passions, only increased indignation, only brought closer a still more powerful general explosion, and it was precisely of this that the government feared, since it could no longer rely on the troops" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 432, German edition). The uprising of sailors and soldiers in Kronstadt began on 26 October (8 November) 1905. The insurgents raised the demands: Convocation of a constitutional assembly on the basis of general elections, establishment of a democratic republic, freedom of speech, coalition and assembly, improvement of the situation of the sailors and soldiers. On 28 October (10 November) the uprising was crushed. "The example of Kronstadt shows (...), may it [the government - author's note] now shoot hundreds of sailors who have once again hoisted the red flag - this flag will fly even higher, for it is the banner of all toilers and exploited throughout the world" [emphasised by author], (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 467, German edition). At the end of November 1905 Lenin wrote:

"The armed insurrection in Kiev is evidently taking yet another step forward, the step towards the fusion of the revolutionary army with the revolutionary workers and students. At any rate, a report in `Rus` about a sixteen-thousand-strong meeting in the Kiev Polyclinic under the protection of a pioneer battalion of the insurgent soldiers bears witness to this" (Lenin, Vol. 10, page 52, German edition).

"We have every right to triumph. The Tsar's concession is indeed a great victory for the revolution, but this victory is far from deciding the fate of the whole cause of freedom. The Tsar is far from having capitulated. The autocracy has by no means ceased to exist. It has only retreated and left the battlefield to the enemy, it has retreated in an extremely serious battle, but it is far from being defeated, it is still gathering its forces, and the revolutionary people still have many serious tasks of struggle to solve in order to lead the revolution to real and complete victory" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 430, German edition). "But the balance of forces in no way excludes the struggle; on the contrary, it makes it sharper. The retreat of the government merely means, as we have said, that it assumes a new fighting position, more favourable from its point of view" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 450, German edition). "Everything I grant except power - declares tsarism. Everything is dazzle, except power - retorts the revolutionary people" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 452, German edition). "He who fights for the freedom of the people without fighting for the full power of the people in the state is either inconsistent or insincere" (Lenin, Vol. 10, page 388, German edition).

If the class opponents are equal in strength, if the balance of forces is even, then victory will be all the more difficult to achieve, then the probability is particularly great that the struggle will be protracted, that the efforts and losses on both sides may increase extraordinarily, that the mobilisation of reserves, the stamina in a positional or siege war and many other factors are important, that the fronts become more complicated and harder, that it widens and the decision is delayed, that the one whose forces are finally exhausted first suffers defeat. In stalemate situations, often only the better art of war can decide victory or defeat.

As long as power is in the hands of the class enemy, he can try to keep this balance on the scales of the antagonistic class forces at war, he can wait and gather his counter-revolutionary forces, he has time to regain control of his headlessness - but his strength is not sufficient for more. At a certain point, the forces of the counter-revolution are no longer sufficient to stop and crush the revolution. On the side of the revolution, however, the forces at that point are not yet sufficient for victory, to strike the decisive blow. For the counter-revolution it is unfavourable to advance and attack at such a moment, while for the proletariat and for its allies this state of affairs is still far too unsatisfactory and critical, because: "If we do not rise one step higher, if we do not master the task of independent attack, if we do not break the forces of tsarism, if we do not destroy its de facto power, then the revolution will be half-baked, then the bourgeoisie will nas-lead the workers" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 416, German edition) and this is what happened: "The conspiracy is there. They have decided to fight the strike by mass dismissals of workers(...) They want to provoke the Petersburg proletariat, exhausted by the previous struggle, to a new battle under the most unfavourable conditions" (Lenin, Vol. 10, page 37, German edition); "The Black Hundreds started to rage. (...) The white terror prevails. (...) The counter-revolution is running riot. (...) from the Gulf of Finland to the Black Sea - everywhere one and the same picture (...) Acts of revenge and `revanche'" (Lenin, Vol. 9, pp. 453/454, German edition). "At such a time it is more important than ever to direct all efforts to the unification of the army of revolution throughout Russia, it is important to conserve forces, to exploit the conquered liberties for a hundredfold agitation and organisation, and to prepare for new decisive battles" (Lenin, Vol. 10, pp. 37/38, German edition), so that the counter-revolutionary provocation of the proletariat, exhausted in strength by the insurrection and in need of regeneration, may fail.

This relative balance of forces mentioned above will also one day inevitably appear on a world scale, we must draw the right conclusions from the tactics of 1905 - and the world revolutionary tidal wave will seemingly subside again, to swell again - the international counter-revolution will be merciless and the victims of the acts of revenge will be numerous, but with every 'revenge' against the world revolution, the international counter-revolution will also be further decomposed and the power of the world bourgeoisie will inexorably fade away. But the world revolutionaries today, after 2 world wars, in the midst of the permanently continued wars in the "peace period" between the world wars, must not give themselves the illusion that the world bourgeoisie and its governments no longer find enough space for retreat on this earth, that the system of world capitalism will not remain viable for quite a while, that the world power of imperialism will essentially continue to exist for a certain period, and that the world proletariat at the head of the peoples still has to fight many an international battle, in particular against such forces in its own ranks, which only make these spaces of retreat and regeneration for the next world war possible for world imperialism, by practising betrayal of the world proletariat, betrayal of the revolutionary peoples. When the enemy tries to retreat, it must be pursued - it must not be allowed any breathing space. If the enemy retreats from the battlefield, that is only half the victory. The easier it is for the enemy to retreat, the quicker and stronger he will also return to the battlefield - only better prepared and better equipped, our victory will not be easier to win if we, for our part, will not be even better prepared and even better equipped *to reignite the revolution in the world again and again*. The III Party Congress of the CPSU (b) was one of the first initiatives for the ignition of Europe, for the unfolding of the world revolution:

"The III Party Congress of the CPSU (b) decided in May 1905 `the task of organising the proletariat for immediate struggle against self-rule by way of armed insurrection`. (...) For the first time in the history of the world, such a high stage of development and such a great strength of revolutionary struggle had been reached that armed insurrection appeared in conjunction with the mass strike, this specific proletarian weapon. It is clear that this experience is of paramount importance for ALL proletarian revolutions. (...) Through the mass strikes and armed uprisings, the question of revolutionary power and dictatorship was placed on the agenda of its own accord, for these methods of struggle led inevitably - at first on a local scale - to the driving out of the old authorities, to the seizure of power by the proletariat and the revolutionary classes, to the expulsion of the landlords, sometimes to the occupation of factories, etc., etc. The revolutionary mass struggle of that period gave birth to such organisations as Soviets of Workers' Deputies, then Soviets of Soldiers' Deputies, Peasants' Committees, etc., unprecedented in world history. The main questions (soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat), which are today the focus of attention of the class-conscious workers of the whole world, had thus already been practically posed by the end of 1905" (Lenin, Vol. 31, pp. 333-334, *"Historiography on the Question of the Dictatorship"*, German edition).

"Events have taught everyone, even people entirely aloof from Marxism, to begin the chronology of the revolution with January 9, 1905, i.e., with the first consciously political movement of masses belonging to a particular class" (Lenin, Vol. 13, page 107, German edition). "The `coalition of the proletariat and the peasantry` which is victorious in a bourgeois revolution is nothing other than the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry (...) . With us, the victory of the bourgeois revolution as the victory of the bourgeoisie is impossible" (Lenin, Vol. 15, pp. 45 and 46, German edition).

It is the world-historical merit of Bolshevism that in the 1905 revolution it developed from the first step a strategy and tactics of struggle which corresponded to the conditions of the new epoch and educated the working class to a conscious realisation of the historical tasks before it. Lenin noted in 1905 the insurrection as an internationalist task: "Inflame Europe!" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 202, German edition). "The proletariat will no longer rise only by the means of the peaceful strike, but with weapon in hand for both Russia's and Poland's freedom" (Lenin, Vol. 10, page 9, German edition). And Stalin also evaluated the proletarian uprising, the revolutionary uprising of the soldiers and sailors, as an internationalist, world revolutionary action: "The uprising of the German fleet is the highest expression of the unfolding world socialist revolution throughout Europe" (Stalin- History of the CPSU, German edition).

In 1905 Lenin described Europe as "the reserve of the Russian revolution. The times are over when peoples and states could live apart from each other. Look around you: Europe is already on the boil. Its bourgeoisie is dismayed and ready to give away millions and billions just to stop the conflagration in Russia. The rulers of the European military powers are considering military support for the Tsar. Wilhelm has already dispatched several cruisers and two torpedo boat divisions to establish a direct link between the German soldateska and Peterhof. The European counter-revolution is reaching out to the Russian counter-revolution. Try it, try it, citizen Hohenzollern! We too have a European reserve of the Russian revolution, the international revolutionary social democracy. The workers of the whole world greet with ardent enthusiasm the victory of the Russian workers, and conscious of the close connection between the sections of the international army of socialism, they too are arming for the great and decisive struggle" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 437, German edition).

This is a significant and excellent view of Lenin, on which the whole world proletarian military science is based today more than ever, on which the necessity of creating a world proletarian revolutionary army is based! And, conversely, the reserves of the socialist revolutions in the individual countries will eventually be transformed into reserves of the proletarian socialist world revolution. Lenin has always reminded us never to forget that the full victory of the revolution in one country is based on and closely linked to the alliance of the revolutionary proletariat of this or that country with the socialist workers of all countries, and conversely that the full victory of the world revolution is based on and closely linked to the victorious revolutions in the individual countries.

Lenin subjected innumerable uprisings to a materialist-historical analysis, compared them with each other and worked out their differences; in particular, he examined the respective concrete causes and history of the emergence of uprisings, generalised the experiences, the reasons for victory and defeat and drew from them for the concrete preparation, He gave tactical directives of a practical-organisational character both for the case of victory and for the case of defeat of the uprising, i.e. for an orderly retreat - and in this respect Lenin proved to be the best disciple of Marx and Engels. It is from the individual struggles and outbreaks that the people learn what revolution is - and Lenin's excellent thing was not to lag behind the tasks of the hour, but always to be able to point out the next, higher stage of the struggle, to utilise the experiences and lessons of the past and the present, and to urge the workers and peasants ever more emphatically and insistently to storm forward, ever forward, until the complete victory of the people. And Lenin went further: he also turned his attention to the revolutions in Western Europe and established the necessary links of the Russian uprising with international social democracy in order to prevent the European bourgeoisie from forcing the European peoples "to play the role of executioners of Russian freedom" (Lenin, Vol. 8, page 558, German edition).

Thus, on a European scale, Lenin condemned the Russian counterrevolution's attempt to cross national borders and therefore, for Lenin, "any deviation from the [internationalist - author's note] task of the insurrection (...) meant any evasion of the necessity to participate in the insurrection [+ any evasion of the necessity to participate actively against the fight against the insurrection from outside - precisely in Lenin's sense of the proletarian insurrection.) , every evasion of the necessity to take part in the insurrection [+ every evasion of the necessity to take an active part against the fight against the insurrection from the outside - precisely in Lenin's sense of proletarian internationalism - author's note], meant a capitulation to the bourgeoisie, a transformation of the proletariat into its satellites. The proletariat has nowhere in the world and never once given up its arms when a serious struggle had broken out; it has never once retreated from the accursed heritage of oppression and exploitation without measuring its forces against the enemy" (Lenin, Vol. 9, pp. 255-56, German edition).

"To speak of the insurrection, of its force, of the natural transition to it, and to say nothing about the revolutionary army, is nonsense and confusion, and all the more so the better mobilised, the counter-revolutionary army is" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 365, German edition). To speak today of world revolution, of its force, to speak of the natural transition to it, without saying anything about the world revolutionary army, is, in Lenin's words, equally nonsense and confusion, and all the more so, the better mobilised the international counter-revolutionary army is !!! And this is undoubtedly the case, as one sees every day, or is it not? Among the world revolutionaries, the world revolutionary army is ignored only by those who are hopelessly trailing in the wake of the revisionists. The indispensability of the world revolutionary army is the only correct, Marxist-Leninist way; any way without it is revisionist !

The success of the world revolution depends 1. on the world revolutionary agitation and organisation, on the moral force and 2. on the material force , of the revolutionary world army, whereby the first condition has long been recognised, but the second is far from being recognised, indeed one can say that it has actually and really only been recognised by the Comintern (SH) and especially by this textbook and.... that decisive struggles are still needed in the future until its full (practical) recognition. But the revolutionary world army will come, there can be no doubt about that, and nobody will be able to either ignore or prevent that!

Lenin aptly illustrated the attitude of the Menshevik opportunists ("neo-Ischrists") of the time to the insurrection, (-* and indeed we speak of the revisionists today as the "fire extinguishers of the revolution" -) by drawing the following comparison:

"Instead of stoking the fire by breaking the windows and allowing the fresh breeze of workers' revolts to enter, they toil in the sweat of their brow to invent toy bellows and to extinguish the revolutionary embers of the Oswobo tendencies ["Bund der Befreiung" 1902-1905; organisation of the liberal bourgeoisie led by P. B. Struve; nucleus of the liberal-monarchist Cadet Party , which later became the representative of the imperialist bourgeoisie - author's note] by putting foolish demands and conditions on them (...) A real and not imaginary pressure can only be exerted through insurrection. As soon as civil war seizes the whole country, pressure is exerted by military force, in open battle, and all other attempts to exert pressure are hollow and pathetic phrases" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 254, German edition). [And it need not be specially noted again that this is also true of the insurrections in all countries, of the international civil war, of the open international battlefield, of which Lenin spoke again and again].

For the bourgeoisie, preventive fire-fighting of revolts is the most effective. If it still cannot prevent the outbreak of an insurrection, it first fights the centre of the conflagration, it fights the fire where it feeds, it targets the "ringleaders", "seditionists" and "arsonists" who fuel the fire, it fights the organisation of the insurgents. If the conflagrations occur in independent places one after the other, each one can also be extinguished one after the other before it comes to the unification and combination of all the partial fires; individually, the outbreaks are powerless, the counterrevolution knows that too, so it tries to create aisles. But once the fire has spread among the people into an unstoppable firestorm, it will be increasingly difficult and finally impossible to fight the uprising with the "fire brigade", and then one mingles with the people in order to deceive them and from "below" or from "within" to calm the heated tempers and regain power. Not all uprisings are the same and therefore one must know exactly which one to foment [*not to be confused with artificial fomentation!*] and which one to stop. The bourgeoisie, too, has learned in the course of history that they can fight the insurrections that are actually threatening and dangerous to them with self-provoked insurrections, that one can forestall them, just as the fire brigade sets certain fires, kindling counter-fires in order to contain or prevent the spread of the actual fire: in short, to beat the insurrection with the weapon of "insurrection". 1. avoid everything to provoke an insurrection; conflict avoidance strategies 2. do everything to provoke the insurrection, to wear down the concentration and centralisation of the insurgent forces before the decisive battle and to penetrate the organisation with saboteurs and provocateurs - the counter-revolution as "I agent provocateur". 3. merciless hounding of the downed insurgents - vendetta; "teaching a lesson"; then again until the next insurrection 1st; 2nd; 3rd; etc.etc.

If the entire population has become an "internal risk", the police and the army, left to their own devices, are quickly at the end of their "Latin". The government gets nowhere by persecuting revolutionary agitators, so the bourgeoisie sends its own counter-agitators into the people and incites the media against them. The government is no longer satisfied with suppressing revolutionary organisations, so it organises its own counter-revolutionary associations. The uprising forces the government not only to tremble but to stage counter-revolutions, and so the counter-revolution organises its own uprisings, unleashes civil war. Fearing revolution, the government itself resorts to weapons of revolution: organisation, propaganda and agitation. With this double-edged sword, with which the government stages spectacles of popular indignation, it masks its fascism/social fascism, it "legally" directs its state terror against the insurgent people. Oppression, as we know, generates the struggle against oppression, and the struggle against oppression in turn generates counter-oppression - without revolution no counter-revolution, without armed counter-revolution no armed revolutionary struggle, etc. Now, there have been quite a few examples in history where the counter-revolution, of all things, has used the art of insurrection to pre-empt the revolution and strangle it before it breaks out. All this must always be projected onto the international canvas, because the world bourgeoisie has long since moved on to its more or less coordinated international fire-fighting, it will in all likelihood continue to increase its efforts in this field - and that to the extent that the revolutionary fires become internationalised.

"The path of the Russian Revolution is difficult and arduous. Every upsurge, every partial success is followed by defeat, is followed by bloodshed, is followed by savage outrages of autocracy against the freedom fighters. But after every 'defeat' the movement becomes ever broader, the struggle ever more extensive, the mass of classes and groups of the people drawn into and participating in the struggle ever greater. Every onslaught of the revolution, every step forward in the organisation of militant democracy is followed by an almost furious onslaught of reaction, is followed by a step forward in the organisation of the black hundred elements among the people, each time the insolence of the counter-revolution grows, desperately fighting for its existence. But the forces of reaction, despite all their efforts, are inexorably dwindling. On the side of the revolution is coming an ever larger section of the workers, peasants and soldiers who yesterday were indifferent or in the camp of the Black Hundreds. Illusion after illusion is being shattered, more and more the prejudices that made the Russian people a trusting, patient, loyal, devoted, all bearing and all forgiving people are falling away. Self-rule has suffered many wounds, but it is not yet dead. It is in bandages and bandages from head to foot, but it still holds itself up, it still lives, indeed it lashes out the more furiously the more it bleeds" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 122, German edition).

With provoked revolts, the bourgeoisie already tried out in the 19th century what effect a little "bloodletting" has. On the workers' uprising of June 1848, which was bloodily put down, Engels said:

"It was the first time that the bourgeoisie showed to what insane cruelty of revenge it is incited as soon as the proletariat dares to appear before it as a distinctive class with its own interests and demands. And yet 1848 was still child's play against their rage of 1871" (Engels, MEW, Vol. 22, page 190, German edition).

Lenin, among others, compared the lessons of the French upheaval of bourgeois democracy in 1789 with the uprisings in Germany in 1848 and 1849, noting that it was realised in France but remained unfinished in Germany. These peculiarities were not unknown to the bourgeoisie either. Lenin therefore criticised precisely those bourgeois hacks who preferred the German way to the French way only because they were more easily contained by the counter-revolution. "In 1848 and 1849 there was a whole series of uprisings and even provisional revolutionary governments in Germany. But none of these uprisings was completely victorious. The most successful uprising, the Berlin uprising of 18 March 1848, ended not with the overthrow of the royal power but with concessions by the king, who remained in power, and who recovered very quickly from his partial defeat and was able to take back all these concessions. So the learned historian of the bourgeoisie does not fear the revolts of the people. He fears the victory of the people. He does not fear that the people might give reaction, the bureaucracy, the bureaucracy he hates, a little lesson. He fears the overthrow of reactionary power by the people. He hates autocracy and wholeheartedly desires its overthrow, but Russia's downfall he expects not from the preservation of autocracy, not from the poisoning of the people's organism by the slow rotting of the unkilld parasite of monarchist government power, but from the complete victory of the people" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 237, German edition).

The counterrevolution has provoked many an uprising and many a working class has not resisted these provocations, such as the provocation of a Romanian miners' uprising to protect the social-fascist regime against the Romanian movement for foreign capital. The Romanian proletariat should have first overthrown its own social-fascist regime and immediately taken up the revolutionary struggle against the representatives of foreign capital. The working class cannot take one side or the other, it can only take the stand of its own interests when it has decided on the path of insurrection. "Proletarian blood is too precious to be shed without necessity and without hope of victory" (Lenin, Vol. 10, page 439, German edition). The insurrections provoked by the secret service have thus shed the blood of the workers only to plunge them deeper into misery and to help the anti-working class government even more firmly into the saddle. But these insurgent workers have gone through a tough school in which they have been steeled and disillusioned. It is these insurgent workers who will be the most disciplined to resist future provocations. The elimination of the disillusionments left by a provoked insurrection among the workers is the first condition for the victory of any renewed insurrection based exclusively on the independence and on the own forces of the insurgents, who will not allow themselves to be abused and manoeuvred back into enemy waters, even if it is painted over with red camouflage paint.

"We revolutionary social democrats see in the attempts at insurrection the *beginning of the insurrection of the masses*, an unsuccessful, premature, incorrect beginning, but we know that the masses learn the successful insurrection only by means of the experience of unsuccessful insurrections (...) The workers and peasants who were most frightened by the barracks have begun to rise up - so we say. From this comes the clear and direct conclusion: one must explain to them for the sake of what goals and how to prepare the successful uprising.

The liberals judge differently: the soldiers are 'driven' to '*desperate* outbursts of protest', they say. For the liberals, the insurgent soldier is not the subject of the revolution, not the first harbinger of the rising masses, but an object of government despotism ('they drive him to despair') that serves to demonstrate this despotism. See how bad our government is, that it drives the soldiers to *despair* and then puts them to rest with the bullet - says the liberal. (Conclusion: See, if we liberals were in power, there would be no soldier uprisings in our country).

See how revolutionary energy matures in the bosom of the broad masses - says the Social-Democrat- when even the soldiers and sailors, depressed by barrack-yard drill, begin to rise up and, by making a bad job of their insurrection, learn how to make a successful insurrection" (Lenin, Vol. 18, page 374; 1912, German edition).

Every insurrection that ends in defeat prepares for the next insurrection, creates for itself the conditions necessary for a successful outcome of the next insurrection, leaves open unresolved contradictions that will intensify and again ripen that revolutionary situation which makes another insurrection inevitable. Such a favourable situation was seen by Lenin to exist in 1905, when Russia was engaged in a war hostile to the people and when the Asiatic conservatism of autocracy was showing its grimace (see: Lenin, Vol. 8, page 389, German edition).

When will the tactical slogan of insurrection be taken off the agenda again?

The question of when the insurgent proletarian forces are "exhausted", when the slogan of the insurrection must be dropped, is an extremely important and serious question which the party has to answer clearly. The moment when the slogan of armed insurrection is dropped is at least as important as the moment when it is issued - sometimes even more important, which - as experience shows - is often misjudged or underestimated. That is why Lenin dealt intensively with this question, not leaving it to chance, not to spontaneous movement, but approaching it scientifically by *economic* analysis, by ascertaining the *political aspirations of the various classes*, by examining the *significance of ideological currents*. Only when all this has been proved "will we declare all talk of insurrection to be phrasemongering" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 349, German edition). Lenin insisted on pointing out "that it is our duty to transform the spontaneous insurrection into a planned insurrection by working tenaciously and persistently, in the course of long months or perhaps even years, on this transformation, not to renounce the insurrection, as all sorts of Judases do" (ibid., page 350, German edition).

It is only because of a temporarily resigned, depressed mood, because of a breather, that one must not remove armed insurrection from the agenda. "Only then, when Marx saw the inevitable 'exhaustion' of the 'real revolution' - only then did he change his view. And having changed his mind, he directly and openly demanded that the tactics be fundamentally changed and that the preparation of the insurrection be completely stopped" (Lenin, Vol. 10, page 129, German edition). "The external similarity of the December defeat of the workers in Moscow with the June defeat of the workers in Paris (1848) is beyond doubt. Here as there the armed insurrection of the workers was 'provoked' by the government before the working class was sufficiently organised. Here as there, reaction triumphed despite the heroic resistance of the workers" (Lenin, Vol. 10, pp. 130-131, German edition). Lenin supported the conclusions that the then still revolutionary Kautsky drew from a comparison of the Russian and French uprisings:

"Four fundamental differences Kautsky sees between the Paris defeat (1848) and the Moscow defeat (1905) of the proletariat.

First, the defeat of Paris was the defeat of all France. Nothing de like can be said of Moscow. The workers of Petersburg, Kiev, Odessa, Warsaw and Lodz still stand unbroken. Although exhausted by the terribly difficult struggle, which has now dragged on for a full year, they are nevertheless not discouraged and are only gathering strength to take up anew the struggle for freedom.

Secondly, an even more essential difference is that in 1848 in France the peasants were on the side of reaction, whereas in 1905 in Russia they are on the side of revolution. Peasant revolts are blazing. Whole armies are deployed to suppress them. These armies devastate the country as only Germany was devastated in the Thirty Years' War. The military executions may intimidate the peasants for a while, but they only increase their misery and make their situation even more hopeless. Inevitably, similar to the devastation of the Thirty Years' War, they will create new masses of people who are compelled to declare war on the existing order, who will not let the country rest and are ready to join any uprising.

The third, extremely important difference is the following: The revolution of 1848 had been prepared by the crisis and famine of 1847. The reaction was based on the end of the crisis and the upsurge of industry. The present reign of terror in Russia, on the other hand, must lead to the aggravation of the economic depression which has weighed on the countryside for years'. The famine of 1905 will only have its full effect in the coming months. The defeat of the revolution is a great civil war, a war against the whole people. This war is no less costly than the foreign war, although it does not destroy a foreign country. But destroys its own country. A financial collapse is imminent. And besides, the new trade agreements threaten to shake Russia to the core, indeed they may cause a general economic world crisis. So the longer the reign of terror of reaction lasts, the more desperate the economic situation of the country becomes, the more tremendously the indignation against the curse-worthy regime swells. 'This is a situation,' says Kautsky, 'which makes any powerful uprising against tsarism irresistible. And this uprising will not be lacking. The proletariat of Russia, which has already given so many splendid examples of its heroism and selflessness, will see to that.

The fourth difference pointed out by Kautsky is of special interest to Russian Marxists. With us, unfortunately, there is at the moment a toothless, basically purely cadet giggle about 'brownings' and 'combat groups'. To say that the insurrection is hopeless and that there is no longer any point in preparing it, no one can muster this boldness and frankness demonstrated by Marx. But to snigger at the military actions of the revolutionaries, we love very much. We call ourselves Marxists, but we prefer to shirk an analysis of the military side of the insurrection (to which Marx and Engels always attached great importance), declaring with inimitable sublime doctrinarianism: 'One should not have taken up arms'. Kautsky proceeds differently. However little information he initially possessed about the uprising, he nevertheless endeavours to think his way into the military side of the question. He endeavours to appreciate the movement as a new form of struggle worked out by the masses, and not as our revolutionary Kuropatkins [prototype of a defeat strategist - note by Lenin] judge battles: What you are given, take; if you are beaten, run; and if you have been beaten, well, you just shouldn't have taken up arms!" (Lenin, Vol. 10, pp. 131-132, German edition).

"The democratic revolution in Russia is by no means flagging; on the contrary, it is approaching a new upsurge, and the present period of comparative calm is not to be regarded as a defeat of the revolutionary forces, but as a period of gathering revolutionary energy, of appropriating all the political experience of the stages through which it has passed, of involving new strata of the people in the movement, and consequently of preparing a new and still more powerful revolutionary onslaught" (Lenin, Vol. 10, page 143, German edition). "We must gather the experience of the uprisings in Moscow, in the Donets Basin, in Rostov and elsewhere, disseminate this experience, persistently and patiently prepare new fighting forces and steel them in a series of fighting actions of the partisan schools and. Perhaps the new outbreak will not yet take place in the spring, but it is approaching and in all probability is not too far away. We must find us armed, militarily organised and capable of decisive offensive action" (Lenin, Vol. 10, page 106, German edition). These were Lenin's conclusions from the uprisings - make *even better* preparations for the coming uprisings! "Let us see to it that the new surge finds the Russian proletariat in a new readiness to fight" (Lenin, Vol. 10, page 108, German edition).

"It is possible, and perhaps even most probable, that as a result of the growing agitation and following one of the inevitable sudden outbreaks, the new struggle will break out as spontaneously and unexpectedly as the earlier struggles. If this is the case, if such a course of development is inevitable, then we will not need to make any decision on the time of action, then our whole task will be to increase tenfold our agitation and our organisational work in all the directions indicated above.

Perhaps, however, events will require us, the leaders, to decide the time of action. If so, we would advise that the action in the all-Russian framework, the strike and the uprising, be scheduled for the end of the summer or the beginning of the autumn, for the middle or end of August. It would be important to take advantage of the construction season in the cities and the completion of summer field work. If it were possible to reach an understanding among all the influential revolutionary organisations and associations as to the time of the action, then the possibility would not be excluded of beginning the action precisely at the time set. A simultaneous beginning of the struggle throughout Russia would be a tremendous advantage. In fact, it would probably not be fatal if the government were informed of the time of the strike, since it is not a conspiracy, not a military raid that has to be carried out by surprise. It would probably have a particularly demoralising effect on the troops throughout Russia if, week after week, they were made to feel that the struggle was inevitable, if they were kept on standby for weeks on end, while the most diverse organisations, together with a mass of 'non-party' revolutionaries, carried on their agitation ever more purposefully (...). (...) Isolated and wholly useless outbreaks, such as 'revolts' of the soldiers and hopeless uprisings of the peasants, could perhaps be prevented if the whole of revolutionary Russia firmly believed in the inevitability of this great general struggle. Let us repeat, however, that this is possible only in the case of full understanding between all influential organisations. Otherwise, the old path of spontaneous growth of agitation remains. (...) The probability of the fusion of all partial uprisings into one general uprising is increasing [also on an international scale !! - author's note]. (...) Our task is to develop the broadest agitation for the all-Russian insurrection, to explain the political and organisational tasks connected with it, to harness all forces so that everyone recognises the inevitability of this insurrection, everyone sees the possibility of the common onslaught, so that one no longer proceeds to 'revolt', not to 'demonstration', to simple strikes and demolitions, but to the struggle for power, to the struggle whose aim is the overthrow of the government." (Lenin, Vol. 11, pp. 116-117, German edition). In the event that it is possible to obtain a postponement of premature partial uprisings, it should be done by all means. Otherwise, if no more influence can be exerted on it, then of course one must actively support these partial uprisings in order to achieve that the partial uprising expands into a general uprising. This is also how Lenin approached the Sveaburg uprising (see: Lenin, Vol. 11, page 118, German edition).

Lenin was not prepared to remove the insurrection from the agenda in March 1906 and fought the Menshevik "*resolution against armed insurrection*" because he conceived of the revolution as a permanent process which must necessarily be continued under changing conditions through new methods of struggle. Lenin was in favour of proclaiming civil war and therefore put forward the slogan of preparation, implementation and transition of defensive to offensive forms of struggle of the armed insurrection:

"1. At the present time, armed insurrection is not only a necessary means of the struggle for freedom, but a stage of the movement which has in fact already been reached, a stage which, by virtue of the growth and aggravation of a new political crisis, is inaugurating the transition from defensive to offensive forms of armed struggle;

2. the political general strike, in the present period of the movement, is to be regarded not so much as an independent means of struggle as as an aid to insurrection [emphasised by the author]; it is therefore desirable to subordinate the choice of the time for such a strike, the choice of the place and branches of labour which it is to cover, to the time and conditions of the main form of struggle, armed insurrection [emphasised by the author];

3. in the propaganda and agitation work of the Party, increased attention must be paid to studying the practical experience of the December uprising, criticising its military side and drawing the immediate lessons for the future;

4. even more energetic activity must be developed to increase the number of combat groups, to improve their organisation and their supply with weapons of all kinds, whereby, as experience has taught, the combat groups must be organised not only from members of the party, but also from those who sympathise with it or are completely non-party members;

5. it is necessary to strengthen the work in the troops, bearing in mind that for the success of the movement ferment in the troops alone is not enough, but that direct communication with organised revolutionary-democratic elements in the troops is necessary for the most decisive offensive action against the government;

6. in view of the growing peasant movement, which may in the near future flare up into a real insurrection, it is desirable that efforts should be made to bring about united action on the part of the workers and the peasants and, if possible, to organise joint and simultaneous fighting actions" (Lenin, Vol. 10, page 145, German edition).

Lenin drew the following lessons from the first Russian peasant uprising of 1902:

"The class-conscious workers will make every effort to make clear to the peasants why the first peasant uprising (1902) was put down and what must be done so that the peasants and workers, and not the tsarist servants, win the day. The Bavarian uprising was put down because it was the uprising of an ignorant, unconscious mass, an uprising without specific, clear *political* demands, i.e. without the demand to change the *state order*. The peasant uprising was put down because it was not prepared. The peasant uprising was put down because the proletarians of the villages were not yet allied with the proletarians of the cities. These are three causes of the first failure of the peasants. For a successful insurrection it is necessary that it be a conscious and prepared action, that it cover the whole of Russia and be undertaken in league with the urban workers. (...) The peasant uprisings will cease to be emotional outbursts as soon as ever greater masses of the people will understand this" (Lenin, Vol. 6, pp.423 and 424, German edition).

"We must help the peasant uprising in every way, up to and including the confiscation of land - *but not at all up to and including all kinds of petty-bourgeois projects*. We support the peasant movement as far as it is revolutionary-democratic. We prepare (and immediately, without delay) to fight it as soon as it turns out to be reactionary, anti-proletarian. The whole meaning of Marxism lies in this double task, which can only be simplified and flattened into a single and ordinary task by people who do not understand Marxism" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 231, German edition).

"We will help with all our forces the entire peasantry to accomplish the democratic revolution, *so that* it will be all the *easier* for us, the party of the proletariat, to pass on as quickly as possible to a new and *higher task, the socialist revolution*. After the victory of the present peasant uprising, we promise no harmony, no equalisation and no 'socialisation' of any kind; on the contrary, we 'promise' new struggle, new inequality and a new revolution. (...) We are for the uprising of the peasantry.(...) Long live the uprising against the autocracy in town and country! Long live revolutionary social democracy, the vanguard of all revolutionary democracy in the present revolution!" (ibid, Lenin, Vol. 9, pp. 233 and 234, German edition).

Lenin emphasised that the alliance between the peasantry and the proletariat dominated the whole period of the Russian revolution 1905 - 1907:

"The October strike and the December uprising, like the local peasant uprisings and the uprisings of the soldiers and sailors, were precisely the `alliance of forces` of the proletariat and the peasantry. This alliance came about spontaneously, did not yet have a definite form and was often formed unconsciously. These forces were still quite unorganised, fragmented, lacked a really leading central leadership, etc., but the fact of the `alliance of forces` of the proletariat and the peasantry as the main forces which made a breach in the old autocracy can no longer be denied" (Lenin, Vol. 15, page 332, German edition).

And in connection with the 1905 revolution, Lenin linked the aims of the general uprising with the demand for "the expulsion of the landlords and the seizure of their estates. Undoubtedly, even before the decision of the constituent assembly elected by the people, the peasants must strive to eliminate de facto the manorial landownership. There is no need to say much about this, because no one can imagine a peasant uprising in which the landlords would not be settled and their land would not be taken possession of. It goes without saying that the more consciously and the better organised this uprising is, the less likely it is that buildings, inventory, livestock, etc. will be destroyed. *From a military point of view, destructions which serve certain military purposes - e.g. the burning of buildings or sometimes of inventory - are measures which are quite justified and in certain cases indispensable* [underlined by the author]. Only pedants (or traitors to the people) can particularly complain that the peasants always resort to such means. But it is no use closing one's eyes to the fact that the destruction of buildings and inventory is sometimes only a consequence of disorganisation, of the inability to take possession of the enemy's property and hold on to it instead of destroying it - or a consequence of weakness, namely, when the fighter takes revenge on his enemy because he does not have the strength to beat him to destruction. In our agitation we must, of course, on the one hand, make it clear to the peasants in every possible way that the merciless struggle against the enemy - up to the destruction of his property - is entirely legitimate and necessary, but on the other hand show them that, depending on the degree of organisation, a considerably more reasonable and advantageous outcome is possible: The extermination of the enemy (the landlords and the officials, especially the police) and the transfer of all property into the possession of the people or into the possession of the peasants without any destruction (or with as little destruction as possible) of this property" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 110, German edition). That the degree of organisation must be highest on an *international* scale, that this is an even more difficult task and requires even greater demands and efforts, probably needs no further justification.

As for the soldier uprisings of 1905/1906, he related their defeats to the social composition of the soldiers: "Take the soldier uprisings of 1905/1906. According to their social origin, these fighters of our revolution came from the peasantry and the proletariat. The latter formed the minority; that is why the movement within the army does not show nearly that unity on the scale of the whole of Russia, not that party consciousness which was displayed by the proletariat, which became social-democratic as if at the wave of a magic wand. On the other hand, nothing is more erroneous than the view that the soldiers' revolts failed because there was a lack of leaders from the officer corps. On the contrary, the gigantic progress of the revolution since the times of `Narodnaya Volya` was expressed precisely in the fact that the `mushkote` , whose independence so frightened the liberal landlords and the liberal officer corps, took up arms against the authorities. The soldier was full of sympathy for the peasants' cause; his eyes lit up as soon as a single word fell from the ground. Many a time the power of command in the troops passed into the hands of the mass of soldiers, but resolutely this power was almost never used; the soldiers vacillated; a few days, sometimes a few hours, after killing some hated superior, they set the others at liberty again, entered into negotiations with the authorities, and then had themselves shot, whipped with rods, harnessed to the yoke again (...)" (Lenin, Vol. 15, page 203, German edition). As regards the question of the social composition of Mao's army for the liberation of China, a brief remark may be made here: On the basis of the assessment given here by Lenin, one must also fix the weaknesses in the development of the Chinese liberation struggle on the social composition of the liberation army. Mao completely underestimated the leading role of the proletariat in the army, not only that, he even fought those in his own ranks who tried to correct this. But more on this later.

In March 1906 Lenin determined the further tactical procedure of the provisional revolutionary government and the local organs of revolutionary state power on the basis of the experience of the armed insurrection, which he summarised as follows,

"1. That the revolutionary movement against the absolutist government in the transition to armed struggle has hitherto taken the form of isolated local insurrections;

2. that in this struggle the elements (...) were faced with the necessity of creating organisations which were in fact germinal forms of a new, revolutionary state power - soviets of workers' deputies (...);

3. that, corresponding to the initial, germinal form of the insurrection, these organs of it were equally isolated, accidental, irresolute in their action and not based on an organised armed force of the revolution, which is why they were inevitably doomed at the first acts of attack by the counter-revolutionary army;

4. that only a provisional government, as the organ of the victorious insurrection, is capable of breaking all resistance of reaction (...).

Whether or not it will be possible for the Social Democracy to participate in a provisional revolutionary government, the idea must be propagated among the broadest strata of the proletariat that *constant pressure on the provisional government by the armed proletariat led by the Social Democracy* is necessary in order that the gains of the revolution may be secured, consolidated and extended" [emphasised by the author];

"In extending the activity and sphere of influence of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies, it is imperative to point out that unless such bodies are based on a revolutionary army and overthrow the governmental authorities (i.e., turn into provisional revolutionary governments), they are inevitably doomed; therefore, the arming of the people and the strengthening of the military organisations of the proletariat must be considered as a main task of these bodies in any revolutionary situation.

Temporary agreements of struggle are permissible and expedient at the given moment only with elements which recognise armed insurrection as a means of struggle and actively support it" (Lenin, Vol. 10, pp. 147-148 - 149 - 150, German edition).

And Lenin also said why this condition was necessary:

"The sessions of the Imperial Duma had begun - liberal-bourgeois speeches of the peaceful, constitutional road poured forth in veritable torrents - and at the same time the assaults on peaceful demonstrators, arsons in houses where people's meetings were being held, and finally direct progroms, organised by agents of the government, had begun and were becoming more and more intense (. ...) One cannot put a stop to the old power, which has always made the laws itself and which fights for its existence with the last, the most desperate, barbarous and bestial means, by an appeal to legality!" (Lenin, Vol. 10, pp. 514 and 515, German edition).

An appeal finds particular resonance among the masses in the revolutionary phase. If this period is on the wane, if a revolutionary phase occurs where a whole series of appeals has no longer found resonance among the masses (*although* at that time in June 1907 there were still military uprisings in Kiev and in the Black Sea Fleet!!!). Then what Lenin said about the "*appeal in words*" in 1907 is true: "When the struggle is under way, when it is expanding, growing, approaching from all sides, then a 'proclamation' is justified and necessary, then it is the duty of the revolutionary proletariat to issue the battle cry. But this struggle cannot be invented, nor can it be launched by a battle cry alone. And if a whole series of battle cries which we have tried out on immediate occasions have proved fruitless, we must naturally seek serious reasons for 'proclaiming' a slogan which is nonsensical unless the conditions exist for the realisation of the battle cries" (Lenin, Vol. 13, page 22, German edition).

"It is most important to be clear about the proposition which the experience of all countries where the revolution has suffered defeats confirms, namely, that in the dejection of the opportunist as in the despair of the terrorist one and the same psychic nature, one and the same specific class nature, e.g. of the petty bourgeoisie, is expressed" (Lenin, Vol. 15, page 145, German edition).

The lessons of the 1905 armed uprising, the lessons of armed proletarian struggle in general, are that "all that has been wrested from the enemies, all that is lasting in terms of gains, [can be] wrested and held only to the extent that the revolutionary struggle is strong and alive in all fields of proletarian labour" (Lenin, Vol. 17, page 112, German edition).

How did the 1905 uprising mature and what led to its defeat? A final brief summary is given by Lenin as follows:

"How did the 1905 uprising mature?

First, mass strikes, demonstrations and rallies increased the number of clashes between the masses and the police and military.

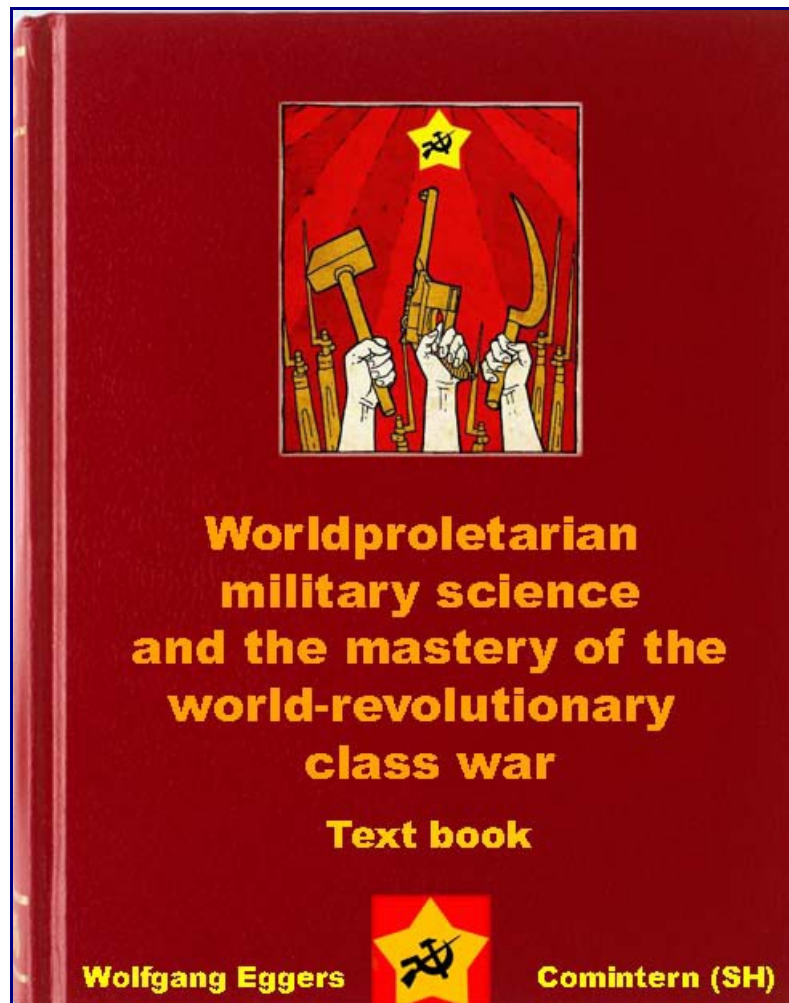
Second, the mass strikes encouraged the peasantry to engage in a series of individual, fragmented, semi-spontaneous uprisings.

Third, the mass strikes quickly spread to the army and the fleet, triggering clashes on an economic basis ("pea mutinies" etc.) and then uprisings.

Fourth, the counterrevolution itself started the civil war with pogroms, mistreatment of democrats etc.

The 1905 revolution in no way ended in defeat because it went "too far", because the December uprising was "artificial", as the liberal renegades etc. believe. On the contrary, the cause of the defeat lies in the fact that the realisation of its necessity had not been prepared far enough in the revolutionary classes and had not gained a sufficiently firm foothold, that the insurrection was not carried out unanimously, resolutely, in an organised, simultaneous, offensive manner" (Lenin, Vol. 18, page 96, German edition).

- End Part VII -



Part VII

Textbook

on the Marxist-Leninist foundations of

World proletarian Military Science

and on the Art of

World revolutionary Class Warfare

August 2004

written by Wolfgang Eggers



PART VIII

Stalin against the criticism of so-called "insurrectionary" socialism

On July 23, 1934, *Stalin* had a conversation with the English writer H.G. Wells, in which the latter expressed the opinion:

"I think it is useless to operate with the methods of the old rigid insurrectionary socialism (...) I am afraid that class war propaganda will frighten away from socialism precisely those educated people whom socialism needs" (Stalin quoting H.G. Wells, Vol. 14, pp. 17 and 19, KPD/ML edition, Dortmund 1976, German edition).

H.G. Wells did not seem to know exactly Lenin's conception of the question of insurrection, otherwise he would know that Lenin always felt obliged to examine this question anew and precisely never to look at it in a rigid-template way, "because for us insurrection is only one of the important, but by no means always obligatory, means of conquering a free field for the struggle for socialism" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 269, German edition). Whether insurrection yes or insurrection no, this is *not a question of principle*, but a *question of expediency*, whether it brings us closer to our goal of socialism or not.

But let us take up the criticism of H.G. Wells calmly for a moment: If today we set ourselves the practical task of reclaiming socialism, we will *again* encounter this and similar criticisms of *"rigid adherence to the insurrection theory"* under the conditions of a *"modern, civilised"* society. We can only give 2 answers to this: Correct, it is pointless to try to recapture socialism with outdated, ossified methods. No communist is of the opinion that today's violent acts of the high-tech military machinery of world imperialism can be stopped, let alone eliminated, with the slingshot of antiquity. Every communist will answer that only such a military force can achieve anything that is *superior* to that of world imperialism - and that can only be the united force of the proletarians of all countries and their support by the peoples. Everything else is pious wishful thinking, talk out of touch with reality. We communists, therefore, continue to do everything - including the elimination of outmoded methods - to encourage, facilitate, and support, direct and lead uprisings of all the exploited and oppressed of the earth, capable of freeing themselves from the tyranny of the old capitalist class rule.

Suppose we were to do the English writer H.G. Wells a favour today and self-critically refrain from and abandon our *"rigid insurrectionary propaganda"*, our *"communist agitational tone"*, our *"glorification of violence"*, etc., nevertheless - *completely independently of our intervention* - the clash of classes would inevitably continue, it would nevertheless quite lawfully come to class war in the process of the sharpening of class contradictions in the crisis. For Marxist-Leninists, the insurrection is not simply a spontaneous process of struggle, but a revolutionary one, which develops and finally takes place through the intensification of the clash of classes. Insurrection is not the product of *"pipe dreams"* but an objective component of every class liberating itself from the ruling classes. Otherwise they could not and will not be able to liberate them. People would like nothing better than to renounce the cruelty and the blood that an uprising costs. The ones who suffer are always the labourers, the poor people, the majorities in the population, the exploited and oppressed make the greatest sacrifices. In principle, people do not need an uprising, but it is forced upon them by the prevailing conditions, by the struggle for existence to the death with exploiters and oppressors. We communists do not glorify insurrection, rather we would welcome the voluntary abdication of the world bourgeoisie, but what ruling class in history has abdicated voluntarily? Not a single one. It is characteristic of antagonistic class societies that the existence of the classes is based on dictatorship, on the violence of one over the others in order to maintain their exploitation. No antagonistic class society, however civilised and democratic, is able to "prevent" an uprising. We communists therefore say that it is the special nature of the socialist insurrection, and that it differs from all the insurrections of previous history precisely in that it abolishes forever the law of the inevitability of insurrections, that it becomes superfluous and disappears just as the class society which lawfully generates it does. In a classless society, which we communists aspire to, insurrections are impossible because the economic ground of private appropriation, of class property, of the exploitation and oppression of classes by others, has been removed for it. So, dear "civilised socialists",:an insurrection cannot be conjured up or conjured up-even with "communist insurrectionary propaganda"-nor can it be prevented by anyone from breaking out spontaneously or in an organised way when the time and the economic conditions are ripe for it. *Stalin* replied:

"Why? Because those classes that have to step down from the stage of history are the last ones who want to believe that their game is up. It is impossible to convince them of this. They believe that the cracks in the rotten fabric of the old order can be mended, that the tottering fabric of the old order can be repaired and saved. This is precisely why the declining classes take up arms and use every means to keep themselves as the ruling class" (ibid, page 18). "Take fascism, for example. Fascism is a reactionary force that seeks to preserve the old world through the use of violence. What do they want to do with the fascists? Argue with them? Try to convince them? But this will not achieve anything with them. The communists in no way glorify the use of violence. But they, the communists, are not willing to be taken by surprise, they cannot rely on the old world voluntarily stepping down from the stage, they see the old system defending itself by force, and that is why the communists say to the working class: answer violence with violence, do everything in your power to prevent the old, dying order from crushing you, do not allow it to put fetters around your hands, around the hands with which you will tear down the old system! So you see, the communists do not regard the replacement of one social system by another simply as a spontaneous and peaceful process, but as a complicated, protracted and violent process. Communists cannot close their eyes to the facts. (...) Communists draw on rich historical experience" (ibid, page 17). "Therefore, the communists are prepared for the worst and call on the working class to be vigilant and ready to fight. What is a leader worth who puts the vigilance of his army to sleep, a leader who does not understand that the enemy will not surrender, that he must be destroyed? A leader who acts like this is cheating, betraying the working class. This is the reason why I think that what seems to you to be outdated is in fact a standard of revolutionary action for the working class" (ibid, page 19).

We are far from indulging in the romantic revolutionary illusion that insurrection alone - that is, insurrection as simply taking the enemy by surprise, as victory through a single great blow - means final victory. This contradicts all historical experience of the international workers' movement. If the powerful world proletariat has not yet reached the goal of its emancipation - in spite of organisation, discipline, unity of insight, in spite of socialism in one country, etc. - then we must be all the clearer in our view. - If the powerful world proletariat has not yet reached its goal of emancipation - despite organisation, discipline, unity, insight, despite socialism in one country, etc. - we must master the lesson of insurrection as an art, how with a victorious insurrection - in the hard, tough struggle from position to position - the final goal to be reached comes closer bit by bit in a long revolutionary process, where one insurrection already prepares the next one. It is finally the transformation of the revolution of the minority into the revolution of the majority, the learning and application of the art of insurrection not only by individual revolutionaries or a revolutionary party, but the art of insurrection of the class led by them and finally of the revolutionary *masses*. The insurrection is at most only a single act in the whole, long, complicated process of the revolutionary social upheaval of all classes in this world.

Street struggle and barricade tactics

Our slogan:

**"Clear the streets -
for the Communist Party !"**

Street struggle and barricade tactics are historical terms, that is, they are applied differently at different times and have different meanings, sometimes greater, sometimes lesser and sometimes hardly any. Thus Lenin stated in 1906:

With barricade fighting as the main means of struggle, no socialist revolution has yet been carried out victoriously, nor will it lead the world socialist revolution to victory. Engels even said - referring to the era of street and barricade fighting of the *19th century*: "The era of barricades and street battles is over forever; when the troops fight, resistance becomes madness. So one is obliged to find a new revolutionary tactic" (Engels letter to Lafargue 1892, MEW, vol. 38, page 505, German edition). "I hope there will be no more clashes in Paris [on May 21, 1885, a large rally was held there to mark the anniversary of the murder of the Paris Communards - author's note] over Red Flags, etc. - the police need a pair of barricades, and if they get them there will be a fine slaughter - the people have not the slightest chance of victory. Even if the government should hesitate, the reactionary military will see to it that everything is at arms length and will intervene" (Engels, Letter to Lafargue, MEW, Vol. 36, page 321, German edition).

"Street fighting is something quite different from a battle in the open field" (Engels, MEW, vol. 7, page 115, German edition).

"The old-style rebellion, the street fight with barricades, which until 1848 everywhere gave the final decision, was significantly out of date" (Marx, MEW, Vol. 22, page 519, German edition). "You yourself say that barricades are obsolete (but they can become useful again as soon as the army is 1/3 - 2/5 socialist and it is a question of giving it an opportunity to fall over), but the political strike must either win immediately -but by a threat (as in Belgium, where the army was *very shaky*)- or end in a colossal embarrassment or finally lead directly to the barricades" (Engels, MEW, Vol. 39, page 161, German edition).

"Let us be under no illusion about this: a real victory of the insurrection over the military in street fighting, a victory as between two armies, is one of the greatest rarities. But the insurgents were just as seldom aiming for that. For them, it was a question of wearing down the troops through moral influences, which do not come into play at all, or at least to a much lesser degree, in the struggle between the armies of two belligerent countries. If they succeed, the troops fail or the commanders lose their heads and the insurgency wins. If it does not succeed, then the superiority of better equipment and training, of unified leadership, of the planned use of the armed forces and of discipline proves itself, even in the case of a minority on the part of the military. The most that the insurrection can achieve in real tactical action is the skilful construction and defence of a single barricade. Mutual support, the formation or use of reserves, in short, the cooperation and interlocking of the individual sections, which is indispensable for the defence of a district, let alone a whole large city, can only be achieved to a very limited extent, mostly not at all; the concentration of the armed forces on a decisive point is not possible. Passive defence is thus the predominant form of combat; the attack will here and there, but only in exceptional cases, be able to mount occasional advances and flank attacks, but as a rule it will be limited to occupying the positions abandoned by the retreating troops. To this must be added, on the part of the military, the availability of artillery and fully equipped and trained troops of genius, means of combat which the insurgents in almost all cases completely lack. No wonder, then, that even the most heroically fought barricade battles - Paris June 1848, Vienna October 1848, Dresden May 1849 - ended in the defeat of the insurrection, as soon as the attacking leaders, uninhibited by political considerations, acted according to purely military points of view and their soldiers remained reliable.

The numerous successes of the insurgents up to 1848 were due to very diverse causes. In Paris in 1830 and February 1848, as in most of the Spanish street battles, there was a vigilante group between the insurgents and the military, which either sided directly with the insurrection or, through its lukewarm, indecisive attitude, also caused the troops to waver and, on top of that, supplied the insurrection with weapons. Where these vigilantes opposed the uprising from the outset, as in Paris in June 1848, it was defeated. In Berlin in 1848 the people were victorious partly because of the considerable increase of new forces during the night and morning of March 19, partly as a result of the exhaustion and poor rations of the troops, and partly finally as a result of the slackening of command. In all cases, however, victory was won because the troops failed, because the commanders ran out of decisiveness or because their hands were tied. So even in the classic times of street fighting, the barricade has more of a moral than a material effect. It was a means of shaking the solidity of the military. If it held out until this was achieved, victory was achieved; if not, one was defeated. This is the main point to bear in mind, even when examining the chances of possible future street battles> [Point brackets indicate passages which have been deleted out of consideration for the `umsturzvorlagenfurchtsamtlichen Bedenken` (Engels' formulation) of the Berlin Party Executive];

(...) These chances were already pretty bad in 1849. The bourgeoisie had everywhere sided with the government, `education and property` welcomed and entertained the military marching out against insurrections. The barricades had lost their charm; the soldier no longer saw `the people` behind them, but rebels, rioters, looters, dividers, the refuse of society; the officer had in time become versed in the tactical forms of street fighting, he no longer marched straight ahead and uncovered on the improvised breastworks, but bypassed them through gardens, courtyards and houses. And this now succeeded, with some skill, in nine out of ten cases.

Since then, however, a great deal has changed, and all in favour of the military. If the large cities have grown considerably, the armies have grown even more. Paris and Berlin have not grown fourfold since 1848, but their garrisons have grown more than that. By means of the railways, these garrisons can more than double in 24 hours and swell into giant armies in 48 hours. The armament of these enormously increased numbers of troops has become incomparably more effective. (...) Then the relatively weak bullets and cartridges of artillery, today the percussion grenades, one of which is enough to shatter the best barricade. Then the pickaxe of the pioneer to break through fire walls, today the dynamite cartridge.

On the side of the insurgents, on the other hand, all conditions have become worse. An insurrection with which all strata of the people sympathise will hardly come again; in the class struggle all the middle strata will probably never group themselves so exclusively around the proletariat that the reactionary party rallying around the bourgeoisie, on the other hand, will almost disappear. The 'people' will therefore always appear divided, and thus a powerful lever, so extremely effective in 1848, is missing. If on the side of the insurgents there are more serving soldiers, their arming will be all the more difficult. The hunting rifles and luxury shotguns sold in gun shops - even if they have not been rendered useless by the police by removing a part of the lock - are no match for the soldier's magazine rifle, even in close combat. Until 1848, it was possible to make the necessary ammunition oneself from powder and lead; today, the cartridge for every rifle is different and is the same everywhere only in the one point that it is a product of great industry, i.e. it cannot be made by hand, so that most rifles are useless as long as one does not have the ammunition specially suited to them. And finally, the newly built quarters of the great cities since 1848, laid out in long, straight, wide streets, are made for the effect of the new guns and rifles. The revolutionary would have to be crazy to choose the new workers' districts in the north and east of Berlin for a barricade fight himself.

Does this mean that street fighting will no longer play a role in the future? Absolutely not. It only means that since 1848 the conditions have become far less favourable for the civilian fighters, far more favourable for the military. A future street struggle can therefore only win if this unfavourable situation is outweighed by other moments. It will therefore occur less frequently in the beginning of a great revolution than in the further course of such a revolution, and will have to be undertaken with greater forces. These, however, will then probably, as in the whole great French revolution, on September 4 and October 31, 1870, in Paris, prefer the open attack to passive barricade tactics. [Pointed brackets indicate passages in the text that have been deleted out of consideration for the `umsturzvorlagenfurchtsamtlichen Bedenken` (Engels) of the Berlin Party Executive];

Does the reader now understand why the ruling classes want to bring us to the point where the gun shoots and the sabre cuts? Why today we are accused of cowardice because we do not readily take to the streets where we are certain of defeat in advance? Why are we so implored to play cannon fodder for once? The gentlemen are wasting their petitions like their challenges for nothing and nothing. We are not that stupid. They might as well ask their enemy in the next war to face them in the line formation of the old Fritz or in the columns of whole divisions á la Wagram and Waterloo, and that with flintlock rifle in hand. If the conditions have changed for the war of nations, they have changed no less for the class struggle. The time of surprise, of revolutions carried out by small conscious minorities at the head of unconscious masses is over. Where it is a question of a complete transformation of social organisation, the masses themselves must be involved, must themselves have already understood what it is all about, what they stand up for with life and limb. History of the last fifty years has taught us that. But in order for the masses to understand what has to be done, long and persistent work is needed, and it is precisely this work that we are doing now, and with a success that is driving the opponents to despair (...) < everywhere the unprepared striking out has fallen into the background>[pointed brackets indicate passages in the text that have been deleted out of consideration for the `umsturzvorlagenfurchtsamtlichen Bedenken` (Engels) of the Berlin party executive];

In France, where for more than 100 years the soil has been submerged by revolution after revolution, where there is not a single party which has not done its share in conspiracies, insurrections and all other revolutionary actions; in France, where consequently the army of the government is by no means secure and where in general the circumstances are far more favourable for an insurrectionary coup d'état than in Germany - even in France the socialists see more and more that no lasting victory is possible for them unless they first win over the great mass of the people, i.e., here the peasants" (ME, 1933). i.e. here the peasants" (MEW, Vol. 22, pp. 519-523, German edition).

"The best demonstration of the German socialists is their existence and their slow, regular and inexorable advance. We are still far from being able to wage an open struggle, and we have a duty towards the whole of Europe and America not to suffer defeat, but, when the moment comes, to win in the first great battle. To this consideration I subordinate every other" (MEW, Vol. 38, page 20, German edition).

"On the day when we shall be in the majority, what the French army instinctively did when it did not fire on the people will be repeated with us in a conscious manner. Yes, whatever the frightened bourgeois may say, we can calculate the moment when we shall have the majority of the population on our side, our ideas are spreading everywhere" (MEW, Engels, Vol. 22, page 543, German edition).

Lenin remarks on Engels' expositions of the barricade struggle:

"Social-Democracy recognised the street and barricade struggle in the forties of the 19th century, it rejected it on the basis of certain presuppositions at the end of the 19th century - and it has declared its complete readiness to revise this latter view and to recognise the barricade struggle as expedient after the experience of Moscow, which, according to K. Kautsky, has produced a new barricade tactic" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 204, German edition). As we can read in Lenin, Kautsky had rightly modified Engels' assessment of the old barricade tactics on the basis of the comparison between the Paris and Moscow uprisings.

Here are two quotations from Kautsky which Lenin cited:

"'I can no longer declare today, with the certainty I did then, that armed insurrections not barricade struggles will no longer play a decisive role in the coming revolution.' The experience of the Moscow street struggle, where a handful of people held their own for over a week against an entire army in the barricade struggle and almost won, spoke too loudly against this, if the failure of the revolutionary movement in other cities had not allowed the army to be reinforced in such a way that an enormous superior force was finally concentrated against the insurgents. Admittedly, this real success of the barricade struggle was only possible because the people of the city actively supported the revolutionaries and the troops were totally demoralised. But who can say with certainty that something like this is impossible in Western Europe?'" (quoted in Lenin, Vol. 15, page 49, German edition).

"Both the June battle in Paris and the December battle in Moscow were barricade battles," said Kautsky, "but the latter was the catastrophe, the conclusion of the old barricade tactics; the latter the inauguration of a new barricade tactics. And in this respect we have to revise the view which Friedrich Engels set down in his introduction to Marx's 'Class Struggles', the view as if the time of barricade struggles were over. This was proved by the battle of Moscow, where a band of insurgents succeeded in holding their own for a fortnight against superior forces equipped with all the resources of modern artillery" (quoted in Lenin, Vol. 10, pp. 132-133, German edition). Engels, however, is not to be reproached at all, for he himself answered the question raised by himself as it arose at *the end of the 19th century* - quoted here repeatedly - with an unequivocal "By no means":

"Does this mean that in the future street fighting will no longer play a role? Absolutely not. It *only* means [emphasised by the author] that the conditions since 1848 have become far less favourable for civilian fighters, far more favourable for the military. A future street struggle can therefore only win if this unfavourable situation is outweighed [emphasised by the author] by other moments" (MEW, Vol. 22, pp. 519-523, German edition). The insinuation is therefore inadmissible that Engels had renounced the street and barricade struggle *for all time*. He had actively participated in this struggle himself, and had also theoretically justified this tactic, adhered to its necessity, but approached this question precisely dialectically and historically, that forms of struggle change in the course of time under changed conditions, that other moments must be added. Engels is not to be blamed for this, but all the more to be praised.

The fact that the methods of street struggle change over time, in different places, under different conditions, says nothing about their fundamental importance. That street struggle is alive, that it was, is and remains a part of an uprising, a form of struggle on the path of revolution, has been proven time and again by history. Often the street struggles arise from the street demonstrations when the workers move their strike struggle away from the factory premises to the centres, such as to the cities, to the big cities where the industrial centres are. Depending on the situation, clashes with the police or the soldiery become unavoidable, the crowd does not only offer passive resistance to the violence of the authorities, but goes on to active resistance, organises, prepares, plans the actions and develops a strategy and tactics of street struggle and refines them with each new act of struggle. Street fighting can also have great significance in war, such as historically in Stalingrad or currently in Fallujah. Street and barricade fighting against the occupiers of the Irak have even excellently demonstrated its international significance. Here, the street and barricade fight even heroically withstood an entire *international* army and proved in an exemplary manner that this form of struggle must become the guiding star in the training of new generations of fighters. The street struggle in Fallujah has only been defeated because it has not been consistently extended to other cities in Iraq, because the revolutionary movement of the street struggles of Palestine and Iraq has not spread to street struggles in all other Arab countries, because the armed street struggles in the Near and Middle East have not yet led to the international street struggle. However, it can already be predicted with certainty on the basis of the "historical" events in Iraq and Palestine that the street struggle against Europe and Russia in the 19th and early 20th centuries will necessarily grow into a great united international street struggle in the 21st century. That the necessity of international networking, the necessity of systematic organisation and centralisation of the most diverse forms of struggle will gain in importance, that the world socialist revolution will already find the germ forms of such organisations of struggle today, with which it will be led to victory tomorrow, and that further new international forms of struggle will emerge from this, of which we have no idea today.

And Lenin predicted this even then:

"The December struggle of 1905 proved that armed insurrection can be victorious under the present military-technical and military-organisational conditions. The December Uprising has shown that the entire international workers' movement must henceforth reckon with the likelihood of similar forms of struggle in the forthcoming proletarian revolutions" (Lenin, Vol. 15, page 49; German edition).

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But a few months earlier, when, for example, 70 comrades in Riga freed two comrades sentenced to death from the central prison in September 1905, Lenin's joy was great:

"We salute the heroes of the revolutionary Riga fighting division! (...) This is a real victory after a battle with the enemy armed to the teeth. This is no longer a conspiracy against some hated person, no longer an act of revenge, no longer an outburst of despair and no longer a mere 'deterrence' - no, this is already the well-thought-out and prepared, taking into account the balance of forces, beginning of actions of the divisions of a revolutionary army. The number of such detachments in a strength of 25-75 men can be brought up to a few dozen in every large city, often also in the suburbs of a large city. They workers will join these detachments by the hundreds, one has only to start at once to propagate this idea widely, to set up these detachments, to supply them with every kind of weapon, from knives and revolvers to bombs, and to train and educate these detachments militarily. Fortunately, the days are gone when, in the absence of a revolutionary people, individual revolutionary terrorists 'made' the revolution. The bomb has ceased to be the weapon of individual 'bombists'. *It is becoming an indispensable accessory of the people's armament.* With the changing technology of war, the methods and means of street fighting will also change. We are all now studying (and doing well) the construction of barricades and the art of defending them. But above this homely old stuff we must not forget the latest development in war technology. The progress in the use of explosives has brought about a number of innovations in the field of artillery. (...) Let us not lose heart because of the serious failures in the attempts to procure weapons on a massive scale! No failures will break the energy of those who feel and see in life their close connection with the revolutionary class, who are aware that now indeed the whole people has risen for their next fighting aims. The manufacture of bombs is possible everywhere and anywhere. It is now taking place in Russia on a far greater scale than any of us know (and every member of a Social-Democratic organisation surely knows of more than one example of the setting up of workshops). It is taking place on an incomparably greater scale than the police know (but the latter certainly know more than the revolutionaries in the individual organisations). No power will be able to resist the detachments of a revolutionary army armed with bombs, which will unexpectedly one night simultaneously carry out several such raids as the Riga raid and in the wake of which - this is the last and most important condition - hundreds of thousands of workers will rise up (...)" (Lenin, Vol. 9, pp. 279-280; German edition).

As for the violation of private property for the purpose of building barricades, Lenin makes the following remark:

"Therefore, if the *immediate* struggle requires it, the violation of private property, e.g. the seizure of equipment, etc., is also permissible. For the construction of barricades is permissible. As far as the immediate struggle is *not* concerned, according to the regulation of the Petersburg Party Congress, violations of the personal security of 'peaceful' citizens are to be *avoided*, but here too the Party Congress refers to an exception: a 'compulsory' violation of personal security on account of the struggle against the government is not imputed by the Party Congress as guilt to the participants in partisan actions. Finally, the Party Congress directly recommends some form of partisan action to the Party and decides without reservations or restrictions: *'Weapons and ammunition in the possession of the government are to be confiscated wherever there is an opportunity'*. For example: the policemen have weapons that belong to the government: `there is an opportunity...' (...) We advise all the numerous fighting groups of our Party to put an end to their inactivity and undertake a series of partisan actions, strictly in accordance with the Party Congress resolutions, i.e. without any expropriation of property, with the *least* possible `injury to the personal safety` of peaceful citizens and with the greatest possible *injury* to the personal safety of spies, active black-hundreds, senior officers of the police, army, navy *and so on and so forth*. `Weapons` but `and ammunition in the possession of the government are to be confiscated *wherever* an opportunity presents itself" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 155; German edition).

We do not want to conclude this section in the chapter on "Insurrection" without pointing out Lenin's strict distinction between *revolutionary* barricade struggle and *anarchist* tactics. He referred to the example of Poland in this regard:

"I must remark, however, that nowhere, except in Poland, have we seen such a senseless deviation from revolutionary tactics as to challenge a well-founded rejection and struggle against them. And here the thought suggests itself: It was precisely in Poland that there was not this armed struggle of the masses in December 1905! And was it not precisely for this reason that the perverse and senseless tactic of anarchism of 'making' revolution became established in Poland, because the conditions there did not permit - even if only for a short moment - the armed struggle of the masses to develop? Is not the tradition of *this* very struggle, the tradition of the December armed uprising, sometimes the only serious means of overcoming anarchist tendencies within the workers' party - not by means of a template-like, philistine, philistine morality, but by turning away from purposeless, senseless, fragmented violence to the purposeful violence of the masses, linked to a broad movement and to the intensification of the immediate proletarian struggle?" (Lenin, Vol. 15, pp. 50-51; German edition).

The denigration of the art of insurrection as "Blanquism"

"Among the most malicious and probably most widespread distortions of Marxism by the ruling "'socialist' parties is the opportunist lie that the preparation of the insurrection, in general the consideration of the insurrection as an art, is 'blanquism'. (...) To be successful, the insurrection must not be based on a conspiracy, not on a party, it *must be* based on the *most advanced class*. This to the first. The insurrection *must be* based on the *revolutionary upsurge of the people*. This to the second. The insurrection *must be* based on *such a turning point in the history of the rising revolution, where the activity of the foremost ranks of the people is greatest, where the fluctuations in the ranks of the enemies and in the ranks of the weak, half, indecisive friends of the revolution are strongest*. This, thirdly. It is precisely by these three conditions that Marxism differs from Blanquism in its treatment of the question of insurrection. But once these conditions are given, the refusal to consider the insurrection as an art is treason to Marxism and treason to the revolution" (Lenin Vol. 26, pp. 4 - 5; German edition).

Lenin proved "that Blanquism means seizure of power by a minority." (Lenin Vol. 24, page 31; German edition).

The revolt

Revolts are expressions of popular struggle against brutal acts of military violence, wars and other crimes committed against the people by the ruling governments, i.e. "unconscious, unorganised, spontaneous, sometimes unbridled indignations" (Lenin, Vol. 8, page 563; German edition) without purposeful agitation and propaganda by the revolutionary organisations, and at the same time revolts are signals and initial stages of organised strike struggles, *political* demonstrations, street battles and barricade fights, which pass over into insurrection. "Revolts - demonstrations - street struggles - divisions of a revolutionary army - these are the stages of development of the people's uprising" (Lenin, Vol. 8, page 565; German edition).

Revolt or revolution ?

The question cannot be answered so simply, because great revolutions have never fallen from the sky, but have always begun on a small scale. Even the opponents of Marxism-Leninism do not deny this. There is agreement between Marxist-Leninists and, for example, the Maoists about the initial spark, about the "spark that leads to the steppe fire". But what separates us from the Maoists is that the latter are convinced that they are taking the "cities from the village", that it is not the world proletariat that is taking the role of the leading class, but the oppressed peoples, the "Third World", who are waging people's wars, so to speak, without the leadership of the world proletariat and against its leadership, over the heads of the proletarians of all countries. We Marxist-Leninists have proved a thousand times that this does not work, can never work. The proletarian world revolution is a matter of the world proletariat, can only be initiated, carried out and led to victory by the world proletariat itself. But the fate of all people's wars is tied to this victory.

With the first cell division, the germ cell is no longer the same as it was before. Revolutionary life develops through cell divisions. The revolutionary movement grows up, it begins in a centre without remaining confined for long to the framework of a narrow area. It expands step by step to the peripheries, as more and more forces join this movement, allowing it to mature into a mass force, a mass movement, until an organism emerges with which the whole class is able to destroy the other. And even the working class, as a class alone, is not capable of carrying out the overthrow victoriously if it does not have the maturity to lead other classes into battle with it. Even the entire world proletariat, as a class, will not be able to win in the world proletarian revolution if it does not rely on the revolutionary peoples. And conversely-as I have said-the revolutionary peoples cannot finally liberate themselves without the leadership of the world proletariat.

But not every revolutionary germ cell automatically develops into a revolutionary mass movement, not every revolt can be transformed into a revolution. This depends on the most diverse preconditions and conditions, which are fundamentally known to us Marxist-Leninists.

Lenin remarked: "It is not for nothing that one says that a revolution is a successful revolt and a revolt is a failed revolution. (...) The bourgeois newspapers, which continue to speak of revolt, insurrection and unrest, cannot, however, fail to recognise their national, even international significance. But it is this significance that gives the events the character of a revolution. And those who write of the last days of turmoil begin involuntarily to speak of the first days of revolution" (Lenin, Vol. 8, p. 91; German edition) Lenin refers here historically to the Russian revolutionary days of 1905: "The overthrow of tsarism in Russia, heroically begun by our working class, will be a turning point in the history of all countries, will facilitate the cause of all workers of all nations, in all states, in all parts of the globe" (Lenin, Vol. 8, p. 88; German edition).

What is at stake in the question, however, is not quantity alone, but above all quality, content. Revolutions are made by the masses and not by proxy by the revolutionaries, not by the revolutionary nucleus, not by a revolutionary group. The other classes cannot "make" a "proletarian" revolution on behalf of the working class, even if they call it that. A proletarian revolution can only be made by the proletariat itself. A "proletarian" revolution that is not led by the proletariat itself is not and cannot be one. The character of a revolt or revolution is given by the social forces, by the classes that work in it and leave their mark on it.

For Lenin, to *equate* "revolution in permanence" *with* "anarchy in permanence" was to "stamp the revolution into a mere sedition", to "become traitors to the revolution" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 317; German edition).

Terrorist sedition, whether economic, political or military, instigated by a group of conspirators, is incompatible with the real revolutionary proletarian world movement, is anti-proletarian and counter-revolutionary, and that is why we internationalists resolutely dissociate ourselves from this false and harmful tactic, we fight this tactic with all means, especially when the representatives of the terrorist tactic try to seize the banner of Marxism-Leninism and sacrifice the blood of the workers to adventurism. Of course, we have to act openly against the bourgeoisie, we have to keep them permanently in fear until the final victory. But for this we need not the terrorism of conspiratorial groups, but strong workers' organisations capable of leading the struggle of the world proletariat as an international CLASS, that is, to lead the whole revolutionary MASS movement to world revolution, we need the hegemony of the world proletariat.

Blanquists were followers of the French revolutionary Blanqui (1805-1881). The classics of Marxism-Leninism saw Blanqui as an outstanding revolutionary and fighter for socialism, but at the same time criticised the conspiratorial methods of his activity. In the introduction to Marx' work *"The Civil War in France"* Engels wrote of the Blanquists: "Educated in the school of conspiracy, held together by the tight discipline appropriate to it, they proceeded from the view that a comparatively small number of determined, well-organised men were capable, in a given favourable moment, not only of seizing the helm of the state, but also of asserting it by the display of great, ruthless energy until they succeeded in dragging the masses of the people into the revolution and grouping them around the leading little band" (See MEW, Vol. 22, Berlin, p. 197; German edition). The bourgeoisie has often called us Marxist-Leninists "Blanquists" because of our revolutionary attitude and fought us as "revolutionaries and 'leftist extremist' terrorists, while they have always praised the opportunist elements in our ranks as "prudent", "reasonable" and as "realos". For the world bourgeoisie, the spectre of the "war on terrorism" is a convenient slogan if it can keep the world proletariat from its struggle for world power. Terrorism denies the class struggle, but with this "war against terrorism" the world bourgeoisie carries out its terror against the world proletariat, it slanders its struggle for its revolutionary liberation from the international wage-slave-ownership. The bourgeoisie transforms the "war against terrorism" into a weapon against the proletariat: *"Be reasonable, workers! Fight for your rights in your parliament, in the UN, etc., etc., take the castles out of the fire of the world bourgeoisie, but don't dare to reach for world power; only terrorists believe in such madness, but not a civilised, cultivated worker!"*

On a world scale, "insurrection as an art" and the differentiation from international Blanquism gains an even more important role. Just transferring the idea of insurrection of one country to transnational insurrection is a challenge:

"Capitalism is not so harmoniously constructed that the various centres of insurrection could immediately unite by themselves, without failures and defeats. On the contrary, the very fact that the insurrections break out at different times and in different places, that they are of different kinds, guarantees the breadth and depth of the general movement; only in untimely, partial, fragmented and therefore unsuccessful revolutionary movements will the masses acquire experience, will they learn, gather forces, recognise their true leaders, the socialist proletarians, and thereby prepare the general onslaught." (Lenin, Vol. 22, p.366, German edition). "If we do not want to abandon socialism, we must support every uprising against our main enemy, the bourgeoisie of the 'big' powers, *if it is not* an uprising of a reactionary class." (ibid. p.339; German edition)

To prepare this general onslaught - as Lenin demands - that is the central task of a Communist International, that is the reason why we support every uprising directed against the world bourgeoisie. In our world outlook, it is ultimately a question of the entire world proletariat, of the revolutionary peoples in their totality and unity, being brought to the question of the art of insurrection. This is a gigantic task. It is the misery and distress caused by the attainment of the world capitalist final stage all over the world that forces all the exploited and oppressed of this earth to realise that they can only survive if they take their destinies into their own hands together, if they shake off their all-round dependence on world capitalism together and begin with the revolution, i.e. in a revolutionary way, to totally overturn the existing productive forces, to organise their total activity in world production in a centralist way and to create world socialist relations of production and distribution. The point is that the world proletariat and the revolutionary peoples must first become aware of their world-historical cooperation in the communist revolution, that they can only realise their interests and needs together and that the revolution is only the beginning to abolish capitalist private property. The abolition of the world's wealth is not exhausted in the act of international military seizure, after which the development of the new world society is, so to speak, spontaneously left to its own course. This development takes place in a world-historical process of the internationalist mode of production of the new socialist world society, where the previous life of the peoples in world capitalism is completely redefined in a radical way. The peoples in world socialism enter into new relations with each other and thereby also change their old life through a qualitative leap. And this will not be without friction, counter-revolutionary uprisings will be the constant accompaniment of the communist revolution, flaring civil wars will be unavoidable until the whole communist world process has paved its way at great sacrifice. All this is quite impossible without enormous military efforts by the whole new world community, for the defeated exploiters and oppressors of the old world order will increase their efforts a hundredfold to re-establish their old capitalist world empire as long as the new world has not yet created a firm basis with a solid superstructure.

The communists of the World Bolshevik Party, with their international Red Army, cannot rely on themselves as an "international group of conspirators", but must rely on the whole world proletariat *as the most advanced class* and on the *revolutionary* peoples. The world proletariat, the vanguard of the world revolution, must first have thrown its majority behind the communists. Without the majority of workers and soldiers, for example in the metropolises, it is impossible to put down the counter-revolutionary tools of world imperialism, its headquarters. The uprising must be based on the revolutionary upsurge not only of one people but of several peoples, on the majority of peoples who must be firmly determined and spare no sacrifice to make the complete break with the world bourgeoisie absolute. The pent-up world indignation of all peoples exceeds the measure of suffering, of patience, of endurance and breaks through the dam, which cannot be stopped by anything or anyone. The stream of the anger of all peoples in its concentrated power, which cannot be compared with the revolutionary power of a single people, cannot be contained or otherwise contained.

The uprising must be based on a *turning point* in the history of world revolution, where in the *whole international front* of imperialism the fluctuations and cracks of its crisis are so tremendous that the main international enemy, USA imperialism can be stormed, where the whole . The seas of the world proletariat will surge and foam as the mighty storm of world revolution sweeps across the globe. The international influence of the revisionists and opportunists in the world proletariat must be reduced to a minimum, i.e., the proletarians of all countries must settle accounts with these traitors to the world revolution; the wavering elements and strata of the petty bourgeoisie, the international front of the weak, half, indecisive "friends" of the world revolution, must at least have wavered to such an extent that their majority can be neutralised. But we must not only fulfil the conditions for the physical annihilation of the counter-revolution, we must also assert the conquered power politically in order to secure our physical victory. The objective conditions for world revolution are in place, but the subjective conditions are not yet ripe. They have yet to be created. This is a task that is up for practical solution. It is not a question of recognising in words Marx's thought of the art of insurrection on an international scale, of fixing a correct time, etc., but of approaching the world revolution Marxistically, that is, the world proletariat learning and mastering its art of war in practical struggle. How can the world proletariat seriously conquer its international power and establish its own organs of power all over the world if it does not have a theory of conquest, a correct strategy and tactics, for example, to eliminate the command centre of US imperialism which holds the threads of international counterrevolution in its hands? A staff of international insurgent sections must be organised, the forces distributed internationally and concentrated at the most important points, the command centre of the counterrevolution surrounded and occupied, the general staff and the US government arrested, the enemy's connections cut and our own connections of all points of our armed struggle secured worldwide, etc., etc. This scenario is only illustrated here to make it clear that the world revolution does not passively follow the self-course of world events spontaneously, that the proletarians of one country do not wait for the liberation of the proletarians of the other country, etc. that today one has to free oneself from the constriction of the idea of the nationally limited socialist revolution, that the world proletariat has to act as a united, united class, that the proletarians of each country have to understand themselves as an indispensable section of the world proletariat, because the breaking of the imperialist chain at its weakest point is otherwise impossible, let alone the breaking of the whole chain of world imperialism. The imperialists do not adhere to the procedures of the October Revolution. Socialism cannot be reconquered in the same way as it was once conquered. The world bourgeoisie has learned, and so will the world proletariat have to do if the world revolution is to be victorious. The international class enemy knows that its last hour has come and is throwing the full force of its globalised counter-revolution before our eyes wherever an insurrection is developing, in order to crush it before it can spread in its immediate neighbourhood and eventually internationally. The class struggle

against imperialism, the anti-imperialist front, must therefore be conceived as the active art of war of the world proletariat, welded together into an armed, leading class, of its vanguard, its allies, etc., if one is to understand it as a globalised counterrevolution. If one starts from the Marxist-Leninist point of view, this must be understood. This is the core of the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism on the question of today's military struggle for world revolution. Let us not forget that the 1905 uprising in Russia gave rise in a few months, in weeks, to an army of millions that followed the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat. It is impossible to know whether a powerful world revolutionary movement will unfold today or tomorrow. "In any case, however, *only* the work in this direction deserves to be called socialist work" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 254, German edition). The slogan which sums up and gives direction to this work, which promotes the unification and association of those who want to support the revolutionary struggle of the world proletariat against *all governments* and against the *entire* world bourgeoisie, is the slogan of *international insurrection*, the slogan of *world civil war*, , the slogan of the *international class war*.

The Civil War

What is civil war?

"The civil war to which revolutionary social democracy calls in the present epoch is the armed struggle of the proletariat" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 149, German edition).

"But what is a struggle raised to the boiling point if not civil war?" (Lenin, Vol. 22, page 118, German edition).

The Leninist definition of civil war in the epoch of imperialism is the "war of the oppressed classes against their oppressors with the aim of the expropriation of the capitalist class, the conquest of political power by the proletariat, the realisation of socialism" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 351, German edition).

Lenin teaches "that civil war is the sharpest form of class struggle, whereby a series of economic and political clashes and battles are repeated, piled up, extended and intensified until these clashes are transformed into the armed struggle of one class against the other. Most frequently, indeed one may say almost exclusively, civil war occurs in this process in reasonably free and advanced countries between those classes whose antagonisms are created and deepened by the whole economic development of capitalism, by the whole history of modern society throughout the world: between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat" (Lenin, Vol. 26, page 12, *"The Russian Revolution and the Civil War"*, German edition) [highlighted by the author]. Thus also "the economy of capitalist society is such that only capital or the proletariat overthrowing it can be the ruling force" (Lenin, Vol. 29, page 356, German edition).

The civil war is part of the revolution, which as a process, as a whole epoch of sharpest class conflicts, a long series of battles on all class fronts. The civil war also arises from the revolutionary situation created by an imperialist war. The transformation of imperialist war into civil war with the aim of the victory of socialist revolution is an essential part of the Bolshevik tactics of world socialist revolution.

"The proletariat will have to go through perhaps another 15, 20, 50 years of civil wars and struggles among nations, not only to change conditions, but to change the proletarians themselves and to enable them to rule politically." These are the words of Karl Marx ("*Revelations on the Communist Trial at Cologne*", page 39, German edition).

"In certain periods of sharp economic and political crises, the class struggle develops into immediate civil war, i.e., armed struggle between two sections of the people. In such periods the Marxist is obliged to stand on the standpoint of civil war. Any moral condemnation of civil war is totally inadmissible from the standpoint of Marxism. In the epoch of civil war, the ideal of the party of the proletariat is a warring party. This is quite undeniable. We quite admit that from the standpoint of civil war one can seek to prove, and indeed prove, the inexpediency of this or that form of civil war at this or that moment. A critique of the various forms of civil war from the standpoint of military expediency we consider to be quite correct, and we absolutely agree that the decisive voice on such a question belongs to the social-democratic practitioners of each individual region" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 209, German edition).

On an international scale this can mean essentially nothing else:

In certain periods of sharp economic and political world crises, the international class struggle develops into immediate international civil war, that is, into armed struggle between two sections of peoples. In such periods, the Marxist-Leninist is obliged to stand on the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Any moral condemnation of international civil war is totally inadmissible from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. In the epoch of international civil war, the ideal of the Communist International of the world proletariat is a *warring* world party. This is quite undeniable. We quite admit that from the standpoint of international civil war one can seek to prove, and indeed prove, the inexpediency of this or that form of civil war at this or that moment. A criticism of the various forms (not the content) of international civil war from the standpoint of *military expediency* we consider to be quite correct, and we absolutely agree that the decisive voice on such a question belongs to the world Bolshevik practitioners of each and every region of the world, that in each country the Bolshevik Party ultimately makes the decisions on such a question as to how (as a rule, how, and not whether) the international decisions (- which must take into account the necessary margins of the national framework more openly or more narrowly, according to the world situation and local conditions -) are to be implemented *militarily most expediently in their country*.

If we educate the world proletariat to its highest form of struggle, to armed international civil war, then we Marxist-Leninists do not for this reason by any means disdain the peaceful means of struggle - they serve its daily interests, the interests of everyday life, the defence of its situation in life, they serve to prepare the world socialist revolution, - however, we Marxist-Leninists will never forget that under certain conditions the international class struggle inevitably takes the form of armed struggle, the form of civil war, where the international class enemy must be ruthlessly annihilated on the international battlefield. The international civil war will come, in the face of which the entire international counter-revolutionary forces of world imperialism will prove too weak and in which the world socialist proletariat will win the full victory.

What is the civil war *not* ?

"Social-Democracy has never indulged in playing military conspiracies, it has never put military questions in the foreground as long as the conditions of a civil war which had begun were not given. Now, however, all Social-Democrats are putting military questions, if not in the first place, at least in one of the first places, they are putting the study of these questions and the acquaintance of the masses with them on the agenda. The revolutionary army must make practical use of military knowledge and military means so that the whole further destiny of the Russian people, so that the first, the most urgent question, the question of freedom, may be decided" (Lenin, Vol. 8, page 568, German edition).

"In the name of the principles of Marxism, however, we absolutely demand that one should not shirk an analysis of the conditions of the civil war with worn-out and template phrases of anarchism, Blanquism and terrorism, that one should not use senseless methods in partisan actions, such as were used by this or that organisation of the PPS [terrorist forms of struggle in the period of the Russian Revolution of 1905-author's note] at this or that moment, should not be made a deterrent against the participation of social democrats in partisan warfare in general" (ibid., page 210, German edition). For us Marxist-Leninists today, this means that we must not therefore, in principle, stay out of actions with the character of partisan warfare and take the passive role of outside observer just because meaningless forms of actions by various non-Marxist-Leninist organisations are being applied. If the concrete analysis reveals really existing conditions for imperative actions, then we must not shirk these actions, but, taking into account the given subjective factors (- especially the situation and attitude of the insurgent masses -), conscientiously choose the appropriate forms of their implementation and consistently put them into practice. This is especially true for supporting revolutionaries fighting in countries where national liberation struggles are taking place today, where, for example, there are still no or very few Marxist-Leninist forces. Through the Marxist-Leninist influence, it is necessary to give consciousness, organisation and clear aim to the actions of the spontaneous movement, always starting - as said - from strictly defined ideological and organisational conditions. If these actions offer possibilities to build a proletarian revolutionary party or thereby to strengthen and consolidate its construction, then the actions in a civil war or in a national liberation struggle must also be exploited systematically and according to plan for this purpose. Only the world proletariat can create the nucleus of a powerful revolutionary world army, powerful both by its internationalist ideals and by its world revolutionary discipline, both by its international organisation and by its world heroism in struggle, all qualities which no army in the world is able to withstand.

"And the proletariat, led by the Social Democracy, has already begun the formation of this revolutionary army everywhere. Its ranks must be joined by all who do not want to belong to the army of the Black Hundreds. The civil war knows no neutrals [underlined by the author]. Those who stay away from it support the triumphant Black Hundreds by their passivity. The army, too, disintegrates into a red and a black army" [underlined by the author], (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 467, German edition). And so and no differently will it be *on a world scale*.

"However contemptuously you turn up your noses, gentlemen, at night raids and similar purely military matters; however much you sneer at the 'plan' to appoint secretaries on duty of the organisation or members of the organisation par excellence in the event of extraordinary hostilities - life takes its right, the revolution teaches its lessons, pulls up the most ossified pedants and shakes them awake. Military questions must be studied in every detail at the time of civil war, and the interest of the workers in these questions is a fully legitimate and healthy phenomenon. Command staffs (or serving members of the organisations) must be designated. Division of patrols, quartering of detachments - all these are purely military functions, all these are preliminary operations of the *revolutionary army*, all these are the organisation of the *armed insurrection*, the organisation of the *revolutionary power* which matures and strengthens in these small preparations, in these light skirmishes, which here tests its forces, learns to fight and prepares for victory - a victory which comes the nearer, becomes the more probable, the more the general political crisis deepens, the more the ferment, discontent and vacillation in the ranks of the tsarist army increase" (Lenin, Vol. 9, pp. 197-198, German edition).

The forms of struggle in the various countries differ, sometimes considerably, in the different epochs.

The civil war and how it differs from other wars

"Civil war is more serious and more cruel than any other war" (Lenin, Vol. 29, page 359, German edition). In history, inter-state wars, wars between rulers, such as the wars between the imperialist great powers and blocs, always ended with compromises between the owning classes, whereas civil war takes no prisoners but destroys, the oppressed class directs its efforts to destroy the oppressing class completely, to destroy the economic conditions of existence of these classes (Lenin, *ibid*).

"Civil war differs in its nature from other wars in that the forms of struggle are much more varied, the number and composition of the combatants on both sides can hardly be calculated and fluctuate greatly, the attempts to make peace or even a truce do not proceed from the combatants and become interwoven with the fighting in the most peculiar manner. Temporary pauses in the fighting especially spur the "enterprise of the `peacemakers'" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 459, German edition).

"Civil war differs from ordinary war in its immeasurably greater complexity, in the indeterminacy and indeterminability of those taking part in the struggle - as a result of the passing from one camp to the other (...) and as a result of the impossibility of drawing a line between `combatants' and `non-combatants' , i.e., between those who belong to the combatants and those who do not. If the government `strikes', if the police, without stirring, lie `in wait', the war will still not be stopped, precisely because it is a civil war, because there are among the people themselves interested defenders of the old power and defenders of freedom" (Lenin, Vol. 10, pp. 392-393, German edition). Lenin demanded of revolutionaries a conscious, serious attitude to the forms of struggle of civil war, "Whoever wants to learn from the revolution must take full account of the fact that these forms of struggle are inevitable, must think about the tasks imposed on us by these forms of struggle" (Lenin, *ibid*, page 393, German edition). And we add categorically... must think about the *international* tasks that *globalised civil war* will impose on us.

And Lenin further stated in 1906:

"The forms of struggle of the Russian revolution differ from those of the bourgeois revolutions of Europe by their enormous diversity. Kautsky predicted this in part when he spoke in 1902 of the coming revolution (he added perhaps with the exception of Russia) being not so much a struggle of the people against the government as a struggle of one section of the people against the other. In Russia we undoubtedly see a wider unfolding of this second struggle than in the bourgeois revolutions of the West. There are few enemies of our revolution among the people, but they are becoming more and more organised as the struggle intensifies, and they are receiving the support of the reactionary strata of the bourgeoisie. It is therefore quite natural and inevitable that in such an epoch, in the epoch of political strikes embracing the whole people, the insurrection cannot take the old form of individual actions [Internationalised insurrections and civil wars which may break out in the future on a world scale need not necessarily take the old form of insurrections and civil wars in a narrow national framework - author's note], confined to a very short period of time and to a very small area. It is quite natural and inevitable that the insurrection should assume the higher and more complicated forms of a protracted civil war involving the whole country, i.e., the armed struggle of one section of the people against the other. Such a war can only be imagined as a series of a few major battles separated by relatively long intervals of time, and a multitude of smaller skirmishes in the course of these intervening periods. If this is so - and undoubtedly it is - then social democracy must necessarily see its task in creating organisations which are capable to the greatest possible extent of leading the masses both in these great battles and, if possible, in these smaller skirmishes [on the international level, the Communist International - author's note]. Social Democracy, in an epoch in which the class struggle has intensified into civil war [eventually the Communist International in a future probable international civil war - author's note], must set itself the task not only of participating in this civil war but also of playing the leading role in it. Social democracy must educate and prepare its organisations to really act as a belligerent, leaving no opportunity unused to weaken the forces of the enemy. This is unquestionably a difficult task [and even more so on the international level - author's note]. It cannot be solved in one fell swoop. How the whole people will be re-educated in the course of the civil war in the course of the struggle and will be re-formed on the basis of the whole experience in such a way that they will be able to do justice to this task. We have not the slightest pretension to impose any elaborate form of struggle on comrades engaged in practical work, or even to decide from behind a desk the question as to what role one or other form of guerrilla warfare should play in the overall course of the civil war in Russia. Far be it from us to see in the concrete evaluation of one or another partisan action the question of a direction in social democracy. But we see our task as contributing, as far as our forces allow, to a correct theoretical judgement of the new forms of struggle which life is producing; we see our task as ruthlessly combating the templates and prejudices which prevent conscious workers from posing this new and difficult question in the right way and from

approaching its solution correctly" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 213, German edition)". Here, of course, one must also historically reassess the forms of struggle once recommended by the Comintern to the affiliated Communist Parties for their struggles in their countries, in order to learn from the experiences and mistakes made for our future international class struggle.

The civil war is a democratically organised and waged war of the oppressed masses

Lenin emphasised that the civil war against the bourgeoisie is a *democratically* organised and waged war of the masses of the dispossessed against the minority of the dispossessed. "First shoot, gentlemen bourgeois!" wrote Engels in 1891 when he advocated (and quite rightly) that we revolutionaries exploit bourgeois legality in the epoch of so-called peaceful constitutional development. Engels' thought was perfectly clear: we, the class-conscious workers, will shoot afterwards; for us it is now more advantageous to exploit for the transition from the ballot to 'shooting' (i.e., to civil war) the moment when the bourgeoisie itself violates the legal basis it has created" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 87, German edition).

Lenin thereby turned against those elements who used the democratic struggle as an argument AGAINST the civil war, who wanted to replace the civil war with the democratic struggle in the sense of legalism. All revolutionary actions are not only permissible, but legitimate. They are more than legitimate, they are imperative duty of the revolutionary world proletariat. For this, and only for this, all democratic means must be used and exhausted.

The civil war is not a one-off act, not a single battle on one front, but the expression of the sharpest class struggles over an entire epoch, ending with the expropriation of the world bourgeoisie. Similarly, the struggle for democracy is not a one-off act. It ends with the withering away of the socialist state, when victorious socialism will give way to complete communism worldwide.

"It would be a great mistake to believe that the struggle for democracy would be able to divert the proletariat from the socialist revolution, or even to push this revolution into the background, to cloak it and the like.... On the contrary, just as victorious socialism which does not realise complete democracy is impossible, so the proletariat which does not lead the revolutionary struggle for democracy, consistent in every respect, cannot prepare itself for victory over the bourgeoisie" (Lenin, Vol. 22, page 145, German edition).

"Political transformations in a truly democratic direction, and a fortiori political revolutions, can in no way and never, under any circumstances, obscure or weaken the slogan of the socialist revolution. On the contrary, they always bring it closer, broaden its base, draw new layers of the petty bourgeoisie and the semi-proletarian masses into the socialist struggle. On the other hand, however, political revolutions are inevitable in the course of the socialist revolution, which must not be regarded as a single act, but as an epoch of stormy political and economic convulsions, of the sharpest class struggle, of civil war, of revolutions and counter-revolutions" (Lenin, Vol. 21, pp. 342-343, German edition).

Thus, the socialist WORLD revolution must also be considered not as a single act, but as a world epoch of stormy political and economic convulsions, of the sharpest international class struggle, of international civil war, of international revolutions and counter-revolutions - a world revolutionary process, whereby the significance of the socialist world revolution (dialectically considered) as a "qualitative leap" in the struggle of the opposites between the world proletariat and the world bourgeoisie must not be forgotten. The solution of the question of the democratically organised and conducted civil war of the oppressed masses today means the solution of the question of the proletarian world revolution.

The proletariat cannot win in any other way than through democracy. We must lead the struggle for democracy from the internationalist standpoint, that is, not only the democratic struggle in each individual country, but linked to it the struggle for world democracy, which can only be realised through world socialism. We must link the world revolutionary struggle against world capitalism with the world revolutionary programme and with the world revolutionary tactics in relation to all the demands of world democracy. The demand for the expropriation of the world capitalists, the defeat of the world bourgeoisie in order to realise all democratic demands in all countries of the world is at the centre. Some of these demands will be fulfilled before, others during the defeat and most of them only afterwards. It is clear that for this purpose one cannot renounce the given possibilities of exploiting the *international* "democratic" institutions existing in capitalism today. Lenin teaches:

"Marxism teaches: the 'struggle against opportunism' in the form of renouncing the exploitation of the democratic institutions created by the bourgeoisie and made a distortion by the bourgeoisie in the given, capitalist society, is tantamount to *complete capitulation* to opportunism! The slogan which shows both the quickest way out of the imperialist war and the *connection* of our struggle against it with the struggle against opportunism is the *civil war for socialism*. Only this slogan correctly takes into account both the peculiarities of wartime - the war is dragging on and threatens to become a whole 'war epoch'! - as well as the whole character of our activity as a counterweight against opportunism with its pacifism, its legalism, its adaptation to the 'own' bourgeoisie. But moreover, the civil war against the bourgeoisie is the democratically organised and waged war of the masses of the dispossessed against the minority of the dispossessed. Civil war is also war, consequently it too must inevitably substitute violence for law. But violence in the name of the interests and rights of the majority of the population is distinguished by a different character: it tramples on the 'rights' of the exploiters, the bourgeoisie, and cannot be realised without a democratic organisation of the troops and the 'hinterland'. The civil war expropriates by force immediately and in the first place the banks, the factories, the railways, the great agricultural estates, etc. But precisely for this reason, in order to expropriate all this, it is necessary to introduce both the election of all officials by the people and the election of officers by the people, it is necessary to introduce the complete fusion of the army, which is waging the war against the bourgeoisie, with the mass of the population, as well as complete democracy in the disposal of food supplies, their production and distribution, etc. The aim of the civil war is the seizure of the banks, the factories and enterprises, etc., the elimination of any possibility of resistance by the bourgeoisie, the destruction of its troops. But this objective cannot be achieved either from the purely military or from the economic, or even from the political side, without the simultaneous introduction and spread of democracy in our troops and in our 'hinterland', which will come to fruition in the course of such a war. We say to the masses today (and the masses instinctively feel that we are right when we say this to them): 'You are being deceived, because you are being led to war for the sake of imperialist capitalism and dressing it up with the great slogans of democracy'. You must and you will wage a real democratic war against the bourgeoisie with the aim of realising democracy and socialism'. The present war unites and 'fuses' the peoples into coalitions through violence and financial dependence. In our civil war against the bourgeoisie, we will unite and fuse the peoples not by the force of the ruble, not by the force of the beating, not by coercion, but by the voluntary consent, by the solidarity of the labourers against the exploiters. The proclamation of the equal rights of all nations has become a fraud for the bourgeoisie; for us it will be truth, a truth that will facilitate and accelerate the winning of all nations to our cause. Without the democratic organisation of relations between nations in practice-and consequently without the freedom of state secession-the civil war of the workers and labourers of all nations against the bourgeoisie is *impossible*."

(Lenin, Vol. 23, pp. 15-16, German edition).

"It is conceivable that the workers of a given country will crush the bourgeoisie before they fully realise even a single democratic transformation. But it is quite inconceivable that the proletariat, as a historical class, could defeat the bourgeoisie if it is not prepared for this by education in the spirit of the most consistent and revolutionarily decisive democratism" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 416, German edition).

Today, by the democratically led civil war we understand the anti-fascist led civil war. Without fascism without militarisation on the internal front, no imperialist predatory war can be waged victoriously on the external front. The internal state of siege imposed by the fascist bourgeoisie, the suspension of democratic rights, the military censorship generates the will to resist from below, which finds its highest expression in the armed resistance movements. However, the democratically led civil war is not identical with the legal forms of the anti-fascist struggle, but in its essence, the democratically led civil war grows out of the illegal organisation of the mass struggle. The civil war of today therefore has the character of an anti-fascist civil war, is the armed struggle against fascism on the internal front. The anti-fascist civil war is a class war for socialism. And not only in its form in the national framework, but in its essence on an international scale. Today's anti-fascist civil war is therefore in essence an international civil war, is part of the world socialist revolution, is the democratically led and organised world war of the oppressed and exploited masses of the whole world for the overthrow of world capitalism.

Lenin directed himself against efforts of the bourgeoisie to transform the proletarian struggle in the civil war into an *all-national* revolution, to cover up the class antagonisms and with the *all-national* class pacification to subordinate the proletariat to bourgeois democracy, to make it a useful appendage for itself (i.e.: to isolate the proletariat as a class politically!):

"The transformation of the illegal revolutionary struggle into the all-national bourgeois revolution is pure nonsense. The real meaning of this consideration, however, lies in the endeavour to replace the standpoint of the proletariat with the standpoint of bourgeois democracy (...) To extend the concept of civil war excessively is advantageous only to those who ignore the special tasks of the workers' party in the period of real civil war" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 244, German edition).

Civil war is revolution during war

Civil wars are imperialist wars transformed

**Slogan: "Civil wars against the whole `civilised` world of the bourgeoisie instead
of `castle peace` with it !"**

"The transformation of imperialist war into civil war can no more be `made` than revolutions can be `made` - it grows out of a whole series of manifold manifestations, sides, features, characteristics and consequences of *imperialist* war. And such growth is *impossible* without a series of military failures and defeats of the very governments to which their own oppressed classes are dealing blows" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 276, German edition).

We had already stressed that Lenin considered the question of defence of the fatherland as a cardinal question during the imperialist war. He did so also in view of the transformation of the imperialist war into the civil war:

"The proletariat is opposed to the defence of the fatherland in this imperialist war, in view of its predatory, slave-owning, reactionary character, in view of the possibility and necessity of opposing it (and seeking its transformation into) *civil war for socialism*" (Lenin, Vol. 22, page 319, German edition).

The oppressed classes within the "civilised" world must together strike blows at the whole "civilised" world, must strike blows at the "civilised" wars, must build up an internal class war front in a centralised way in order to facilitate and accelerate the international civil war within the "civilised world". World war means world civil war, world civil war means world revolution.

"The first steps towards the transformation of the present imperialist war into civil war are:

- 1. unconditional rejection of the war credits and resignation from the bourgeois cabinets;**
- 2. complete break with the policy of 'national peace' (bloc national, truce);**
- 3. formation of illegal organisations wherever the government and the bourgeoisie suspend constitutional liberties by imposing a state of siege;**
- 4. support for the fraternisation of the soldiers of the belligerent nations in the trenches and on the battlefields in general;**
- 5. support for all mass revolutionary actions of the proletariat in general"**
(Lenin, Vol. 21, page 150, German edition).

"The extreme misery of the masses caused by the war must inevitably generate revolutionary moods and movements, which the slogan of civil war should serve to generalise and direct.

"Revolution during war is civil war, but the transformation of the government's war into civil war is facilitated, on the one hand, by military failures (by the 'defeat') of the governments; on the other hand, it is factually *impossible* to strive for such a transformation without thereby contributing to the defeat.

The chauvinists (...) cross themselves before the 'slogan' of defeat precisely because this slogan alone means the consistent call to revolutionary action against their own government during the war. Without such actions, however, millions of highly rrrrevolutionary phrases about the war against the 'war and conditions, etc.' are not worth a red cent.

Whoever seriously wanted to refute the 'solution' defeat of their own government in the imperialist war would have to prove one of three things: either

- 1. that the 1914/1915 war was not reactionary; or**
- 2. that revolution is impossible in the context of war; or**
- 3. that mutual agreement and co-operation of the revolutionary movement in all the belligerent countries is impossible." (Lenin, Vol. 21, pp. 274-275, German edition).**

Anyone today who wanted to seriously refute the slogan of the defeat of the entire "civilised" world, the slogan of the defeat of all the great imperialist powers, would have to prove one of three things:

either

- 1. that the predatory wars of the imperialists are not reactionary; or**
- 2. that world socialist revolution is impossible in the context of the imperialist predatory wars: or**
- 3. that the agreement, cooperation and centrally organised action of the world revolutionary movement against the imperialist predatory wars is impossible.**

Agreements on international revolutionary actions against imperialist wars, against the belligerent governments and also against those governments that condone or tolerate predatory wars, only work by means of the EXAMPLE of serious revolutionary international actions, their practical initiation, expansion and further development. But such an attack is again impossible without participation in the defeat of the entire "civilised" world. It is our task as Marxist-Leninists to arouse hatred against the world imperialists as a whole and to propagate the international tactics of revolutionary armed struggle and actually contribute to this armed struggle. This is a difficult task, but a task worthy of the world proletariat, the only communist task.

The opponents of the slogan of defeat of the imperialist world are simply afraid of themselves if they do not want to face openly the sunny fact that there is an inseparable connection between revolutionary agitation and propaganda against all imperialist governments and participation in their defeat through revolutionary international action. "To reject the slogan of defeat is to make one's revolutionism an empty phrase or mere hypocrisy" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 276, German edition).

Agreement and cooperation of the revolutionary movements in the oppressed countries with the socialist movements in the oppressing countries is not only possible but also necessary to bring about the defeat of world imperialism. Every internationalist today must fight in an organised way for the anti-imperialist united front of the whole world revolutionary movement against the whole world imperialism, including all its governments. Today, in every reactionary war, the world proletariat cannot but not only wish all reactionary, warring governments of the whole world their common defeat, but also participate in it practically. To avoid any misunderstandings: The world proletariat is not fighting for the defeat of the "stronger" against the "weaker" imperialist states, not for the defeat of one imperialist alliance over another, but against the truce with the bourgeoisie in all imperialist states *without exception*, against the (world's) castle peace with the imperialist world, both in its totality and against the truce with each and every one of its links. There is no other way to approach the socialist revolution.

"If one strikes a blow at one's own government in time of war, this is high treason (...), this is collaboration in the defeat of one's own country. Those who advocate the slogan 'neither victories nor defeats' can only hypocritically advocate the class struggle, the 'breaking of the truce', they practically renounce an independent proletarian policy and subordinate the proletariat of all belligerent countries to the thoroughly bourgeois task of protecting the imperialist governments concerned from defeat. The only policy which in fact, not in words, means the breaking of the 'castle peace' and the recognition of the class struggle, is for the proletariat to take advantage of the difficulties of its own government and its own bourgeoisie in order to overthrow them. But this cannot be achieved, indeed this cannot be aspired to, without desiring the defeat of one's own government, without collaborating in that defeat" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 277, German edition).

International revolutionary action is high treason against the whole "civilised" world (see: *"Whoever is not with us is against us" - Bush*), just as fraternisation in the trenches, fraternisation between the proletarians in the oppressing and the oppressed countries is high treason in the eyes of the world imperialists. From the point of view of world imperialism, international civil war is high treason; for the world proletariat, world civil peace is high treason, because civil war violently overturns the existing imperialist world order, while this order itself is interested in pacifying the classes in order to maintain or restore the old condition.

"The proletarian cannot strike a blow at his government in the interests of his own class, or (indeed) hold out his hand to his brother, the proletarian of the 'foreign' country at war with 'us', without committing 'high treason', without collaborating in the defeat, without contributing to the disintegration of the 'own' imperialist 'great' power. Whoever advocates the slogan 'neither victories nor defeats' is a conscious or unconscious chauvinist, he is at best a conciliatory petty-bourgeois, but in any case an enemy of proletarian politics, a supporter of the present governments, of the present ruling classes" (Lenin, Vol. 21, pp. 277-278, German edition).

Lenin has repeatedly stressed that civil war against one's own bourgeoisie is the touchstone in the struggle against social-chauvinism. To be in favour of such a civil war in one's own country, however, does not in itself make one an internationalist, for Lenin speaks expressly of civil war against the bourgeoisie of both "one's own" and "foreign" countries. To separate the two from each other is precisely to forget that the world proletariat is to be hoodwinked by the fact that some opportunists turn their backs on the world socialist revolution by retreating to the barricade of the class struggle in their own country (and invoke "internationalism", Lenin, in the revisionist transformation of the national form of the class struggle into a national content!), and the other opportunists thump their chests as "internationalists" (and in doing so also refer to Lenin!), but want to know nothing of the national forms of the world revolution, of the revolution in one country as the lever and the basis of the world revolution , of the socialist revolution in the individual country as the *precondition* for the unfolding of the socialist world revolution.

Both directions of opportunism are based on internationalism, only that the common essence of their internationalism is to globalise opportunism in one way and in another - precisely global opportunist internationalism against global proletarian internationalism.

Lenin always conceived of civil war as *civil war against the bourgeoisie of ALL countries*, as the world revolutionary road to the achievement of the political power of the proletariat, to the achievement of the victory of socialism.

Lenin explained why the world bourgeoisie tries to divert attention from the imperialist plunder, atrocities and endless war atrocities, why it poses as "liberators of peoples from exploitation and subjugation, from dictators and terrorists, etc. etc.":

"...to hoodwink the proletariat and divert its attention from the only real war of liberation , namely, the civil war against the bourgeoisie of both the `own` country and [underlined by the author] the `foreign` countries" (Lenin, Vol. 21, pp. 14-15, German edition).

The bourgeoisie appears not only as the national defender of capitalism, but also as the defender of world capitalism. That is why the civil war will not allow itself to be put into a nationally limited straitjacket. The age of the global war of robbery is the age of the global civil war, which very concretely appears in one way or another in each individual country, has special features, has a certain character, but is precisely a movement that flows to the entire global civil war movement, nourishes it and makes it swell.

So, if we look at things on an international scale, here too we have to unmask the world bourgeois tactics of class pacification when it comes to the world bourgeoisie's neck in the international civil war. The more the world proletariat approaches the fulfilment of its historical mission and frees itself from the fetters of world fascism with its world socialist revolution, the more world social-democratism, world revisionism will try to re-establish the subordination of the proletariat to bourgeois democracy, to bourgeois socialism, and project it on an international level. This had already worked so well against Hitler's fascism with the VII World Congress: sacrifice Hitler to save world imperialism. So, the world bourgeoisie will try on an international level to seize the leadership of the united front against world imperial fascism, to outmanoeuvre the world proletariat and to take it in tow - not in order to eliminate world imperialism, but to preserve it. Only the imperial-fascist "excesses are to be contained and tamed" (world front against world fascism, formation of a constitutional world assembly for the creation of a world parliament, bourgeois world democracy and whatever other nice things there are to bless the peoples with bourgeois democratism etc. etc., in other words: to save world bourgeoisie and its world order. Only when world liberalism, world social-democratism, world revisionism is forced to turn away by the world proletariat, can the world proletariat successfully carry through its independent world revolutionary policy. In world socialism, the world proletariat will *never share* its power with anyone, that is a principle of the proletarian world dictatorship. This is already no longer a dream of the future. If we analyse the concrete world situation today, in the world crisis the class antagonisms have extended beyond the national borders, beyond the continents, the classes and their parties appear more and more openly on the international battlefield of class wars. The hatred of the peoples will increase against the puppet organisation UNO, against the world imperialist governments, the international civil war will be inevitably *provoked* by world imperialism, by the world reaction, the struggle will be concentrated between proletarian, socialist world revolution and international imperialist counterrevolution.

"A government which does not enjoy the confidence of the country and against which the hatred of the masses is directed (can) be nothing but a government of provoking 'civil war'" (Stalin, Vol. 3, page 303, German edition). This is also true *on a world scale*.

In the history of class struggle, it has usually been the ruling classes that have opened civil war against the revolting oppressed classes. On the other hand, the opening of the civil war by the oppressed classes has often been neglected because of scruples of conscience, hesitation, impotence, ignorance, lack of material means, etc. About the Paris Communards, therefore, Karl Marx wrote in a letter to Kugelmann:

"If they are defeated, nothing is to blame but their 'good nature'. It was necessary to march immediately to Versailles, after first Vinoy, then the reactionary part of the Paris National Guard itself had cleared the field. The right moment was missed out of scruples of conscience. One did not want to open the civil war, as if the mischievous avorton (the malignant freak) Thiers had not already opened the civil war with his attempt to disarm Paris!" (quoted in Stalin, Works, Vol. 1, page 317, German edition). The experience gained by the Paris proletariat in the civil war has been excellently generalised by Karl Marx and teaches the world proletariat to set concretely the tasks of the international civil war. The world proletariat will make use of the lessons, of the methods of struggle of all previous civil wars and lead its own armed international civil war to victory. Those who reject international armed civil war wrongly call themselves proletarian world revolutionaries, have learned from the Paris Commune, not from the October Revolution and the December Revolution of 1905. Lenin commented on this in his polemic against Struve on the question of civil war in 1905. This Mr. Struve asserted: *"In civil war the aggressor will always be in the wrong"* and Lenin replied to this: "We do not, of course, mean to say that in civil war it is always advantageous to attack; no, sometimes defensive tactics are called for for a certain time. But to put forward such a thesis in application to the Russia of 1905, as Mr. Struve has done, is precisely to come up with a piece of 'radical template' ('the bourgeoisie gets scared and sells out the cause of freedom'). Whoever now does not want to attack autocracy, reaction, whoever does not prepare for this attack, whoever does not propagate it, wrongly calls himself a supporter of the revolution" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 56, German edition).

The peculiarity of the *Russian civil war* was that the military operations hardly played a role as Lenin expressed, because the old regime was no longer capable of continuing the war and the masses had gone through a hard time of war and they had turned away from their enemies and the traitors in disappointment long before and had already built up their own organisations of Soviets :

"The civil war began, and in this civil war the forces of the enemies of Soviet power, the forces of the enemies of the labouring and exploited masses, proved to be quite negligible; the civil war was a single triumph of Soviet power, because its enemies, the exploiters, the landlords and the bourgeoisie, had not a single support, neither political nor economic, and their assault failed. The struggle against them consisted not so much in military operations as in agitation [by this Lenin meant in particular the Bolsheviks' successful persuasion of the numerous delegations which came to Petrograd from the front, and which then all went over to the side of the Bolsheviks - author's note]; (...) the period in which the Russian revolution developed (...) was historically possible only because the greatest robber giants of world imperialism were temporarily paralysed in their offensive movement against the Soviet power; a revolution which in a few days had overthrown the monarchy, in a few months had exhausted all attempts at pacting with the bourgeoisie, and in a few weeks had defeated in civil war all resistance on the part of the bourgeoisie - such a revolution, the revolution of a socialist republic, could hold its own between the imperialist powers, surrounded by international brigands, alongside the beasts of international imperialism only so far as the bourgeoisie, waging a life-and-death struggle against each other, was paralysed in its advance against Russia. (...) For the European revolution the beginning will be immeasurably more difficult. (...) It will be considerably easier for it to come to the second and third stages of its revolution" (Lenin, Vol. 27, pp. 164-165, German edition). And these were the stages which, conversely, were immensely difficult in Russia, entailing great defeats, sacrifices and retreats. The Russian Revolution made a turn from rapid victories to a period of heavy defeats.

Regarding the civil war, Marx and Engels wrote in their *Communist Manifesto*:

"Drawing the most general phases of the development of the proletariat, we traced the more or less hidden civil war within existing society to the point where it breaks out into open revolution and by the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie the proletariat establishes its rule."

Civil war is a phenomenon that occurs lawfully in every epoch of class society, either with the intention of the ruling classes to pre-empt the threatening outbreak of revolution, or with the intermediate result that the exploiting class asserts itself or reclaims its power, or - in the course of this process - the exploiting class is finally destroyed once and for all to be replaced by a new one, whereby in each case an old epoch of class society ends and a new one begins. If in a civil war the bourgeoisie is defeated by the proletariat, then there can be civil wars again if the internal and external bourgeois forces succeed in regaining power. Then the proletariat will be involved in a next civil war when it recaptures power. "To check the real power of a capitalist state there is no other means and there can be no other means than war (...) Under capitalism there are no other means of restoring the disturbed equilibrium from time to time than crises in industry and wars in politics" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 344, German edition). In contrast, to test the power of a socialist state, there is no other means and there can be no other means than civil war and socialist war against imperialist-social imperialist encirclement or intervention. Under socialism, there is no other means to shake and eventually collapse the capitalist equilibrium than crisis-proof socialist industry and socialist war to imperialist war or transformation of imperialist war into (international) civil war in politics.

The last civil war in world history will be an *international civil war*, which is now being waged between the world bourgeoisie and the world proletariat, and which will finally end with the victory of the proletarian world revolution, with which that socialist world order will be created, through which class society will be abolished and thus the cause and inevitability of civil wars, both in the national and in the international framework, will be fundamentally, i.e. forever, eliminated. Only the international proletarian civil war is that single civil war which historically abolishes all civil war on the globe.

The civil war between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is a lawful stage of the proletarian revolution, an inevitable, bloody and sacrificial process on the road to socialism. The most acute form of all previous class struggles in the world history of mankind will be the international civil war, which has already begun.

We Marxist-Leninists thus deduce from Lenin that the international civil war is the sharpest form of every other civil war, that even the national civil wars have more or less their international significance, that the clashes, economic, political and armed, become internationalised, that they repeat themselves, that they expand, multiply and finally unite on a world scale, thus increasingly shedding their national cover and finally transforming themselves into the international civil war and ending with the armed struggle between the world bourgeoisie and the world proletariat, with the socialist, proletarian world revolution. "The process of development of the international civil war is the lawful product of the class struggle under capitalism and a lawful stage towards the victory of the international proletarian revolution" (Lenin, Vol. 29, pp. 113-114, German edition).

When revolutionary war becomes a revolution on a world scale, it inevitably provokes resistance on exactly the same world scale. And conversely, the globalisation of the war of international counter-revolution generates the resistance of the oppressed and exploited peoples, the resistance of the world proletariat, this globalisation of wars, generates the world proletarian revolution. Wars that serve the consolidation of the international class yoke produce wars that serve its liberation. "Our war is taking on a world scale because the world bourgeoisie has understood that the final battle against it has begun" (Lenin, Vol. 29, p. 332, German edition). If one is aware of this, one must learn as a revolutionary in theory and practice to prepare, organise, carry out, lead, secure etc. etc. our war correctly. This is what we are about, clarity and unity must be created on this, everything else is meaningless chatter.

"During a civil war, any victorious power can only be a dictatorship. But the thing is that there is a dictatorship of the minority over the majority, of a handful of policemen over the people, and that there is a dictatorship of the gigantic majority of the people over a handful of violent criminals, robbers and usurpers of the people's power" (Lenin, Vol. 31, page 339, German edition).

The exploiting classes overthrown by the October Revolution organised the armed struggle against the Soviet power with the help of the foreign imperialists. The civil war represented the sharpest form of the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and the landlords. The military annihilation of the forces of internal counterrevolution and the foreign imperialist interveners sealed the world-historical victory of the proletariat in its class struggle against capitalism. But military annihilation only leads to victory because, *above all, the masses* can recognise and compare from their own experience that the new state power of the proletariat is a thousand times better for them than the old state power of the bourgeoisie and that they therefore consciously take the side of the working class in order to defend its state power from the grasp of the counterrevolution. "The most important political questions (...), when they are acute and have been further aggravated by the struggle, will be decided by *civil war*" (Lenin, Vol. 30, page 257, German edition).

Lenin said that "our (...) civil war not only fully confirmed (the phenomenon long known in history) that the character of a war and its success depend primarily on the internal order of the country entering the war, that a war is the reflection of the internal policy which that country pursued before the war. All this inevitably affects the conduct of the war. The question of which class waged the war and continues to do so is an extremely important one. Only because our civil war is being waged by workers and peasants who have liberated themselves, and because it is a continuation of the political struggle for the liberation of the working people from the capitalists of their country and of the whole world, only because of this, in a country as backward and exhausted by four years of imperialist war as Russia, have strong-willed people been found to carry on this war through two unprecedented, unspeakably difficult and arduous years" (Lenin, Vol. 30, page 137, German edition). "The state of siege costs money, but the financial position of the autocracy is already desperate. The state of siege leads to a strengthening of agitation among the soldiers and habituates the population to fear of the very `most terrible` forms of reprisals" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 173, German edition).

"Never in history has there been, nor can there be in class society, a civil war of the exploited masses against the exploiting minority *in which a section of the exploited did not follow the exploiters* and march together with them against their *brothers*" (Lenin, Vol. 29, page 536, German edition). The difference is only that some do not recognise this betrayal while others not only consciously commit this betrayal but also demagogically divide the exploited in their liberation struggle and incite them against each other in the service of the bourgeoisie.

"Throughout the world, the war has brought about the division of the workers' movement, the transition of the social patriots to the bourgeoisie. After Russia, this has been most vividly shown by an advanced capitalist country: Germany. And now to defend the 'ideological ties' *between reformists and revolutionaries* means to support the executioners from the ranks of the workers, such as Noske and Scheidemann, who helped the bourgeoisie to murder Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, to murder thousands of workers because they were leading the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie" (Lenin, Vol. 29, page 538, German edition).

Lenin, however, triumphed over Kautsky's "arguments". As for example in his writing, *"The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky"* (Vol. 28, page 99, German edition):

"Pearl number two. Civil war is the 'mortal enemy' of the 'social revolution', because the latter, as we have already heard, 'needs tranquillity' (for the rich?) 'and security' (for the capitalists?) (...) Well, is not this Kautsky a revolutionary as he is written in the book? He has devoted himself body and soul to the revolution ... only it must not provoke a serious struggle which threatens annihilation! He has completely 'overcome' the old mistakes of the old Engels, who enthusiastically praised the educational effect of violent revolutions. As a 'serious' historian, he has completely renounced the aberrations of those people who claimed that civil war steels the exploited and teaches them to create a new society without exploiters."

Lenin defended Liebknecht against the German social-chauvinist Kolb. Liebknecht was in favour of an "internal struggle" (civil war) among the German nation "raised to boiling point" and thus a military and political weakening of the German imperialists in World War 1 - for the benefit of the German proletarian revolution. The social-chauvinists, however, denied this and condemned this revolutionary civil war tactic as a "sectarian" tactic to the detriment of the German working class and only to the advantage of the victory of the imperialist countries at war with Germany:

"This is indeed the core of the whole question. The 'internal struggle raised to boiling point' is precisely the civil war. Kolb is right, the tactics of the left lead to it; he is right, they mean the 'military weakening' of Germany, i.e., the desire for its defeat and participation in it, means defeatism. Kolb is wrong - only! - wrong in not wanting to see the INTERNATIONAL [emphasised by the author] character of such tactics of the Left. In all belligerent countries, an 'internal struggle raised to boiling point', the 'military weakening' of the imperialist bourgeoisie and (by virtue of it, in connection with it, by means of it) *the transformation of imperialist war into civil war is possible*. This is the core of the question" (Lenin, Vol. 22, page 143, German edition).

And today? - No difference between Kolb and the neo-revisionists screaming today, falling over the Marxist-Leninists: the civil war is the "sectarian agitation", the "revolutionary phraseology" of the "Radikalinskis", the "phantasists", the "hysteries" of the social revolution, because this needs tranquillity (for the social-fascists?) and security (for the social-imperialists?) . The neo-revisionists have "devoted" themselves body and soul to the revolution ... they are in favour of the "dispute of opinions" - only this must not be conducted in a "sectarian" way, that is: it must not provoke a serious struggle threatening the destruction of revisionism ! As "serious", "solidary", "united" (with the revisionists??) "Marxist-Leninists" they have renounced those "sectarian aberrations of those people" who claim that the civil war steels the exploited and teaches them to create a new society without a revisionist system of exploitation.

Civil War in Spain 1936

(in progress)

Spanish Civil War international workers' arms for the bourgeois republic against fascism; learn from this for international arms for the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism; international brigades!!! a) against fascism, b) against colonialism, etc

International civil war

The highest upsurge of which the world is still capable today is the war "in defence of civilisation", and this is proving today to be a pure swindle of the great powers with the USA at the head, which no longer has any other purpose than to postpone the world socialist revolution, and which will pass as soon as the class struggle flares up in international civil war.

The revolutions are followed by civil wars, which today can turn into a great international civil war, into a war against all the peoples of the world. This international civil war is no less destructive than an imperialist world war and can become a stage of the world proletarian revolution, or follow its possible defeat before it finally triumphs. If we look at the present storm of hundreds of thousands of poor people, for example in Africa and Latin America, on the fortress of the rich countries of America and Europe, then the whole dimension of the international civil war can not only be guessed at, but then this is already obviously the beginning of an open international civil war between the poor and the rich on this earth, the concentration camps erected by the imperialists on the edge of their fortresses become revolutionary centres of the storm on these fortresses.

"The imperialist war could (...) not end with a just peace, not even with the simple conclusion of a halfway lasting peace by the bourgeois governments. The course of events has thoroughly cleared up this petty-bourgeois illusion of the democrats, socialists and social democrats. On the contrary, the imperialist war has been and is being inevitably transformed before our eyes into a civil war of the exploited and labouring masses with the proletariat at their head against the exploiters, against the bourgeoisie. Both the resistance of the exploiters, which grows in proportion to the increasing pressure of the proletariat and is especially strengthened by the victory of the proletariat in individual countries, and the international solidarity and international organisation of the bourgeoisie - all this inevitably leads to the interweaving of the civil war within individual countries with revolutionary wars between the proletarian and the bourgeois countries defending the rule of capital. In view of the class character of such wars, the distinction between wars of defence and wars of aggression finally loses all meaning. On the whole, this process of development of the international civil war, which is taking place before our eyes, especially rapidly since the end of 1918, is the lawful product of the class struggle in capitalism and a lawful stage towards the victory of the international proletarian revolution. That is why the CPR rejects the hopes for disarmament in capitalism as a reactionary bourgeois illusion of petty-bourgeois democrats, even if they call themselves socialists and social democrats, and confronts all such slogans, which in reality only play into the hands of the bourgeoisie, with the slogan: Arming the proletariat and disarming the bourgeoisie, the slogan of the complete and ruthless suppression of the resistance of the exploiters, the slogan of struggle to victory over the bourgeoisie of the whole world both in internal civil war and in international revolutionary wars" (Lenin, Vol. 29, pp. 113-114, German edition). If the world proletariat cannot rule today, the world bourgeoisie *already cannot*.

"It is becoming clearer and clearer that the socialist revolution which is looming over the whole world will by no means consist only in the victory of the proletariat of each country over its own bourgeoisie. This would be possible if the revolutions were easy and rapid. But we know that the imperialists will not allow this, that all countries are armed against their internal Bolshevism and are occupied only with the thought of how they can defeat Bolshevism at home. Therefore, civil war is ripening in every country, in which the old socialist pactors are to take part on the side of the bourgeoisie. Thus, the socialist revolution will not only be mainly a struggle of the revolutionary proletarians of each country against their own bourgeoisie, no, it will be a struggle of all colonies and countries oppressed by imperialism, of all dependent countries against international imperialism" (Lenin - 22.11.1919, Werke, Vol. 30, Berlin 1961, p.144, German edition).

Lenin believed that the international proletariat must create a central body to lead its (armed) struggle through a unified, common international tactic for a world-wide Soviet republic, but he warned against doctrinarianism and sectarianism in his writing *"Left Radicalism, the Infantile Disease of Communism"*:

"It must be clearly accounted for that such a leading central body can in no way be built on a template, a mechanical equation and identification of the tactical rules of struggle. As long as national and state differences exist between peoples and countries - but these differences will remain for a very, very long time even after the realisation of the dictatorship of the proletariat on a world scale - the unity of the international tactics of the communist workers' movement of all countries does not require the elimination of diversity, not the abolition of national differences (that would be a senseless fantasy at the present moment), but such an application of the fundamental principles of communism (soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat) in which these principles are correctly modified in detail and correctly adapted to the national and nation-state differences, correctly applied to them. To investigate, to study, to find out, to guess and to grasp what is nationally special, what is nationally specific in the concrete approach of each country to the solution of the unified international task, to the victory over opportunism and left doctrinarianism within the workers' movement, to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, to the establishment of the Soviet republic and the proletarian dictatorship - this is the main task of the historical moment which all advanced (and not only advanced) countries are going through at the present time" (Lenin, Vol. 31, page 79, German edition).

Revisionist civil war is a counter-revolutionary form of struggle by the socialist bourgeoisie to decompose and eliminate proletarian socialism on a national *and* international scale.

"The artificial fomentation of the class struggle, Stalin explained, leads to civil war; to ignite such a war under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat undermines socialism" (History of the PLA Volume II, page 235, German edition).

The class struggle under socialism is fiercer on no question than on the political question of the defence of state power. The socialist revolutionary overthrows, like the bourgeois revisionist counter-revolutionary overthrows , the revolutionary civil wars under capitalism, like the bourgeois revisionist counter-revolutionary civil wars under socialism, begin with the struggle for state power.

The war of national liberation

(Incorporate: Stalin Volume 6, page 122f, German edition)

Never can a people that oppresses other peoples be free." (Marx, Engels Works, Volume 18, page 527, German edition)

What is national liberation struggle?

The national liberation struggle is a liberation struggle against foreign domination of a country, is a struggle for the right of self-determination of a country. The war of national liberation today is the armed struggle for the right of self-determination of a nation oppressed by world imperialism or its alliance with other nations: "National wars against imperialist powers are not only possible and probable, they are inevitable, they are progressive and revolutionary, although their success naturally requires either the unification of the efforts of an enormous number of inhabitants of oppressed countries (hundreds of millions in the example of India and China that we have given) or a particularly favourable constellation of the international situation (e.g. the paralysis of interference by imperialist powers). e.g. the paralysis of interference by imperialist powers as a result of their weakening, war, antagonism, etc.) or the simultaneous uprising of the proletariat of one of the great powers against the bourgeoisie (this last case in our enumeration is the first from the point of view of what is desirable and advantageous for the victory of the proletariat)." (Lenin, Vol. 22, page 318, German edition).

What is the national liberation struggle not?

The so-called "*war of national liberation*" with which the imperialist war of robbery camouflages itself, justifies what it claims to be.

"Every country that has more colonies, capital and troops than `we` takes away from `us` certain privileges, a certain profit or extra profit. Just as among the individual capitalists the one who owns machines of above-average performance or has certain monopolies pockets an extra profit, so also among the countries the one which is economically better off than the others receives an extra profit. It is the business of the bourgeoisie to fight for the privileges and prerogatives of its national capital and to mislead the people or the common people (with the help of Labriola and Plekhanov) by passing off the imperialist struggle for the 'right' to plunder others as a war of national liberation" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 363, German edition).

The essence of this does not change at all when today it is more and more about the overall world imperialist interests vis-à-vis the "rest of the world". The "war on terror" in defence of the "civilised, democratic world" is nothing other than today's justification for precisely these imperialist predatory wars. The same applies to the "support" of the wars of national liberation: "liberation of nations" from the "tyranny" of an imperialist competitor, in order to bring these nations all the more easily and firmly under their own imperialist tyranny, to snatch the colonies from the old sphere of rule in order to subordinate them to a new imperialist sphere of rule (example Afghanistan). By national liberation war, we do not mean exchanging the greater evil of the foreign domination of one imperialism with the lesser evil of the foreign domination of another imperialism, but the war against *any* imperialist foreign domination. Whoever places his war of national liberation under the protective shield of any imperialist country or alliance makes himself its lackey, cannot wage a real national liberation struggle.

Lenin confronted the thousands of millions of people with the question: "Either you defend, with the gun or with the pen, directly or indirectly, in whatever form, the great power - and in general the national privileges or positions of power or claims of the `own` bourgeoisie, and that then means you are its supporters or lackeys; or you exploit every and especially the armed struggle for the great power privileges in order to expose and overthrow every government, but above all your own, by means of revolutionary actions of the proletariat in international solidarity. There is no middle way here, or in other words: the attempt to draw a middle line means in reality the disguised transition to the side of the imperialist bourgeoisie" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 366, German edition).

From turning an imperialist war into wars of national liberation against imperialism

We have already repeatedly pointed out that Marxists always analyse and judge the war of national liberation in its historical context. According to Lenin, "it is a principle of Marxist dialectics that all limits in nature and in society are conditional and mobile, that there is not a single phenomenon which could not, under certain conditions, turn into its opposite. A national war can turn into an imperialist war and vice versa" (Lenin, Vol. 22, page 314, German edition). In his writing "*On the Junius Brochure*" Lenin refutes the false thesis that under imperialism there can supposedly no longer be national wars:

"For example: the wars of the Great French Revolution began as national wars and were such. These wars were revolutionary, they served to defend the Great Revolution against a coalition of counter-revolutionary monarchies. But when Napoleon established the French Empire and subjugated a whole series of long-standing, large, viable nation-states of Europe, the French national wars became imperialist ones, which in turn now produced wars of national liberation against Napoleon's imperialism. Only a sophist could blur the distinction between an imperialist and a national war on the grounds that one can turn into the other. Dialectics has more than once - including in the history of Greek philosophy - served as a bridge to sophistry. But we remain dialecticians, we do not fight sophisms by denying the possibility of any changeover at all, but by concretely analysing the given in its milieu and its development.

That the present imperialist war, the war of 1914 to 1916 [Lenin wrote this text "*On the Junius Pamphlet*" in October 1916 - author's note], should turn into a national war is highly improbable because the class in which forward development is embodied is the proletariat, is the proletariat, which objectively strives to transform this war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie, but also because the forces of the two coalitions differ only insignificantly from each other and international finance capital has created a reactionary bourgeoisie everywhere. But one cannot declare such a transformation impossible: if the proletariat of Europe remained powerless for 20 years; if this war ended with victories in the manner of Napoleon's victories and with the enslavement of a number of viable nation-states; if non-European imperialism (Japanese and American in the first place) could also hold out for another 20 years without, for example, as a result of a Japanese-American war, turning over to socialism, then a great national war in Europe would be possible. That would be a regression of Europe by several decades. That is unlikely. But it is not impossible, because to believe that world history goes forward smoothly and evenly without sometimes making giant leaps backwards is undialectical, unscientific, theoretically incorrect.

Further. National wars of the colonies and semi-colonies are not only probable but inevitable in the epoch of imperialism. The colonies and semi-colonies (China, Turkey, people) are home to close to 1000 million people, i.e. over half of the entire population of the earth. National liberation movements are either already very strong here, or they are growing and maturing. Every war is a continuation of politics by other means. The continuation of the policy of national liberation in the colonies will inevitably be national wars of the colonies against imperialism [emphasised by the author]; such wars may or may not lead to an imperialist war of the present imperialist `great` powers - it depends on many circumstances. (...) We are dealing here with a war of national liberation [Lenin cited here the example of the Seven Years' War between France and England - author's note], in which imperialist rivalry is an added element of no serious significance.

A war of national liberation, for example, of an alliance of Persia, India and China against this or that imperialist power is quite possible and probable, since it would result from the national liberation movement of these countries, although the turning of such a war into an imperialist war would depend on a great many concrete circumstances, the occurrence of which it would be ridiculous to vouch for.

Thirdly, even in Europe, national wars must not be considered impossible in the era of imperialism. The 'era of imperialism' has made the present war an imperialist one, it will inevitably (as long as socialism does not come) produce new imperialist wars, it has made the policy of the present great powers a thoroughly imperialist one, but this 'era' by no means excludes national wars, e.g. On the part of the small (let us suppose annexed or nationally oppressed) states against the imperialist powers, just as it does not exclude national movements on a large scale in Eastern Europe. (...)

And under the condition of a strong exhaustion of the `big` powers in this war or under the condition of the victory of the revolution in Russia, national wars, even victorious ones, are quite possible. The interference of the imperialist powers is not feasible in practice in all circumstances, that on the one hand. But if, on the other hand, one judges thus 'into the blue', it must be said that a hopeless war is also a war; moreover, certain phenomena within the 'giants' , e.g., the outbreak of a revolution, can make a 'hopeless' war very 'promising' " (Lenin, Vol. 22, pp. 314ff, German edition).

" (Lenin, Vol. 22, pp. 315-316).

Colonial wars and wars of national liberation are inevitable phenomena of the lawful development of imperialism and not "merely" pathological, curable excesses of capitalism, not a question of aggressive and "less" aggressive imperialist countries. The competition among the imperialist countries does not pose itself in any other way than: *to be ruined itself or to ruin others*, to conquer a place among the great powers, to boot out other great powers or to assert itself as a great power - at the expense of the others - but above all at the expense of the oppressed countries.

"The rule of finance capital, as of capital in general, cannot be eliminated by any transformations in the field of political democracy. And the right of self-determination of nations lies wholly and exclusively in this field" (Lenin, Vol. 22, page 146, German edition). "Not a single basic democratic demand can be realised even half-comprehensively and permanently in the advanced imperialist states except through revolutionary struggles under the banner of socialism" (Lenin Vol. 22, page 171, German edition).

This does not mean, however, that Lenin therefore renounced the immediate struggle for all democratic demands for the national liberation of the oppressed nations at the time of the rule of world imperialism, but that he linked the democratic struggle for the right of self-determination with the revolutionary struggle for the right of self-determination, with the onslaught of the world proletariat, that is, with the world socialist revolution. He did not rule out that the struggle for the right of self-determination might even provide the impetus for revolutionary uprisings, that the increased pressure of the monopolies on the oppressed nations might give rise to revolutionary mass actions. The Marxist-Leninists have from the very beginning demanded the unconditional and immediate liberation of the colonies and oppressed nations, the right of self-determination of the nations. They have also exposed every hypocrisy of the opportunists:

"The `recognition` of the independence of nations can only be regarded as not hypocritical if the representative of the oppressing nation, both before the war and during it, has demanded freedom of separation for the nation oppressed by *one's own `fatherland`*" (Lenin, Vol. 22, page 168, German edition).

The war of national liberation is essentially a national question

First of all: the question of the colonies is essentially a *national* question. In his work, "Imperialism as the Highest Stage of Capitalism", Lenin has highlighted four main types of monopolies or main manifestations of monopoly capitalism which are characteristic of the epoch of imperialism. Among these Lenin included imperialist colonial policy, which he distinguished from pre-imperialist colonial policy:

"Fourthly, monopoly grew out of colonial policy. To the numerous 'old' motives of colonial policy, finance capital added the struggle for sources of raw materials, for the export of capital, for 'spheres of influence' - i.e., for spheres for profitable business, concessions, monopoly profits etc. - and finally about the economic sphere in general. When, for example, the European powers with their colonies had only occupied the tenth part of Africa, as was still the case in 1876, colonial policy could unfold in a non-monopolistic way, in the manner of a so to speak 'freebooteric' occupation of the land. But when nine-tenths of Africa was already occupied (around 1900), when the whole world was distributed, then inevitably began the era of monopolistic colonial ownership and consequently also of a particularly intensified struggle for the division and redivision of the world. (...) Monopolies, oligarchy, the pursuit of domination instead of freedom, the exploitation of an ever-increasing number of small or weak nations by a very few rich and powerful nations - all this produced those features of imperialism which cause us to characterise it as parasitic capitalism or capitalism in decay" (Lenin Vol. 22, page 305, German edition).

The question of struggle against monopolistic colonialism is a question of armed national liberation struggle of colonised and dependent peoples against imperialism: "A war against imperialist, i.e. oppressive powers on the part of the oppressed (e.g. colonial peoples) is a truly national war. (...) Self-determination of nations is the same as struggle for full national liberation, for full independence, against annexations, and this struggle - in any of its forms, including insurrection, or war - cannot be rejected by socialists without ceasing to be socialists. (...) But to stoop to rejecting a war which is really waged for the liberation of nations is to caricature Marxism in the worst way" (Lenin, Vol. 23, page 25, German edition).

The liberation struggle of nations is an integral part of the world proletarian revolution. "Without the complete and close union of the workers fighting capital in Europe and America with the hundreds and hundreds of millions of 'colonial' slaves oppressed by that capital, the revolutionary movement of the advanced countries would in truth be an outright fraud" (Lenin, Baned 31, page 260, German edition).

The people's war in the countries occupied and robbed by the world imperialists is internationalised through globalisation, deepening its importance for the victory of the world proletarian socialist revolution.

Since the absolute world domination of American imperialism, the poorest countries have been vegetating in a state of permanent decay, the country's own sources of national independence are gradually drying up. But it would be fatal not to realise that out of this precarious situation, out of all the suffering, no forces of resistance could be mobilised. On the contrary. Today, American imperialism can no longer be safe anywhere and certainly not in the poorest countries, which it openly and directly exploits and oppresses. How these countries are forced to organise their meagre existence under the most difficult conditions, how they organise their revolutionary war of liberation despite all hardship, belongs to the most poignant and instructive chapters of our contemporary history and cannot be appreciated deeply enough. If the world proletariat can learn anything for its own liberation struggle, it is from today's national liberation struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples. As far as the Near and Middle East is concerned, the movements are revolutionary when they are directed against world imperialism, but reactionary when they submit to the medieval-feudal religion of "holy war". Engels quoted Southey (in Volume 10, MEW, page 444, German edition): "The patriotic fire flared up even higher under the influence of the holy oil of superstition". This undoubtedly has its harmful repercussions on the revolutionary interests of the peoples of the Near and Middle East and the imperialists know how to exploit this for themselves to a certain extent. In the present Iraqi war, it was easier for the American troops to overthrow the central rule of the Hussein regime than to deal with the locally operating resistance fighters who are up in arms against the new puppet government of US imperialism.

The Communist International is by no means at the head of the liberation movement of the working and exploited masses in the world. It is "only" at the head of the world proletariat, the revolutionary workers' world movement. If "other elements join the world proletariat, they are elements and not classes. And they join fully only when they "leave their own standpoint" (Lenin, Vol. 6, page 36, German edition). As for the question of the self-determination of nations, Lenin has always subordinated this to the class question, i.e., always considered it from the standpoint of the class struggle of the proletariat. "It is precisely in this condition that the difference between our attitude to the national question and the bourgeois-democratic attitude consists" (Lenin, Vol. 6, page 454, German edition).

"Now, however, the extended colonial policy has led to the European proletarian being partly placed in such a position that society as a whole lives not from his labour but from the labour of the colonial natives who have been reduced almost to slaves. The English bourgeoisie, for example, derives greater profits from the millions and millions of the population of India and other colonies than from the English workers. Under such conditions there arises in certain countries the material, economic basis for infecting the proletariat of one country or another with colonial chauvinism" (Lenin, Vol. 13, page 68, German edition).

What are the aims of the revolutionary war of national liberation?

Socialist revolution in the oppressive nations promotes the victory of the wars of national liberation of the oppressed peoples.

As centralists, we do not seek with the war of national liberation the dismemberment of the world into small states, because we do not reject the advantages of the global world economy, large states, the world state for the development of world socialism, that this road to communism, where all state will be abolished, is the only correct road and not the road of federalism. The war of national liberation serves the purpose of finally resolving the contradiction between oppressing and oppressed nations in this world. To eliminate the inevitability of this antagonistic imperialist division of nations, one must eliminate world imperialism with world socialist revolution. National civil war accelerates world socialist revolution, does not replace it, serves it, is subordinate to it. Lenin teaches:

"Just as humanity can come to the abolition of classes only through the transitional period of the dictatorship of the oppressed class, so it can come to the inevitable fusion of nations only through the transitional period of complete liberation, that is, secession freedom of all oppressed nations" (Lenin, Vol. 22, page 148, German edition).

"The proletariat cannot pass quietly by the question, particularly `unpleasant` for the imperialist bourgeoisie, of the limits of the state based on national subjugation.... It cannot abstain from the struggle against the forcible restraint of the subjugated nations within the limits of the existing state, and this is precisely what it means to fight for the right of nations to self-determination" (Lenin, Vol. 22, page 149, German edition).

The question of annexations

What does Lenin understand by the term "annexation"?

"By annexation we mean merely the annexation of a country against the will of its inhabitants. In other words, the concept of annexation is intimately connected with the concept of the right of nations to self-determination" (Lenin, Vol. 22, page 178, German edition).

Lenin characterised the immanent tendency of imperialism to *annex* and nationally oppress other countries:

"Imperialism is the epoch of finance capital and the monopolies, which everywhere carry the urge for domination and not for freedom. Reaction all along the line, no matter under which political system, extreme intensification of antagonisms also in this field. In particular, national oppression and the urge for annexations, i.e. for violation of national independence (for annexation is nothing other than violation of the self-determination of nations) are also intensifying." (Lenin, Vol. 22, p. 302, German edition);[underlined by author.]

In his Theses for Ending the First Imperialist World War, Lenin states more precisely on this point under Thesis 5:

"The most important of the 'peace questions' at the present time is that of annexations. And it is precisely in this question that the 'socialist' hypocrisy prevailing today comes most clearly to light and, on the other hand, the tasks of genuinely socialist propaganda and agitation become clear.

It must be made clear what annexation actually is, why and how socialists must fight against annexations. Not every annexation of a 'foreign' territory is annexation, because in general socialists are in favour of the disappearance of borders between nations and the formation of larger states. Not every violation of the status quo is annexation. To believe so would be reactionary in the highest degree and a mockery of the basic concepts of historical science. Not every annexation of a country by force of war is annexation, for socialists cannot in principle reject the use of force and wars waged in the interests of the majority of the population. (...)

If the struggle against annexations is to be more than hypocrisy or a hollow phrase, if it is really to educate the masses in the spirit of internationalism, the question must be posed in such a way as to open the eyes of the masses so that they perceive the fraud prevailing today on the annexation question, but not in such a way as to conceal this fraud. It is not enough for a socialist, no matter what nation, to recognise in words the equality of nations when he swears and assures in high and holy terms that he is against annexations. Every socialist is rather obliged to demand immediately and unconditionally the freedom of separation of colonies and nations oppressed by his own 'fatherland'. In the absence of this condition, even in the Zimmerwald Manifesto the recognition of the right of nations to self-determination and of the principles of internationalism remains at best a dead letter" (Lenin, Vol. 22, page 179, German edition).

"If we refuse to support an insurrection of annexed territories, we become - objectively - annexationists. Precisely in the ' era of imperialism` , which is the era of the incipient socialist revolution, the proletariat will support with special energy today the insurrection of the annexed territories in order to attack tomorrow, or even at the same time, the bourgeoisie of the `big` power weakened by such an insurrection" (ibid. p. 399).

"The imperialists themselves, with their new annexations, drawing new countries into the struggle against imperialism and widening the base of the world revolution, will do no little to promote the revolutionisation of the East. It is the task of the communists to intervene in the growing spontaneous movement in the East and to develop it to the point of conscious struggle against imperialism. (...) Whoever wants triumph must not forget the East" (Stalin, Vol. 4, page 151, German edition).

The world revolutionary, internationalist anti-imperialist struggle is the linking of the *internal* struggle, the civil war, with the *external* struggle, the national liberation struggle.

Proletarian internationalism would only be a revolutionary hollow phrase if the proletarians of the oppressing and oppressed nations did not practise class solidarity, if the proletarians of the oppressing nations did not unconditionally and consistently support the national liberation struggle of the oppressed nations. Lenin called for the *organisational unity* of the proletarians of the *oppressing and oppressed* nations:

"On the other hand, the socialists of the oppressed nations must particularly insist on and call into being the complete and unconditional unity, including organisational unity, of the working class of the oppressed nation with those of the oppressing nation. Without this, it is impossible to insist on the independent politics of the proletariat as well as on its class solidarity with the proletariat of the other countries in the face of all the various pranks, treacheries and swindles of the bourgeoisie. For the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nations constantly misuses the slogans of national liberation in order to deceive the workers: in internal politics it uses this slogan for reactionary understanding with the bourgeoisie of the ruling nation (...); in external politics it endeavours to come to an understanding with one of the competing imperialist governments in order to realise its predatory ends (...)" (Lenin, Vol. 22, page 150, German edition).

"It is becoming more and more clear that the socialist revolution looming over the whole world will by no means consist only in the victory of the proletariat of each country over its own bourgeoisie. This would be possible if the revolutions were easy and rapid. But we know that the imperialists will not allow this, that all countries are armed against their internal Bolshevism and are occupied only with the thought of how they can defeat Bolshevism at home. Therefore, civil war is ripening in every country, in which the old socialist pactors are to take part on the side of the bourgeoisie. Thus the socialist revolution will not only be mainly a struggle of the revolutionary proletarians of each country against their own bourgeoisie, no, it will be a struggle of all colonies and countries oppressed by imperialism, of all dependent countries against international imperialism" (Lenin - 22.11.1919, Werke, Vol. 30, Berlin 1961, p.144, German edition).

"Leninism", says Stalin, "has given proof... that the national question can be solved only in connection with the proletarian revolution and on the ground of the proletarian revolution, that the road to the victory of the revolution in the West leads through the revolutionary alliance with the liberation movement of the colonies and dependent countries against imperialism. The national question is a part of the general question of the proletarian revolution, a part of the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat" (Stalin Vol. 6, German edition).

When the socialist revolution of the proletarians of the more advanced countries begins to unite with the struggles for liberation from international imperialism in the "hinterland", then one can speak of the approach of the world revolution. The world revolution will win its first victory - not through a handful of acts of individual terror, but when the proletarians of all countries, when the peoples of the world are united in shaking the throne of US imperialism and its sight is wiped off the face of the earth.

"Either we consider that we must form a hinterland for the vanguard of the socialist revolution out of the peoples rising up against national oppression - and then we build a bridge between West and East, then we actually hold course for the world socialist revolution, or we do not - and then we stand isolated, then we renounce the tactic of exploiting all and every revolutionary movement (...) in order to destroy imperialism" (Stalin, Vol. 3, page 51, German edition).

The partisan struggle and guerrilla warfare

Partisan Combat Actions

In the following Lenin explains partisan combat actions *as a preparation for insurrection* and *as a means of continuing the insurrection through civil war*:

"We take the liberty here of digressing a little on the partisan actions of the combat groups. We believe that it would be wrong to equate them with the terror of the old type. The terror was revenge against individuals. The terror was a conspiracy of intellectual groups. The terror was absolutely not linked to any mass sentiments. The terror did not train military leaders of the masses. The terror was the result - but at the same time symptom and concomitant - of the disbelief in the uprising, the lack of connections for the uprising. Partisan actions are not acts of revenge, but military operations. They do not resemble an adventure any more than the forays of fighter detachments into the rear of the enemy army during a lull in the fighting on the main theatre of war resemble the murders of duelists or conspirators. The partisan actions of the combat groups, which have long been founded by the Social-Democrats of both factions in all the larger centres of the movement and which are composed mainly of workers, are undoubtedly most obviously and directly connected with the moods of the masses. The partisan actions of the combat groups directly develop military leaders of the masses. The partisan actions of the combat groups today are by no means the result of disbelief in the uprising or the impossibility of the uprising, but on the contrary a necessary component of the uprising that is going on. Of course, mistakes are possible in everything and always; inappropriate attempts at untimely actions are possible; imprudence and extremes are possible, which are always and necessarily harmful and capable of damaging the most correct tactics. The fact is, however, that to this day in most purely Russian centres we suffer from another extreme, from the lack of initiative of our fighting groups, from their inadequate fighting experience, from the insufficient determination of their actions. In this respect, the Caucasus as well as Poland and the Baltic have outstripped us, i.e., precisely those centres where the movement has left the old terror farthest behind, where the insurrection is best prepared, where the mass character of the proletarian struggle is most strongly and clearly expressed. We must catch up with these centres. We must not inhibit the partisan actions of the fighting groups, but encourage them, if we want to prepare the insurrection not only in words and have established the serious readiness of the proletariat for insurrection" (Lenin, Vol. 10, pp. 106-107, German edition).

***"Partisan Combat Actions"*-this is the title of the tactical resolution for the Unification Party Congress of the RSDWP which Lenin prepared in March 1906:**

"Whereas:

1. that since the December insurrection there has been almost nowhere in Russia a complete cessation of hostilities, which are now expressed on the part of the revolutionary people in individual partisan raids on the enemy,

2. That such partisan actions, which are inevitable in the presence of two enemy armed forces and in the ravages of the temporarily triumphant military repression, serve at the same time to disorganise the enemy and prepare for the coming open armed mass actions;

3. that such actions are also necessary for the combat education and military training of our combat groups, which in many places during the December uprising proved to be practically unprepared for what is new to them;

we declare and move that the Party Congress resolve:

1. the party must recognise as permissible in principle and expedient in the present period the partisan actions of the combat groups which belong to or lean on the party;

2. partisan combat actions must be of such a nature as to take into account the task of educating cadres of leaders of the masses of workers during the insurrection and of providing experience in surprising acts of aggression;

3. the main immediate task of such actions must be the destruction of the government, police and military apparatuses and the ruthless struggle against the active Black Hundred organisations which resort to violence against the population and seek to intimidate it;

(4) Combat actions are also permissible in order to capture funds belonging to the enemy, i.e., the absolutist government, and to use these funds for the requirements of the insurrection, taking strict care to protect the interests of the population as far as possible;

5. the partisan actions must be carried out under the control of the party, in such a way that the forces of the proletariat are not uselessly wasted, and that the conditions of the workers' movement in the locality concerned and the mood of the broad masses are taken into account" (Lenin, Vol. 10, pp. 146-147, German edition).

"The partisan struggle is an inevitable form of struggle at a time when the mass movement in practice is already approaching insurrection and more or less great pauses occur between the 'great battles' of civil war" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 210, German edition). The partisan struggle, however, is not alone a form of civil war or the approach of civil war. In the period of the Patriotic War, partisan struggle was an important form of struggle subordinate to the Red Army in order to help it disrupt and weaken the occupied rear of the fascist enemy and thus defend socialism more effectively. From the partisan struggle against the fascist occupiers, the Albanian party developed its People's Army in order to conquer victoriously the dictatorship of the proletariat with the people's revolution. The forms of the partisan struggle are - as these examples should prove - extraordinarily diverse and they change under the respective historical conditions in the most diverse social orders, were and are accordingly applied in different ways. However, they are usually never to be regarded as the sole or most important form of struggle, but are usually subordinated to other, more important forms of struggle and used in coordination with them. The special form of partisan struggle consists in the fact that it is conducted without uniform, (i.e. not as a regular army), but this does not exclude, for example, that the soldiers operate *disguised as civilians*. Incidentally, this "Landsturm order" of 1813 (described by Engels in his time as "semi-revolutionary" (MEW, vol. 17, p. 171, German edition) originated with Scharnhorst, the organiser of the Prussian army. In his eyes, its Prussian application was *"the most effective means of national resistance"*, *"patriotism"*, etc.; applied by the French, by the enemy, this means was condemned as *"banditry"* and *"assassination"*. *The Prussian Landwehr system* was an independent militia-like form of struggle against Napoleon's troops. It was exploited by the ruling class for its own ends against the interests of the people. Later they became part of the field army. Engels repeatedly emphasised that the Prussian army was not "people in arms", as it liked to claim, but was opposed to the masses of the people and was *a pure army of conquest*.

The partisan struggle is produced - as I said - by particular historical situations, as Lenin pointed out: "There are many areas where there is national oppression and national antagonism, but not partisan struggle, which sometimes unfolds without any national oppression. A concrete study of the question will show that it is not national oppression but the conditions of insurrection that are the decisive factor. The partisan struggle is an inevitable form of struggle at a time when the mass movement is already approaching insurrection in practice and more or less great pauses occur between the `great battles` of the civil war [emphasised by the author]. The year 1905 was for Lenin "a protracted guerrilla war, interrupted by a series of soldier uprisings gaining more and more in volume and strength. (...) Above the bad examples of America and Poland, you overlooked the special forms of struggle produced by the Russian insurrection, which is more protracted and persistent and has longer pauses between the great battles than the insurrections of the old type. (...) Have you thought for a single moment about how small-scale warfare differs from guerrilla warfare? Nothing, dear comrade Larin. (...) In the time of the Black Hundred progroms, of acts of violence by the government and of police despotism, can one imagine this discontent of the soldiers breaking out in any other way than in military uprisings?" (Lenin, Vol. 11, pp. 343 and 344, German edition). "To call small-scale war the `most advantageous way`, i.e. the most advantageous form of the people's struggle in a particular stage of our revolution, and at the same time to refuse to recognise the active tasks of the party of the most advanced class on the ground of this `most advantageous way`, is not to be able to think, or else to think dishonestly" (ibid page 345, German edition).

Lenin speaks here of the conditions of the partisan struggle in Russia in 1906 when he states: "The movement is disorganised not by partisan actions, but by the weakness of the party [or if there is no party at all - author's note], which does not know *how to take these actions in hand*. That is why the ban on partisan actions, which is common among us Russians, is connected with the fact that there are secret, random, unorganised partisan actions which really disorganise the party. If we are incapable of understanding what historical conditions give rise to this struggle, we are also incapable of eradicating its bad sides. Nevertheless, the struggle continues. Weighty economic and political causes give rise to it. We are not able to eliminate these causes and this struggle. Our complaints about the partisan struggle are complaints about the weakness of our party with regard to the insurrection. What we have said about disorganisation also applies to demoralisation. It is not the partisan struggle that demoralises, but the disorganisation, the systemlessness of the party actions, the fact that they are not led by the party. We cannot free ourselves in the least from this undoubted demoralisation by condemning and cursing the partisan actions, for these judgements and curses are not at all capable of putting a stop to a phenomenon which is caused by deep economic and political causes. They will reply: If we do not have the power to put a stop to an abnormal and demoralising phenomenon, that is no argument at all for the party to resort to abnormal and demoralising means of struggle. Such an objection, however, would already be purely liberal-bourgeois and not Marxist, for the Marxist cannot consider civil war or guerrilla warfare as one of its forms to be abnormal and demoralising per se. (...) The references to a disorganisation of the movement through guerrilla warfare must be viewed critically (...) When I see social democrats who proudly and self-satisfiedly declare: We are not anarchists, we are not thieves, we are not robbers, we are above that, we reject guerrilla warfare, then I ask myself: do these people understand what they are talking about? Armed clashes and struggles between the Black Hundred government and the people are taking place all over the country. At the given stage of development of the revolution, this phenomenon is quite inevitable. The population reacts to these phenomena spontaneously, unorganised - and precisely for this reason often in inexpedient and evil forms - also with armed hand strikes and assaults. I understand that due to the weakness and lack of preparation of our organisation in a certain area and at a certain moment, we can refrain from leading this spontaneous struggle by the party. I understand that this question has to be decided by the local practitioners, that the transformation of the weak and unprepared organisations is not an easy thing. But if I find in a Social-Democratic theoretician or publicist not sorrow at this lack of preparation, but proud self-satisfaction and smugly enthusiastic repetition in early youth of memorised phrases about anarchism, Blanquism and terrorism [the phrase about anarchism, Blanquism and terrorism can sometimes be much more dangerous than the terror itself - author's note], then I am offended by this degradation of the very most revolutionary doctrine in the world" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 210, German edition).

"Extremes are never good; no socialist will doubt that in organising partisan action one must take account of the mood of the broad masses (...) To go too far is never appropriate, but it would be wrong to conclude from individual cases of `extremes' already that a particular form of struggle is unsuitable" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 153, German edition).

[Lenin differentiated this elsewhere and makes the important remark: "The old Russian terrorism was a matter of conspirators from the intelligentsia; now the partisan struggle is as a rule waged by workers from the fighting groups or simply by unemployed workers. The idea that this is Blanquism and anarchism is easily fallen into by people who are inclined to stereotyping" (ibid., page 207)].

"They say that partisan warfare brings the class-conscious proletariat close to the down-and-out drunkards and lumpen proletarians. This is true. But it only follows from this that the party of the proletariat must never regard partisan warfare as the only or even the most important means of struggle ; that this means must be subordinated to other means, brought into harmony with the most important means of struggle and ennobled by the enlightening and organising influence of socialism[emphasised by the author]. Without this last condition, in bourgeois society all, decidedly all, means of struggle bring the proletariat close to various non-proletarian strata above or below it and, left to the spontaneous course of events, become corrupted, disfigured, prostituted. Strikes left to the spontaneous course of events degenerate into `alliances' - agreements of the workers with the employers against the consumers" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 208). - Lenin remarked on the attitude of the Bolsheviks towards partisan warfare: "The Bolshevik Social-Democrats are often accused of a recklessly partisan attitude towards partisan actions. It is therefore not superfluous to recall that in the draft resolution on the partisan actions (No. 2 of `Partinye Izvestia' and Lenin's Report on the Party Congress) the section of the Bolsheviks defending them laid down the following conditions for their recognition: Expropriations of private property were declared inadmissible altogether; expropriations of state property were not recommended, but were declared admissible only on condition that they be under the control of the party and that the captured funds be used for insurrectionary purposes. Terrorist partisan actions against representatives of the violent regime and active Black Hundreds were recommended, but on the following conditions:

1. that account be taken of the mood of the broad masses;

2. that the conditions of the workers' movement in the area concerned be taken into consideration;

3. that care be taken not to waste the forces of the proletariat uselessly. The only practical difference between the resolution adopted at the Unification Party Congress and this draft is that expropriations of state property have been declared inadmissible" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 212, German edition).

Guerrilla warfare tactics

Thus, partisan struggle is also a special form of guerrilla warfare. We Marxist-Leninists understand guerrilla warfare as a special form of peoples' liberation struggle. Originally, it was the war of resistance of the Spanish people against the foreign domination of Napoleon. After the destruction of the regular Spanish army, the guerrillas emerged, who waged a small war (guerrilla war) against the conquerors that encompassed the entire nation. The guerrillas' small detachments, which were used to the terrain and knew their way around, were able to significantly inhibit the enemy's operations and inflict significant damage on them. As a rule, guerrilla warfare was carried out in the rear of the enemy army. In 1849 Engels wrote:

"A people that wants to conquer its independence must not confine itself to the ordinary means of war. Insurrection en masse, revolutionary war, guerrillas everywhere, this is the only means by which a small people can cope with a large one, by which a lesser army can be enabled to resist the stronger and better organised one" (MEW, Engels, Vol. 6, page 387, German edition).

Engels even pointed out the necessity of building retreats, fortresses in the metropolises and capitals even in guerrilla warfare. He speaks of guerrilla warfare as a "*small war*": "And if hitherto guerrilla warfare has only been accompanied by success in relatively sparsely populated countries", Engels said, it would also have "more significant results (...) in very densely populated countries, e.g. in an "uninterrupted maze of houses (...)" (MEW, Vol. 8, page 214, German edition).

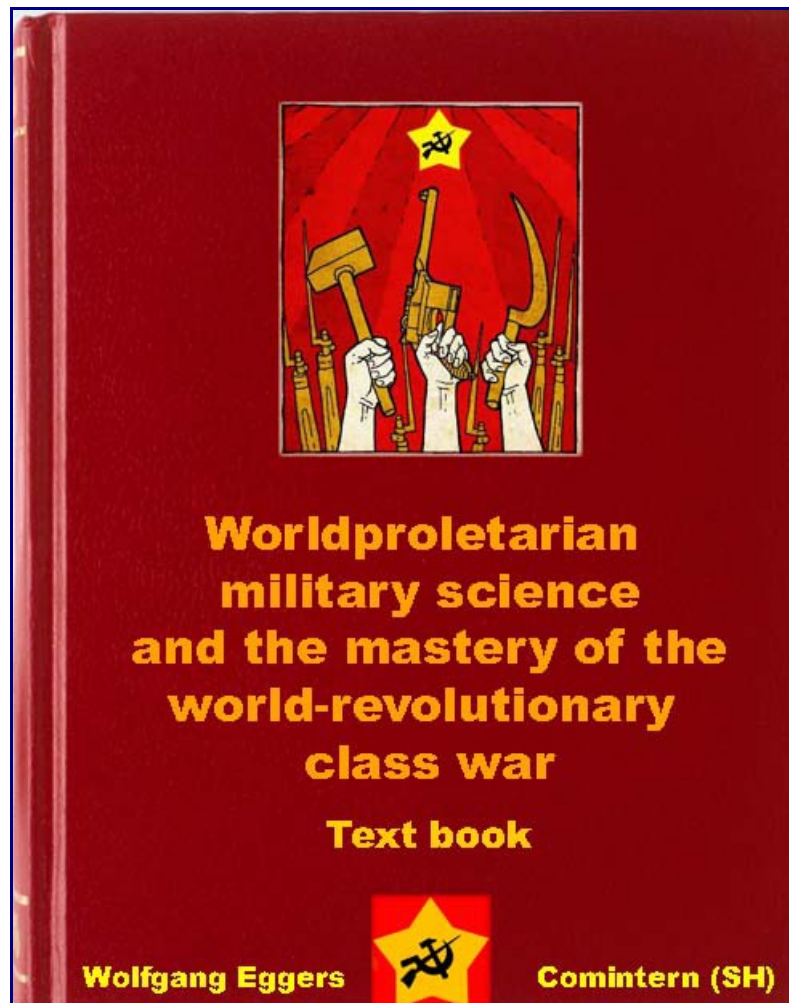
Based on the teachings of Engels, we Marxist-Leninists are organisers in theory and practice of *international* guerrilla warfare against the international counterrevolution of world imperialism, if this possible armed form of struggle could be suitable for use in the given conditions.

Not every guerrilla war is automatically a revolutionary guerrilla war just because it thinks of itself as such. In guerrilla war, not everything in history always goes as the name would like to suggest. What has been revealed in the course of the history of guerrilla warfare and what is often hidden behind many a guerrillio are quite simply gangs of robbers who give themselves a revolutionary halo in order, firstly, to justify their brigandage and, secondly, to denigrate, disgrace, paralyse or directly and openly fight the revolutionary guerrilla war in general and every single one of them ("guerrilla war in guerrilla war"). This is generally true in South America and its origins are in Spain. Especially on the left in Europe, there is a danger of critically overlooking this distinction and differentiation because people have put on rose-coloured glasses. "Since the days of Viriathus, the Spanish guerrilla has always had something of a brigand about him; but it is a new Carlist invention for a common brigand to take the name of guerrilla. The men of the Tortosa affair certainly belong to this sort" (Engels, MEW, Vol. 8, page 416, German edition). In short, it is necessary to defend the good name of guerrilla warfare through correct support for revolutionary guerrilla warfare. We Marxist-Leninists in the world do well to lead by example, and in doing so it is inevitable to scrutinise the guerrilla movement in the world today more sharply than before, because the time is approaching when the international strategy and tactics of the world proletarian revolution cannot avoid the practical solution of this question. Certainly, the Communist International can and must become active now in solidarity, it must draw a clear line between the "good guys" and the "bad guys", and it must do its part to strengthen the weak Marxist-Leninist spirit in the guerrilla movements of the whole world, to support this revolutionary movement also as a whole better than before, which includes fighting the reactionary influence in the guerrilla movement better. All this presupposes that we get in touch with the real Marxist-Leninist forces in these movements in order to be better aware of the situation on the ground. From the green desk, we are not getting closer to this problem, we are moving away from it.

American embassies,

American arms bases, arms depots and arms transports ...

- End Part VIII -



Part IX

Textbook

on the Marxist-Leninist foundations of

World proletarian Military Science

and on the Art of

World revolutionary Class Warfare

August 2004

written by Wolfgang Eggers



PART IX

**The armed socialist revolution in "*one*"
country**

The people's movement

"A people's movement is a movement which expresses the objective needs of the whole country and directs its heavy blows against the central forces of the enemy who are obstructing the development of the country. A people's movement is a movement supported by the sympathy of the great majority of the population" (Lenin, Vol. 18, pp. 465-466, German edition). It is the brutal action of the exploiters and oppressors through which everything is done to get the people's movement going. It is the military of reaction which, in many long years, turns the people against itself and, by *arming* the people's movement, reaps what it has sown. "Out of the military itself grow the detachments of a revolutionary army" (Lenin, Vol. 8, page 566, German edition).

In the people's movement the people develops its own political consciousness to maturity, it organises its struggle, it mobilises its forces against the enemies of the people, it enters into historical action. Marx formulated: "With the thoroughness of historical action, therefore, the extent of the mass of which it is the action will increase" (MEW, Vol. 2, page 86, German edition). The people's movement, after all, not only tears down the military barriers of the people's rulers, but at the same time tears down its own military barriers, the barriers of powerless, defenceless, unresisting, enduring self-abasement, which for too long have prevented the people from breaking the armed force of the rulers with their own weapons. The people's movement is thus not only a material movement, but at the same time a spiritual one. But not on the basis of theoretical considerations, but under the pressure of the growing movement, the people are striving towards higher tasks of struggle, they are recognising more and more clearly the necessity of the final struggle against the enemy. The more thoroughly the mass movement is carried out, the more its development into revolution gains strength, and conversely, the more thoroughly the revolution is carried out, the more it gains masses. The people's movement only develops into revolution and the revolution can only be victorious if it becomes general, if it ignites in the centres of the movement and spreads from there to encompass all layers of the people down to the last corner.

The people's revolution

When a people's movement moves to overturn the old society, when it puts the question of power on the agenda, when it openly, directly and immediately opposes the tyranny of the exploiting classes, opposes their government and fights for its overthrow, for its removal, for a people's government of its own, then the people's movement has taken the form of a people's revolution. A people's revolution is the revolutionary, armed conquest of power by the vast majority of the people over the organised and ruling minority of the people. The people's revolution is a revolution "carried out by the masses themselves with their own slogans, their own aspirations, and not by repeating the programme of the old bourgeois republic" (Lenin, Vol. 27, page 123, German edition).

Revolution and civil war

"For a real, a profound, a 'people's' revolution, to speak with Marx, is the incredibly complicated and agonising process of the death of an old and the birth of a new social order, a new structure of life for millions and millions of people. Revolution is the most violent, furious, bitter class struggle and civil war. Not a single great revolution in history has been without civil war. But that civil war is conceivable without an 'extraordinarily complicated situation' can only be believed by a man in a lining. (...) *'How agonising is this extraordinarily complicated situation of the revolution' - that is how the bourgeois intellectual thinks and feels. 'We have put 'them' under pressure, 'they' dare not be as bold as before. Let us grip even tighter and we will overthrow them completely' - this is how the worker thinks and feels*" (Lenin, Vol. 26, pp. 103 and 105, German edition).

"The basis of socialist tactics in the time of revolution is that the most advanced class, the proletariat, marches at the head of the people's revolution (the revolution which is taking place in Russia at the present time [Lenin is speaking here of the Russian revolution of 1905 - author's note] is a bourgeois revolution in the sense that the conquest of all freedom and all the soil for the people will by no means deliver us from the rule of the bourgeoisie; but it is clear that, notwithstanding this socio-economic character of the revolution, it is a people's revolution). The most advanced class must therefore tirelessly expose before the broadest masses how deceptive are all the hopes placed in negotiations and agreements with the old state power in general, and in particular in an agreement on the land question between landlords and peasants. The most advanced class must independently follow the path of persistent struggle, supporting only those who are really struggling, and only to the extent that they are struggling. These are the foundations of Social-Democratic tactics, which prescribe an independent class policy as a rule for the workers' party, but permit co-operation and agreements only with the revolutionary bourgeoisie and only as an exception" [underlining by author];(Lenin, Vol. 11, page 463, German edition).

"If Russia gained at least small liberties for a short time, if it obtained, even for a short time, popular representation, all this was won only through the struggle of the people, only through the self-sacrificing struggle of the working class, the peasantry, the soldiers and sailors for freedom" (Lenin, Vol. 12, page 187, German edition). If in the spring of 1905 the RSDWP was still a confederation of illegal circles, by the autumn it was already the party of the *millions* of the proletariat, which had transformed itself into an army of revolution that went on the offensive against tsarism. "Of course, Social Democracy, as the party of the international proletariat, as a party which sets itself world-wide socialist aims, cannot be absorbed into any epoch of any bourgeois revolution, cannot make its destiny dependent on this or that outcome of this or that bourgeois revolution. Whatever the outcome, we must remain an independent, purely proletarian party, consistently leading the working masses towards their great socialist goal. We can therefore assume no guarantees whatsoever for the permanence of any of the achievements of the bourgeois revolution, for the impermanence, the inner contradictoriness of *all* its achievements lies immanently in the nature of the bourgeois revolution as such" (Lenin, Vol. 12, page 431, German edition). This, of course, also applies to the weapons of the bourgeois revolution. If the weapons of the proletariat must not be absorbed into a bourgeois revolution, on the other hand, it is equally certain that the bourgeois character of the weapons of the democratic revolution does not mean that these weapons can only be useful to the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, they are most useful and necessary to the proletariat and the peasantry for their socialist revolution. The victory of democratic arms is a signal for the victory of socialist arms not only in one country, but for the future victory of the world armed socialist revolution - no more and no less. In monarchy, the force of arms is directed fully against the people; the people themselves have no power over arms. In the constitutional monarchy, one-third of the armed power remains in the hands of the tsar, one-third in the hands of the bourgeoisie and one-third in the hands of the people as a whole (Lenin, Vol. 8, page 561, German edition), and in the democratic republic there no longer exists the independent armed power of the monarchy and the bourgeoisie over the people, but this is undivided and completely subordinated to the people. In the Soviet Republic, the power of arms is in the hands of the workers and peasants, in the hands of the socialist people.

All-National Revolution

"In a certain sense of the word, only an all-national revolution can be victorious. It is true that the victory of the revolution requires the unification of the vast majority of the population to fight for the demands of this revolution. This vast majority must either belong entirely to one class or to different classes which have certain similar tasks. (...). But the conditional correctness of the common expression 'total national' revolution is limited to this. Any further conclusions than the one mentioned, which is actually a truism (...), must not be drawn from this concept. That is why it is fundamentally wrong and profoundly un-Marxist to use it as a general formula, as a template, as a criterion of tactics. The term 'All national' revolution must point out to a Marxist that it is necessary to analyse precisely the various interests of the different classes which coincide with each other with regard to certain specific, limited general tasks. In no case must this term serve to cover up, to push aside, the study of the class struggle in the course of this or that revolution. To use the term 'All national revolution' in this way is to renounce Marxism altogether and to return to the vulgar phrase of petty-bourgeois democrats or petty-bourgeois strata. Our right wing social democrats often forget this truth. Even more frequently they forget that as the revolution advances, the mutual relationship of the classes in the revolution changes. *Every real advance of the revolution means that broader masses are drawn into the movement, that is, that class interests become more conscious, that is, that political groupings assuming party form become more definite, that the general, abstract political and economic demands, vague and blurred in their abstractness, are more and more replaced by concrete, precisely determined diverse demands of the different classes*" (Lenin, Vol. 12, pp. 405-406, German edition). This also applies, of course, to the armed struggle of the insurgent people, which changes with the progress of the revolution and the relations of the different classes that are concretised in it.

Uprising and Revolution

In the dispute with the representatives of the post-trab tactics, who confused the insurrection with the people's revolution and therefore criticised Lenin for considering the tactics of preparing, fixing and carrying out armed people's uprisings as absolutely necessary and possible, and in the related critical dispute of Lenin with Rosa Luxemburg's "*theory of organisation as a process*", which according to Lenin only "sanctioned disorganisation", Lenin replied:

"A people's revolution cannot be fixed, that is correct (...). But to fix an insurrection, if we have really prepared it and if a popular insurrection is possible by virtue of the upheavals that have occurred in the social relations, that is something quite realisable. (...) Can the workers' movement be fixed? No, you can't, because it is made up of a thousand individual acts that are generated by an upheaval in social relations. Can you fix a strike? Yes, (...) *although every strike is the result of an upheaval in social relations*. When can a strike be called? When the organisation or circle that calls it has influence over the mass of the workers concerned and knows how to correctly assess the moment of growing discontent and agitation among the mass of workers. (...) 'A popular revolution cannot be fixed in advance'. An insurrection can be fixed if those who fix it have influence on the masses and know how to judge the moment correctly. (...) We have already (...) pointed out that the uprising must follow a spontaneous movement. So we are in no way forgetting the importance of 'securing the rear', to use a military expression" (Lenin, Vol. 8, pp. 141-142 and 144, German edition).

Lenin turned against those people who wanted any revolutionary action, thus also the insurrection, only from below, that is, to leave it to the spontaneous process of the self-activity of the mass movement, because they considered any organisation from above to be pernicious. The insurrection "only from below" in reality undermines the victory of the insurrection, condemns it to failure, is a principle that plays into the hands not of the revolution but of the counterrevolution.... Lenin proved that the principle "*only from below and in no case from above*" is an anarchist principle, which Engels had already criticised in the Bakunists (see Lenin, Vol. 8, page 388, German edition). "Instead of pointing out the conditions and tasks of the new methods of struggle 'from above', which is possible and necessary in the success of the proletarian insurrection in the epoch of revolution, we are presented with the thesis of remaining a 'party of the extreme revolutionary opposition'. This thesis is very useful for the parliamentary struggle, very useful for action from below, but for the period of the insurrection it is decidedly inadequate" (Lenin, Vol. 8, page 555, German edition).

"And it is precisely the lagging behind of our political superstructure behind the upheaval accomplished in social conditions that makes the collapse of the superstructure inevitable, whereby an immediate collapse right *after the first blow*, is quite and absolutely possible, for the 'people's revolution' in Russia has already dealt a hundred blows to tsarism; the only question is whether it will collapse under the hundredth or the hundred and tenth blow" (Lenin, *ibid.*, pp. 140-141, German edition).

The *characteristic feature of a people's revolution* is that the exploited, oppressed majority of the people become conscious of their rights and freedom and develop such a revolutionary force against the oppressing, exploiting part of the people that stops at nothing and no one, that allows itself to be dissuaded by nothing and no one from shaking off the yoke of tyranny and misery, from tearing down the whole old order which the people are no longer willing and ready to endure. "Even without being fully conscious of its aims, this mass of the people is nevertheless capable and inclined to overthrow the edifice, because its situation is hopeless, because eternal oppression drives it on the revolutionary road, because it has nothing to lose but its chains. This popular force, the proletariat, appears so threatening to the masters of the rotten building because the very situation of the proletariat is in itself something that threatens all exploiters. The smallest movement of the proletariat, however modest it may be at the beginning, however small it may be, therefore inevitably threatens to outgrow its immediate aims and become an irreconcilable force, a force which is disastrous for the whole order. The fundamental peculiarities of the situation of the proletariat under capitalism give the movement of this class the incessant tendency to become a bitter struggle for the whole, for complete victory over everything dark, exploitative, enslaving" (Lenin, Vol. 8, page 423, German edition). This is also fundamentally true of a *people's revolution against fascism and against the social fascism of the revisionists*.

The victorious *people's revolution* creates for itself a people's democracy, which can be nothing other than a people's dictatorship, which must therefore inevitably be based on military force, on the arming of the masses, on insurrection, but not on this or that "legal" "people's democratic" institution or government created by "peaceful means". The victory in the people's revolution - that is the conquered power of the people. In this context, it is worth recalling once again the breaking up of the bureaucratic-military machinery, which Marx singled out as the "precondition of every real people's revolution" (see Marx Letter to Kugelmann April 1871, Selected Letters, page 307, German edition). It is precisely the opportunists who close their eyes to the inevitable decisive struggle between the revolutionary army and the reactionary army. The opportunists hope and trust in those "up there", but we hope and trust in the people, because it is precisely the impotence of the government that swears in the people's revolution. "The liberal bourgeoisie is going to the people. That is true. It is forced to go to it, because without the people it lacks the strength to fight against self-rule. But it fears the revolutionary people and goes to them not as a representative of their interests, not as a new, fiery comrade-in-arms, but as a huckster, as a broker who defects from one fighting side to the other" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 169, German edition). This is in essence nothing other than the class conciliatory attitude of the liberal bourgeoisie in the anti-fascist united front or popular front government. "No silly speculation. Sometimes what the Romans said of Hannibal applies to the revolutionary people: 'You know how to win, but you do not know how to use victory! If the victory of the insurrection does not lead to revolutionary upheaval, to the complete overthrow of autocracy, to the elimination of the inconsistent and selfish bourgeoisie and to the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, then it will not yet mean the victory of the people'" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 170, German edition).

If in a people's revolution the people *do not succeed* in opposing the *armed* power of the government with the *armed* power of the people, if the reactionary government should not be struck on the head and replaced by a revolutionary government, if the Marxist-Leninist party should not lead this struggle or if its leading force should still prove too weak, any new "people's representation" will in reality be only a representation of such classes as share power among themselves - *over* and *against* the people. Lenin called such a state of people's revolution a "miscarriage" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 45, German edition). And we are thinking in particular of the struggle against social fascism in former Eastern bloc countries. The closer the people's armed struggle comes to deciding power, the more tangible a people's government becomes, the more vigilant the armed proletariat must be in watching its ally. "The sooner we win freedom, the sooner this ally of the proletariat will turn into its enemy (...) The proletariat must not trust the general-democratic slogans, but must oppose them with its own proletarian-democratic slogans in their entire scope. Only a force guided by these slogans can actually secure the complete victory of the revolution [popular revolution-author's note]" (Lenin, Vol. 8, pp. 519-520, German edition). "There has not been a single revolution in which the labouring masses have not taken the first steps along this road to create a new state power. Unfortunately, they only began with it, but were unable to carry it through to the end, they did not succeed in creating a new type of state power" (Lenin, Vol. 26, page 464, German edition).

In a revolutionary situation where, under the indignation of the people, the army, the police, the security forces, the bureaucracy begin to waver and become a factor of uncertainty, the bourgeoisie does not hesitate to take flight and even to speak openly "in the name" of the revolution, to declare itself "in solidarity" with the people, as if it had no dirt on them and was not concerned about its own class interests.

The outcome of a people's revolution depends on whether or not the proletariat emerges as a leader in it. And it can only appear as a leader in a people's revolution if it leads the armed struggle, if it organises the insurrection, creates a revolutionary army, creates a revolutionary government, creates a proletarian democracy. The outcome of a people's revolution decides the transition to socialist revolution. From the outcome of a people's revolution we derive the question of whether it has been able to create a sufficient basis for socialist revolution or not yet, to what extent the counter-revolution has been crushed or not yet, to what extent people's power is able to assert itself or not yet. We are for the fastest possible transition to socialism, but not for a transition to socialism without a solid basis. One cannot take the second step before the first. Even if the people's revolution has triumphed over the counter-revolution, the counter-revolution will not disappear but, on the contrary, will inevitably start a new and even more bitter struggle. It depends on the respective balance of forces between the people's revolution and the counterrevolution to what extent the counterrevolution succeeds in restoring the old order or not and vice versa: it depends on the balance of forces between the people's revolution and the counterrevolution to what extent the socialist revolution succeeds in transforming the people's democratic order into a new socialist order or not.

"The philistine is content with the indisputable, incontestable and meaningless truth that it is impossible to know beforehand whether the revolution will come or not. The Marxist is not content with this, he says: *"Our propaganda and the propaganda of all social-democratic workers is one of the factors which determines whether or not the revolution will come"*. Hundreds of thousands of participants in political strikes, the most advanced elements of the various sections ask us, our party, which road they should take, in the name of which cause they should rise up, what they should strive for, whether the incipient upsurge should be carried forward (...) to revolution. (...) Whether it comes to revolution or not depends not only on us. But we will do our part, and that can never be undone. This will help to sow the seeds of democratism and proletarian independence deep into the masses, and these seeds will necessarily take root, whether tomorrow in the democratic revolution or the day after tomorrow in the socialist revolution" (Lenin, Vol. 18, p. 376, German edition).

Armed insurrection of a smaller group or violent overthrow of the whole social order?

Engels wrote: "Violence can crush a small sect in a limited area; but the power is yet to be discovered which is capable of wiping out a party of over two or three million people spread over a whole empire [how much this must apply to the area of the whole world!!! - Author's note]. The counter-revolutionary, momentary supremacy, the counter-revolutionary violence [and in particular the international counter-revolutionary violence - author's note] can perhaps delay the triumph of socialism (in the whole world - author's note] for a few years, but only so that it will then become all the more complete and final" (MEW, Vol. 22, page 251, German edition).

The question "revolt or revolution?" cannot be answered so simply, for great revolutions have never fallen from the sky, but have always begun on a small scale. Even the opponents of Marxism-Leninism do not deny this. There is agreement between Marxist-Leninists and petty-bourgeois revolutionaries about the initial spark, about the "spark that leads to the steppe fire". But what separates us from the Blanquists is their mistaken belief that this works vicariously through a minority, detached from the masses and not from the masses themselves. So we must not make the political mistake of elevating revolt to a principle and *not oppose it* to revolution. With the first cell division, the germ cell is no longer the same as it was before. Revolutionary life develops through cell divisions. The revolutionary movement grows as more and more forces join this movement, allowing it to mature into a *mass movement* until - e.g. through many previous, suppressed revolts - an organism emerges that has the mass-effective power to overthrow the social order.

But a revolutionary mass movement does not automatically develop from every revolutionary nucleus. This depends on various preconditions and conditions, which are fundamentally known to us Marxist-Leninists.

Lenin remarked: "It is not for nothing that one says that a revolution is a successful revolt and a revolt is a failed revolution" (Lenin, Vol. 8, p. 91, German edition).

What is at stake in the question, however, is not quantity alone, but above all quality, content. Revolutions are made by the masses and not vicariously by revolutionaries, not by the revolutionary nucleus, not by a revolutionary group.

"The workers' insurrection has been crushed - Long live the workers' insurrection!" (Lenin, Vol. 5, page 15, German edition). "Every battle delivered to the people will increase the number of outraged workers ready to fight, will bring forth more experienced, better armed, bolder leaders" (Lenin, Vol. 5, page 18, German edition).

Marxism-Leninism teaches that the general law of socialist revolution is the forcible elimination of the rule of the exploiting class and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The opportunists like to forget Karl Marx's sentence that insurrection is an art and that the main rule of this art is the *offensive* conducted with *daring boldness* and the *greatest determination*:

"Now, insurrection is an art, just like war or any other art, and is subject to certain rules, the neglect of which "If we refuse to support an insurrection of annexed territories, we become - objectively - annexationists. Precisely in the 'era of imperialism' , which is the era of the beginning socialist revolution, the proletariat will support with special energy today the insurrection of the annexed territories in order to attack tomorrow or even at the same time the bourgeoisie of the 'great' power weakened by such an insurrection" (ibid. p. 399).

First, one must never gamble with insurrection unless one is determined to take upon oneself all the consequences of the gamble. Insurrection is a calculation of highly uncertain magnitudes, the values of which can change every day; the forces of the enemy have all the advantages of organisation, discipline and traditional authority on their side; if one cannot confront them with strong superiority, one is beaten and destroyed.

[The following quotation from Stalin should be noted: *"To be prepared for the coming battles, to meet them with dignity and organisation - that is the task today. From this follows: The first commandment - do not fall for provocations of the counter-revolutionaries, arm yourselves with perseverance and self-control, conserve your forces for the coming struggle, do not allow any premature action. The second commandment - rally even more closely around our party, close ranks against the innumerable enemies arrayed against us, hold the banner high, encourage the weak, rally the retarded, enlighten the ignorant. No compromise with the counter-revolution"* (Stalin, Vol. 3, pp. 99 - 100, German edition)].

Secondly, once you have taken the road of insurrection, act with the greatest determination and take the offensive. The defensive is the death of every armed insurrection; it is lost even before it has met the enemy. Take your enemy by surprise while his forces are scattered, provide daily for new successes, however small; maintain for yourself the moral preponderance which the initial success of the uprising has given you; thus draw to your side the wavering elements who always follow the strongest impulse and always take the safe side; force your enemies to retreat even before they can gather their forces against you; to speak in the words of Danton, the greatest master of revolutionary tactics hitherto known: de l'audace, de l'audace, encore de l'audace (Boldness! Boldness, and again boldness!" (MEW Vol. 8, page 95, German edition).

The main task of the military and fighting organisations is to spread a correct conception of armed insurrection among the masses. (see: Lenin Vol. 29, German edition)

"Socialist groups have appeared, but none has made it beyond the level of a sect; agitators and alleged party leaders, including mere speculators and strivers, they remain officers without soldiers. It was almost always Robert Blum's famous column from the Baden campaign of 1849: a colonel, eleven officers, a bugler and a man. And the scramble of these various columns of Robert Blum among themselves about the leadership of the future proletarian army was by no means edifying. That will soon stop now (...). The tremendous movement of the masses will put an end to all these sects and clusters by absorbing the soldiers and giving the officers their due post. Those who do not like it can shirk it. It will not go off without friction, but it will go off, and in a shorter time than some expect, the English proletarian army will be as united, as well organised, as determined as any and will be greeted with jubilation by all its comrades on the continent and in America" (Engels, MEW, Vol. 22, p. 65, German edition).

People's Revolution and Socialist Revolution

The people's revolution and the socialist revolution must not be equated with each other or confused, they must be strictly distinguished from each other; but they are at the same time the two inseparable stages of a unified historical process and must not be detached and separated from each other by a theory of stages. What is decisive is the most fluid, uninterrupted "smooth" transition possible under the conditions of the existence of the factors necessary for a revolutionary [not peaceful, "procrastinating" revisionist!] transformation of the bourgeois revolution into the socialist revolution. The reformist road is the road of the "agonisingly slow death of the rotting parts of the people's organism. The proletariat and the peasantry suffer first and for the most part from this rot" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 38, German edition). "The more complete and decisive, the more consistent the bourgeois revolution will be, the more assured will be the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie for socialism. Only people who do not know the ABC of scientific socialism can find this conclusion new or strange, even paradoxical. Incidentally, this conclusion leads to the thesis that *in a certain sense* the bourgeois revolution is more *advantageous* for the proletariat than for the bourgeoisie. (...) It is more advantageous for the bourgeoisie that the necessary transformations in the bourgeois-democratic direction take place more longas, more gradually, more cautiously, more indecisively, by way of reforms and not by way of revolution" (Lenin, Vol. 9, pp. 38 and 39, German edition). On the road from the people's revolution to the socialist revolution "the worker puts the gun from one shoulder to the other", that is, he turns the weapon with which the bourgeois revolution equips him against the bourgeoisie itself, and the better he equips himself with the democratic weapons, the greater their socialist effect. "We are for uninterrupted revolution. We will not stop halfway" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 232, German edition).

"Why are the conditions of the democratic struggle and the socialist struggle *not the same*? Because the workers will necessarily have different allies in the one struggle and in the other. The democratic struggle is waged by the workers together with a section of the bourgeoisie, especially the petty bourgeoisie. The socialist struggle is waged by the workers against the entire bourgeoisie. The struggle against the officials and the landlords can and must be waged together with all the peasants, even the wealthy and the middle. The struggle against the bourgeoisie, that is, also against the prosperous peasants, can be waged promisingly only together with the landed proletariat" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 446, German edition).

In 1905, for example, in the common struggle to overthrow the tsar's autocracy, Lenin pleaded for the inclusion not only of the socialist organisations but also of the revolutionary parties, "for there is nothing socialist about the next aim of the struggle, and we must not confuse the next, democratic aims with our final aims of the socialist revolution, nor will we ever allow such confusion" (Lenin, Vol. 8, page 152, German edition). Lenin, however, had clear ideas about the involvement of a wide variety of organisations in practical activity in support of the people's revolution: "The beginning of the revolution in Russia will probably lead to the entry into the political arena of many persons and perhaps directions who will be of the opinion that the slogan 'revolution' is an entirely sufficient determination for 'people of action' of their aims and their means of action. Nothing can be more erroneous than such an opinion. The apparently higher or more comfortable or 'diplomatic' position outside a party is in reality only a more obscure, blurred position which inevitably leads to inconsistencies and fluctuations in practical activity. In the interests of the revolution, our ideal must by no means be that all parties, all directions and shades merge into revolutionary chaos. On the contrary, the growth and expansion of the revolutionary movement, its ever deeper penetration into the most diverse classes and strata of the people will inevitably (and this is a good thing) bring into being ever new and new directions and shades. Only complete clarity and definiteness in their relations to each other and in their attitude to the position of the revolutionary proletariat can ensure the greatest success for the revolutionary movement. Only complete clarity of mutual relations can ensure the success of an agreement to achieve the next common goal" (Lenin, Vol. 8, page 153, German edition).

"We have always taught and teach now that it is the class struggle, the struggle of the exploited section of the people against the exploiting section, which underlies political transformations and ultimately decides the fate of all such transformations" (Lenin, Vol. 8, page 195, German edition).

"The class-conscious proletariat must not indulge in any illusion. Only in it, only in the proletariat supported by the peasantry, only in the armed insurrection of both, only in their determined struggle under the slogan 'freedom or death' lies the guarantee of a real liberation of Russia from the whole serfdom-absolutist order" (Lenin, Vol. 8, page 351).

"We have always said that the revolution will not weaken but strengthen the bourgeoisie, but that it will create for the proletariat the necessary conditions for a successful struggle for socialism" (Lenin, Vol. 8, page 380, German edition).

"Social-Democracy has always stressed that this class divergence is inevitable in the bosom of the revolutionary people. The object of struggle may pass from one hand to the other in fierce struggles. The revolutionary people strive for the self-rule of the people, all reactionary elements defend the self-rule of the tsar. A successful upheaval can therefore be nothing other than the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, whose interests, in so far as they are directed against the autocracy of the tsar, coincide with each other (...); if united to strike, then also united to slay and united to repulse the attempts of the enemy to regain what has been lost. After the overthrow of autocracy, the struggle will not cease, but will intensify. The reactionary forces will only then really organise themselves for struggle. (...) (Lenin, Vol. 8, page 381, German edition).

"This "fighting back unitedly", applied to the revolutionary epoch, is nothing other than the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, is the participation of the proletariat in revolutionary government. People who frighten the working class with the possible prospect of this dictatorship (...) come into contradiction with their own slogans of struggle for the republic and the completion of the revolution" (Lenin, Vol. 8, page 463, German edition).

"The struggle for the republic means a gigantic achievement for the proletariat, although for the social democrat the republic is not an 'absolute ideal', as it is for the bourgeois revolutionary, but only a guarantee of freedom for the broad-based struggle for socialism" (Lenin, Vol. 8, page 381, German edition).

This was also the case with the Albanian people's revolution against fascism, where there were also hostile elements to fight who confused the character of a people's revolution with the character of a socialist revolution:

The revolution against the fascist occupation in Albania was a people's revolution in character. It included those forces that were not fighting for the socialist goal, not for the socialist revolution in Albania. The revolutionary Albanian people were striving for liberation from fascism, while all reactionary elements in Albania were defending the fascists. However, without the inclusion of these revolutionary non-socialist forces by the communist movement, firstly, it would have been impossible to liberate Albania from fascism through the victory of the people's revolution, nor, secondly, to successfully transition the Albanian people's revolution into the socialist revolution.

To raise arms in words for the popular-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat, but in deeds to use this weapon to defend bourgeois democracy, i.e. bourgeois "socialism", and finally and subsequently to turn it against the proletariat, against the people - this is revisionism in the question of popular democracy - in words transition to socialism, in deeds transition to social fascism! This is revisionism in the question of the socialist camp, this is the question of the cause of the end of the first period of socialism "in one country" and the key to the door of international *proletarian* socialism, i.e., entering the second stage of that socialism whose establishment already means the solution of the problem of the re-establishment of socialism "in one country" as a "side-effect". (see : General Line of the Comintern (SH). The revisionists did not even want to bring the people's revolution to an end, that is, to socialist revolution. The people, however, must want this as a result of their social living conditions.

The fact that in a people's revolution the will is not united in the questions of socialism and in the struggle for socialism does not exclude its being united in the question of democratism, in the question of the people's democratic republic. "To forget this would be to forget the logical and historical difference between democratic and socialist upheaval. To forget this would be to forget that the democratic revolution, by its very nature, embraces the whole people: But if it embraces the 'whole people', there is therefore a 'unified will', in so far as this upheaval satisfies the needs and requirements of the whole people. Beyond the framework of democratism, there can be no question of a unified will of the proletariat and the peasant bourgeoisie. The class struggle between them is inevitable, but on the soil of the democratic republic this struggle will precisely be the deepest and most comprehensive popular struggle for socialism. The revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, like everything else in the world, has a past and a future. Its past is autocracy, serfdom, monarchy, privilege. In the struggle against this past, in the struggle against counter-revolution, there can be a 'unified will' of the proletariat and the peasantry because there are unified interests.... Their future is the struggle against private property, the struggle of the wage-worker against the entrepreneur, the struggle for socialism. Here a united will is impossible

(* The development of capitalism, which proceeds even more comprehensively and rapidly under conditions of freedom, will inevitably put a rapid end to the united will, one all the more rapid the more rapidly counter-revolution and reaction are crushed). Here before us lies not the road from autocracy to republic, but the road from petty-bourgeois democratic republic to socialism. In the concrete historical situations, of course, the elements of the past and the future intertwine, the one path merges into the other. Wage labour and its struggle against private property also exist under autocracy; it even develops in its germinal form under serfdom. But this in no way prevents us from logically and historically separating the great periods of development. We all contrast the bourgeois revolution with the socialist revolution, we all insist on the necessity of making a strict distinction between them, but can we deny that in history individual elements of the one and the other upheaval are interwoven? Does not the epoch of democratic revolutions in Europe know a series of socialist movements and socialist attempts? And does the future socialist revolution in Europe not still have much, very much, to catch up on in terms of democratism? A social democrat must never, ever forget the inevitable class struggle of the proletariat for socialism against the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie, however democratic and republican they may be. This is beyond all doubt." (Lenin, Vol. 9, pp. 74-75, German edition). "He would be a fine Marxist who, in the epoch of democratic revolution, would overlook this difference between the gradations of democratism and between the different character of one or other of its forms, and would confine himself to 'smirking' about how, after all, all this is 'bourgeois revolution' and is fruit of the 'bourgeois revolution'" (Lenin, Vol. 9, pp. 39-40, German edition).

"The proletariat must carry the democratic revolution to its conclusion by drawing to itself the mass of the peasantry in order to break by force the resistance of autocracy and to paralyse the wavering attitude of the bourgeoisie. The proletariat must accomplish the socialist revolution by drawing to itself the mass of the semi-proletarian elements of the population in order to break by force the resistance of the bourgeoisie and to paralyse the wavering attitude of the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie. These are the tasks of the proletariat(...)" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 90, German edition).

"The revolution is with us a general people's revolution, Social-Democracy tells the proletariat. (...) That is why you must not fit yourself into a narrowly understood framework of the class struggle, mainly in the sense of the trade-union movement, but must, on the contrary, strive to extend the framework and content of your class struggle so far that it includes not only all the tasks of the present, democratic, general Russian people's revolution, but also the tasks of the future socialist revolution. Therefore, without ignoring the trade union movement and without renouncing the use of the slightest legal possibilities, you must bring to the fore in the epoch of revolution the tasks of armed insurrection, the creation of a revolutionary army and the formation of a revolutionary government, as the only road to the complete victory of the people over tsarism, to the conquest of the democratic republic and real political freedom" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 112, German edition).

As far as the role of the student body was concerned, the Russian revolutionary workers used the revolutionary self-government they had won as a legal place of assembly, as a place for organising the insurrection, they combined the proletarian armed struggle with the armed struggle of the students, who, in the student "parliament", also formed a political representation of social democracy, "in which, we are sure, they will not confine themselves to revolutionary self-administration, but will immediately and seriously go to the organisation and arming of detachments of the revolutionary army" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 377, German edition). Here Lenin also makes clear to us what he understood by the relationship between the revolutionary army and revolutionary youth in the phase of the insurrection, to which he counted in particular the revolutionary students - organising military detachments of the armed insurrection.

"Revolutions are the locomotives of history, said Marx (MEW, Vol. 7, page 85, German edition, German edition). Revolutions are feasts of the oppressed and exploited. Never is the mass of the people able to appear as such an active creator of new social conditions as during the revolution. Measured by the narrow, petty-bourgeois standard of gradual progress, the people are capable of working miracles in such times. But it is necessary that in such a time the leaders of the revolutionary parties should also set their tasks more broadly and boldly, that their slogans should always precede the revolutionary initiative of the masses, serve as a beacon to it, show our democratic and socialist ideal in all its sublimity and beauty, and point the nearest, the most direct way to full, unconditional and decisive victory" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 103, German edition). It is self-evident to make clear that any socialist revolution is a thousand times more popular and powerful, a thousand times more deeply popular in character, than any bourgeois revolution, although both were led by the proletariat.

"Without class consciousness and without the organised nature of the masses, without their training and education through open class struggle against the bourgeoisie as a whole, there can be no question of socialist revolution" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 15, German edition).

Lenin compared "*revolutionary events*" with a "*thunderbolt lighting up the new battlefield*" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 345, German edition).

(For guiding principles of the proletarian revolution see Stalin Vol. 6, page 83f, German edition).

"In order to succeed, a revolution must know as precisely as possible with whom to go into battle, who is an unreliable confederate and where the real enemy stands" (Lenin, Vol. 18, page 466, German edition).

[To this also the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" as a chapter, so far as it touches the military cause = point (c), not all Stalin, Vol. 6, page 96 ff, German edition)]

"Every revolution dissolves *the old society*; in this respect it is social. Every revolution overthrows *the old violence*; in this respect it is *political*.... *Revolution in general - the overthrow of existing violence and the dissolution of the old relations - is a political act*. Without *revolution*, however, *socialism* cannot be realised. It requires this *political act* insofar as it requires *destruction and dissolution*" (Marx, MEW, Vol. 1, page 409, German edition).

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Without having won the peasants as allies, the proletarian revolution in Russia could not have been victorious and would never have gone beyond the framework of a bourgeois-democratic revolution. So what did the workers do when they seized power? They formed *armed detachments* and went into the village to help the village poor free themselves from the village bourgeoisie and kulaks and organise themselves independently as 'committees of the village poor'. Thus millions of the village poor flocked to the Bolsheviks and the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie were powerless without the support of the peasants. They could no longer oppose the workers' power with the poor peasants on their side. But the workers, with their Soviet power, provided the poor peasants with the satisfaction of their most urgent economic needs through the expropriation of the landlords and the bourgeoisie - in a revolutionary way, so to speak, in a coup de main, a few hours after the conquest of their power!

"To win over the majority of the population, the proletariat must first overthrow the bourgeoisie and conquer state power. It must, secondly, introduce soviet power after having reduced the old state apparatus to ruins, thereby immediately undermining the rule, the authority, the influence of the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeois pactionaries among the non-proletarian masses. It must, thirdly, finally destroy the influence of the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeois pactionaries within the majority of the non-proletarian labouring masses by revolutionary satisfaction of their economic needs *at the expense of the exploiters*" (Lenin, Vol. 30, page 255, German edition). For the revisionists, the deception of the workers boils down to being able to achieve a majority *under the rule of the bourgeoisie*, for example, through a majority of votes.

"As Marxists, we must look at the crisis of power not only from the formal standpoint, but above all from the class standpoint. Crisis of state power means a fierce, open struggle of the classes for power. (...) Three factors have (...) caused the crisis of power: 1. the dissatisfaction of the workers and soldiers with the government, whose policies were too right-wing for them; 2. the dissatisfaction of the bourgeoisie with the government, whose policies it considers too left-wing; and 3. the failures at the front. These are the external forces that brought about the crisis of power. But the main cause of all, the subterranean force that brought about the crisis, was the economic disruption of the country caused by the war. It was only on this ground that the three factors that shook the power of the coalition government could arise. If the crisis means the struggle of classes for power, we as Marxists must ask: which class is now rising to power? The facts bear witness to the fact that the working class is rising to power. It is clear that the bourgeoisie class will not let them rise to power without a struggle. The petty bourgeoisie, which is the majority of the population in Russia, is wavering, uniting with us, with the cadets, and thus tipping the scales. This is the class content of the present crisis of power" (Stalin, Vol. 3, pp. 109-110, German edition).

"The comrades ask whether we have kept our slogan ["All Power to the Soviets! - author's note]. Our slogan of power to the soviets was calculated for the period of peaceful development of the revolution, which is now over. We must not forget the fact that now one of the conditions for taking power is the victory over the counterrevolution through an insurrection. When we raised our slogan from the soviets, power was in fact in the hands of the soviets. By putting pressure on the soviets, we were able to influence changes in the composition of the government. Now power is in the hands of the Provisional Government. We cannot count on a peaceful transfer of power to the working class. As Marxists, we must say: it is not the institution that matters, but which class it is whose policy this institution is carrying out. We are absolutely in favour of soviets in which we have a majority, and we will strive to create such soviets. But to hand over power to those who make an alliance with the counterrevolution - we must not. Summarising all the above, we can say: the peaceful path of development of the movement has come to an end, as the movement has entered the path of socialist revolution. The petty bourgeoisie, with the exception of the poorest strata of the peasantry, now supports the counter-revolution. That is why the slogan 'All Power to the Soviets!' is obsolete for the present moment" (Stalin, Vol. 3, page 117, German edition).

"In revolutionary times there is no reaction. When classes replace each other in power, that is not reaction, but revolution or counter-revolution" (Stalin Vol. 3, page 116, German edition).

"The comrades who say that the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible because the proletariat forms the minority of the population, take a mechanical view of the power of the majority. (...) An organised power capable of breaking the fetters of economic disruption will be followed by the whole population" (Stalin, Vol. 3, p. 116, German edition).

arming question of revolutionary events in history:

[October Revolution 1917]

[Military role of the class alliance, *armament of peasant wars*]

In Marx ` letter to Engels of 16. 4. 1856 it says: "The whole thing in Germany will depend on the possibility of supporting the proletarian revolution by a kind of second edition of the Peasant War. Then the cause will be excellent."

The armed revolution of the Russian proletariat against the bourgeoisie could only win through the brotherhood in arms with the poor peasantry and their war against the landlords.

[German November Revolution 1918/19]

The socialist revolution as a task that must ultimately be solved militarily

"The revolution is victorious when it advances the most advanced class. Provided this is the case, revolutions win even when they suffer defeat" (Lenin, Vol. 29, p. 360, German edition).

Socialism in Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union and in Enver Hoxha's Albania remains invincible because it has achieved immeasurably more for the elimination of class society throughout the world than ever before in the entire history of the world. Even the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and Albania, the defeat of socialism in these two countries, has made socialism *invincible* because of this. This is not a game of words, this is already history.

Overthrowing the power of the bourgeoisie and establishing the power of the proletariat in "*one*" country does not yet mean *securing* the full victory of socialism.

"The proletariat of the victorious country, having consolidated its power and exercised its leadership over the peasantry, can and must build socialist society. But does this mean that it will thereby already achieve the complete, final victory of socialism, that is, does it mean that the proletariat, with the forces of one country alone, can finally anchor socialism and completely secure the country against intervention and consequently against restoration? No it does not mean that. For this, the victory of the revolution is necessary, at least in some countries. Therefore, the development and support of the revolution in the other countries is an essential task of the victorious revolution. That is why the revolution of the victorious country should not regard itself as a self-sufficient quantity, but as a support, as a means of accelerating the victory of the proletariat in the other countries." (Stalin, Vol. 6, page 95, German edition).

"Having achieved the consolidation of Soviet power in the USSR, a growth of communist parties in the decisive countries of capitalism and a strengthening of the Comintern, there can and must be no more isolated proletarian revolutions" (Stalin, Vol. 11, pp. 130-131, German edition). And it should be added here: ... there can already no longer be an isolated armed struggle, but only a united, armed international class struggle for the proletarian world revolution; there can already no longer be an isolated conquest and defence of the proletarian dictatorship, but a united struggle of all countries for the dictatorship of the proletariat - *one for all, all for one*. In 1919, the revolution in Hungary was still isolated. But already in 1923 the USSR and the Comintern supported the Hamburg uprising. Today, a proletarian revolution *can* no longer be isolated. The world proletariat would never stand by silently if the international counterrevolution tried to smash the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country. Spatial distances do play a role, but what is decisive is political cohesion, which does not fail to have an effect even at the greatest geographical distances, all the less so in a globalised world like today.

The geographical factor must undoubtedly be constantly taken into account in military policy, because it is not infrequently a factor that has a certain influence on the victory or defeat of the armed class struggle and the proletarian revolution; and it shapes not a little the course of military development, military strategy and tactics and even the entire military policy. Thus, the global geographical factor is also a part of those global objective conditions which can be exploited in the interest of the internationalist armed struggle for the world proletarian revolution and accelerate and strengthen its own development. Geographical factors are objective factors and can be ignored, passed over or made more difficult, but not cancelled out. An international military policy must distinguish the globalised and local geographical factor according to its global character, must give priority to the global geographical factor over the local geographical factor, because this factor is the determining geographical factor in the era of world imperialism and world proletarian revolution. It is true that the world map is an indispensable tool for the world revolution, but it is not on the world map that the revolution is decided, but on the real front, in the real hinterland, etc., etc., in all the countries of the world. We must not approach the problem of objective conditions and their influence on the revolution mechanically here. The objective factor is not a rigid and unchangeable quantity that matures, matures and continues to mature linearly in a straight path. The imperialists do not shrink from turning nature into rubble and using means of mass destruction, even at the cost of their own downfall, only to catapult the world revolution back through a heap of shards left behind, if they cannot override the lawfulness of their inevitable victory. Many a revolution in history has been prevented by war, but some have ended victoriously as a result of war. However, Marxism-Leninism has never drawn the insane conclusion of considering imperialist war as a kind of "mainspring of revolution". Marxism-Leninism has never left any doubt that every prevention of the outbreak of an imperialist war is a thousand times better for the revolution and the building of socialism than to end the imperialist war with the revolution and to have to build socialism on a heap of ruins. But, fascism and war of the imperialists is the supposed means of their mistaken belief to get ahead of the revolution and socialism, thus preventing or complicating the revolution and socialism. The law of the inevitability of war can only be annulled with the elimination of imperialism. Not every imperialist war automatically leads to revolution. But even then, we Marxist-Leninists would never calmly wait for imperialist war until "our chance" for revolution comes automatically. Marxism-Leninism is a revolutionary doctrine and that means that the working class is stronger than the capitalists, that revolution can prevent imperialist war, and is not condemned to be its possible by-product. Just as the Bolsheviks ended the First World War with the October Revolution, the whole world proletariat could have prevented the Second World War, we could have already built world socialism peacefully, if we communists had not fallen for the revisionists, the agents of world imperialism in the ranks of the workers' movement, in our own ranks, if we had chased them away in time. Without our victorious struggle against the

revisionists, the revolution cannot pre-empt imperialist war - this is the lesson of revolutions that have come out of imperialist wars. The history of socialism so far is a history of a socialism that emerged from the world wars. The objective conditions for the reconquest of socialism and thus the continuation of its history speak for a socialism that no longer emerges from the imperialist wars themselves, but from the victorious revolution of preventing a world war. It is precisely on this that the military policy of the world proletariat today must be based and oriented. This is an extremely important question, and it must be scientifically investigated and substantiated more consistently than before.

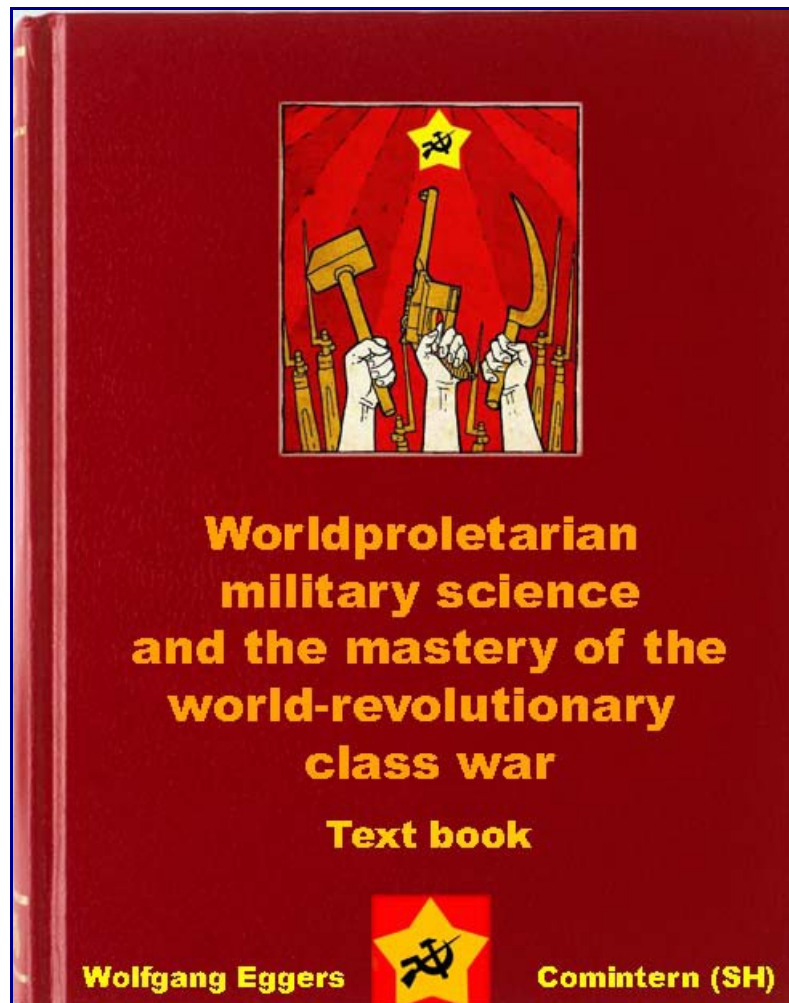
The objective and subjective factors of the revolution can be aggravated again by an imperialist war, because the way of life of the people changes with their living conditions destroyed by the war, their mode of production changes with their conditions of production changed by the war, thus wars have also always had an influence on the history of development of the productive forces and the relations of production in the whole world, and the scale of a future destruction compared with all previous imperialist wars is inconceivably more serious. If the labouring masses are physically destroyed in war, this main factor of the production process will also be destroyed. The labouring masses are, after all, the ones who provide the necessary material goods for the existence of all people in the world. Therefore, the science of history cannot fatefully reduce itself to the history of wars, the history of the destruction of nature and productive forces in individual countries and in the whole world, but must above all concern itself with the history of the peoples as producers of material goods, as forces for preventing imperialist wars, for preventing the destruction of man and nature. Thus, socialism and the Red Army in Russia were built on the ruins of the First World War, under the worst conditions, "from nothing", so to speak. We must never forget the victims. Every bridge blown up in the rear of the enemy front is undoubtedly a loss, but more for the enemy than for ourselves - and thus great material sacrifices as well as the great human sacrifices for the revolutionary liberation of the world proletariat and peoples from world imperialism are unavoidable, the spectre of nuclear war and with it the effects of war on large territories of this globe can bring us, the threat of the annihilation of life on large parts of this earth cannot deter us from the revolutionary struggle, but - on the contrary - can only strengthen us even more in this struggle, in order to *disarm* the world imperialists already before these terrible events, to anticipate them with our revolution, in order to prevent worse and to use the existing resources for the peaceful construction of socialism - before the imperialist war has destroyed them. Our strategy and tactics of *pre-empting* the mass destruction of the world imperialists with world revolution has absolute priority over the strategy and tactics of turning the imperialist wars into international civil wars and thus giving birth to the world socialist revolution out of the imperialist wars.

Stalin taught us that one must not equate or confuse spatial-geographical isolation and political isolation - or, conversely, their interconnectedness. Arbitrary military actions cannot be carried out arbitrarily in arbitrary territories and at arbitrary times, but only those which have been lawfully prepared by the preceding development and for which the objective conditions have become ripe - and the objective conditions on a national scale are of course not the same as those on a world scale, thus the world socialist revolution cannot be conjured out of the simultaneity of the socialist revolution in the individual countries, since the global objective conditions do not grow up in the same way and at the same pace as in each individual country. Therefore, only that military policy can be scientifically justified which recognises the dialectical connection of the complete coincidence of the objective factors with the subjective factors. If the objective conditions are ripe for the proletarian revolution, then the subjective factor decides everything, then the political factor is the main factor. When the time of the revolutionary uprising has come, the guns decide:

"In order to harm the interveners, it is not at all necessary to be necessarily spatially connected with the country of the revolution. For this it is sufficient to meet the interveners at the most vulnerable points of their own territory, so that they feel the danger and understand the whole reality of proletarian solidarity. Suppose we were to come too close to bourgeois England in the Leningrad area and cause it considerable damage. Does it follow that England must necessarily take revenge on us for this in Leningrad? No, it does not follow from that. It could take revenge on us somewhere in Batum, in Odessa, in Baku or, let us say, in Vladivostock. *The same applies to the forms of aid and support which the proletarian dictatorship gives to the proletarian revolution in one of the countries of, say, Europe against the imperialist interveners*" (Stalin, Vol. 11, page 131, German edition); [emphasis by author]. Or take the support in the Spanish Civil War, to give just one historical example.

And so it is with the proletarian solidarity of the armies of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Lenin's and Stalin's USSR and in Enver Hoxha's Albania, for they were part of the army of the world proletariat, its vanguard. These armies were creations of the world proletariat in that they could not conquer, assert and defend power without the practised proletarian internationalism of the working class in the capitalist countries, without the practised support of the oppressed peoples throughout the world. When flames of revolutionary military struggle flare up here and there in individual countries, what is needed first and foremost is a strong influx of fresh air so that these flames can become a mighty world revolutionary blaze - this strong influx is generated by nothing other than the world proletarian army! The question with what speed, in what way and in what specific forms the world proletariat will be able to carry out the building of its revolutionary world army cannot be predicted today, but today it is already certain that we must absolutely propagate the necessity of the proletarian world army. The beginning of its actual construction must not be confused with the beginning of propaganda for it, because one thing is certain: propaganda for the proletarian world army must be carried out years beforehand, that is, long before the first soldier will actually be raised for this army. The world revolutionaries foresee the world socialist revolution before it breaks out, recognise the necessity of the world proletarian army before it is deployed, explain its inevitability to the masses, its combat mission, its line of march, its methods of struggle, as far as this is at all possible.

- End Part IX -



Part X

Textbook

on the Marxist-Leninist foundations of

World proletarian Military Science

and on the Art of

World revolutionary Class Warfare

August 2004

written by Wolfgang Eggers



PART X

The world socialist revolution

The world socialist revolution begins with the socialist revolution in one country, or rather, it began already in the country of the victorious October Revolution, Russia. Stalin made it clear that the October Revolution was an international revolution in *character*:

"Is our revolution, for instance, in *character* a national and only a national revolution, and not mainly an international revolution? Why then do we call it the basis of the revolutionary movement of the whole world, the lever of the revolutionary development of all countries, the fatherland of the world proletariat? In our country there have been people, for example our oppositionists, who considered the revolution in the USSR to be exclusively or mainly a national revolution. They broke their necks in the process. Strange that, as it turns out, there are people around the Comintern who are ready to follow in the footsteps of the oppositionists" (Stalin, Vol. 11, pp. 133-134, German edition). One can also understand this remark of Stalin as an attack on both the Soviet Union and the Comintern, by which these "people around the Comintern" tried to drive a wedge between the October Revolution and the world revolution, that is, to isolate the Soviet Union from the world revolution and, conversely, the world revolution from the Soviet Union.

Stalin, however, proved not only the international *character* of the October Revolution, but also its *international type*:

"Perhaps our revolution is by its type a national and only a national revolution? But our revolution is a Soviet revolution, but the Soviet form of the proletarian state is a more or less obligatory form also for the dictatorship of the proletariat in the other countries [i.e. also the form of the *Soviet army* !! - author's note]. Not for nothing did Lenin say that the revolution in the USSR opened a new era in the course of history, the era of the soviets. Does it not follow from this that our revolution, not only in its character but also in its type, is mainly an international revolution, which gives a picture of what is essentially to be the proletarian revolution in each country?

If we speak in general of the mainly international character and type of the socialist revolution in one country, so also in particular there can only be a mainly international character and type of military defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country and an international character and type of military support to the revolutions in other countries by the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country. We refer here to Stalin when he said:

"There is no doubt that the international character of our revolution imposes on the proletarian dictatorship in the USSR certain obligations [precisely including *military* obligations - author's note] towards the proletarians and oppressed masses of the whole world. Lenin took this as his starting point when he said that the purpose of the existence of the proletarian dictatorship in the USSR is to do everything possible [i.e., also *militarily* possible - author's note] for the development and victory of the proletarian revolution in other countries. But what follows from this? It follows at least that our revolution is a part of the world revolution, the basis and the tool of the revolutionary movement of the whole world [i.e., also the *military* basis and the *military* tool - author's note].

There is also no doubt that not only does the revolution in the USSR have and fulfil obligations [including *military* ones - author's note] towards the proletarians of all countries, but that the proletarians of all countries also have certain quite serious obligations [i.e., also *military* ones - author's note] towards the proletarian dictatorship in the USSR. Their duty is to support the proletariat of the USSR in its struggle against internal and external enemies, to fight against a war aimed at strangling the proletarian dictatorship in the USSR [even with arms in hand - author's note], to propagate the direct [emphasised by the author] transition of the army of imperialism to the side of the proletarian dictatorship in the USSR in the event of an invasion of the USSR" (Stalin, Vol. 11, pp. 134-135, German edition). And we would like to emphasise here in addition: not only to propagate, but also to lead this transition militarily. With the transformation of the imperialist armies into proletarian armies, Stalin has basically set out here the core solution of the military programme of every Communist Party. Stalin thus teaches us to logically recognise the military significance of the inseparable link between the military struggle of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the world revolutionary movement, and to fulfil the resulting obligations as world revolutionaries. The Marxist-Leninist world movement should also have fulfilled these obligations towards the strangulation of the proletarian dictatorship in Albania.

It is an important experience and indispensable lesson of Marxism-Leninism that a socialist revolution in a country today must mature a *great deal* beyond its national framework in order to provide the goal and achievements of socialism in a country with a minimum of anchorage, and to be able to hold its own to some extent against the imperialist-revisionist encirclement from without and the revisionist influence from within. Today, it is hardly possible for a proletariat in a single country to build its own socialism "single-handedly", so to speak. The dialectical process of the globalisation of world capitalism today necessarily places the socialist revolution of a country in immediate, inseparable and direct connection with the world socialist revolution.

We are currently dealing with an epoch "between two revolutions". The epoch of the first revolution was the epoch of the October Revolution. It gave birth to real existing socialism. It finally ended with the destruction of socialist Albania. This was the end of the first period of socialism brought about by the October Revolution. This was the beginning of the "phase between revolutions", the period of darkest world reaction, the phase of most brutal and ruthless imperialist exploitation and oppression of the whole world as we find it now. From this we derive the world revolutionary task of transforming the socialist experiences of the Soviet Union and Albania, which have already been appropriated by the masses, as well as the thwarting of socialism in many countries of the world by revisionism, into spiritual equipment for new historical action, namely, to reconquer socialism through a renewed October Revolution. On the agenda today is the preparation of the masses of the whole world for the world socialist revolution. "'Between two revolutions' is the characterisation for an unsettled, indeterminate situation in which the old power, having convinced itself of the impossibility of ruling by the old means alone, tries to use a new means within the general framework of the old order. This is an internally contradictory, ineffectual attempt which leads self-rule once again and inevitably to fiasco, which leads us to the repetition of the glorious epoch and the glorious battles (...)" (Lenin, Vol. 16, page 24, German edition). Applied to today's situation, we justifiably speak of the renewed and inevitable fiasco of world imperialism, of the "furious and ever-increasing world reaction". Lenin pointed out that this fiasco, which inevitably heralds the new revolution, also has immediate effects on it, which means that we can assume that it will be different from the October Revolution, which heralded the world revolution. The globalisation of world capital will bring about a "globalisation of the October Revolution", which will have a much deeper course and a more far-reaching and lasting effect - the stage "between revolutions" is nothing other than the "breathing space" between the beginning and the completion of the world revolution. At that time, such an important spark as from Russia to Germany could not yet jump over. Today, globalisation makes it easier for the sparks to fly, because globalisation inevitably means that international finance capital, in order to increase, breaks down all the barriers on a world scale that still played an inhibiting role at the time of the October Revolution. Globalisation thus facilitates the world revolution, makes it easier for the individual socialist state to assert itself against capitalism, and it is no longer an insurmountable obstacle for socialism in a country to unite in a socialist (and no longer revisionist!) camp in order to lift the world revolution above the critical point at which the first period failed. In short: the future perspective for the international maturation of socialism looks - by law alone - much "rosier" than in the infancy of socialism, where a socialist country had to hold its own against the whole capitalist world in a hard struggle for survival and that the period when it stood alone was very, very long - too long, its doom.

Therefore, the tactics of the October Revolution must be perfected, the October tactics must be *globalised*, we must add a new global tactic to the tactics of the October Revolution, so that it can fully develop its own dynamics and this time make the leap to the completion of the world revolution. This presupposes that "between revolutions" one is not content with memorised formulas of the October Revolution, that one must not imagine the task of the new revolution as a mere repetition of the October Revolution, but that this time "between revolutions" presupposes a higher conception of the coming revolution, which includes mental mobility, completely new initiative, rethinking, searching for new ways and methods, etc., etc. At present, we are using the tactic "between revolutions", and after we have solved the tasks "between revolutions" with this tactic, we will move on to solving the higher revolutionary tasks. With the end of the period "between revolutions" we also end the tactics that were specifically necessary for it, in order to replace them with a new tactic, the continuation and completion of the proletarian, socialist world revolution. With the first phase of socialism, the soil for the second phase was fertilised. Capitalism after socialism becomes socialism after capitalism on a higher and firmer stage, not only a single socialist country is brought forth from the womb of world capitalism, but finally world socialism. Our new tactics must correspond to this historical development, they must take account of this development, they will also have to change constantly in the course of this development....

"The dialectical process of development is really already producing, in the womb of capitalism, elements of the new society, both material and spiritual elements" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 370, German edition). This is also true of the elements of the world socialist society which emerges from the womb of the world order of imperialism. In the same way, conversely, socialist society brings forth in its womb elements of the old society, capitalist-revisionist elements, both material and spiritual elements. What does this teach us? Today, we Marxist-Leninists must know how to distinguish the bits and pieces from the whole, must put the whole and not the bits and pieces as the slogan. Thus, socialism in one country is only a piece of the whole world proletarian revolution, a piece of world socialism. We Marxist-Leninists must *oppose* the patchwork of isolated overthrows with the basic conditions of world overthrow. The process of the real development of world revolution is always complicated, " ... it puts bits and pieces of the epilogue before the real prologue" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 369, German edition). But this does not mean that the Communist International, as the leader of the Marxist-Leninist world movement, is allowed to *confuse* the tasks of the struggle for socialism in one country with the struggle for world socialism, to confuse the "prologue with the epilogue proper". Doesn't this rather mean to replace the Marxist-Leninist dialectic by revisionism, if one postulates already a *guarantee* for world socialism, an automatic transition, by the mere existence of socialism in "*one*" country, as it was the case at the VII World Congress of the Comintern? Didn't that mean rather to pass not only the death sentence on the whole, but with it also the death sentence on the "bit"? We must never overlook the fact that all these bits and pieces of socialism in one country, if the proletarian, socialist world revolution is victorious, will inevitably merge into a unified, self-contained "epilogue" of the world revolution, while the bits and pieces, if the world revolution is not victorious, will remain just bits and pieces, pitiful bits and pieces that change nothing and satisfy only the revisionists. The revisionists, both on the eve of the socialist revolution and on the eve of the world socialist revolution, have the bad habit of making a fuss about a small piece of the great process, elevating this piece to the rank of the whole, subordinating the whole to this piece and thus mutilating the whole, thereby transforming themselves into restorers of capitalism in one country or restorers of world capitalism. The dialectics of the elementary world revolutionary process does not justify the glutinisation of the logical conclusions and political slogans of the proletarian, socialist world revolution.

No one can say today how the further fate of socialism in the world will be shaped. Our line remains the same: forging the socialist forces through ruthless criticism of revisionism, irreconcilable class struggle against the slide of Marxism-Leninism into revisionism, which has completely proved its counter-revolutionary character historically. The more the black world reaction acts against the socialist forces today, the faster it will provoke the socialist renaissance. And this renaissance - the Marxist-Leninists see to that - will not be stopped by discord and division. Based on the lessons of the anti-revisionist struggle, they will confidently shout to the blackest reaction: Go on and on! You sow and we shall reap! We have to go through a historical period where imperialism is trying to save itself *in a new way* and where it is obviously going bankrupt again *on this new way*. We have to go through this period by working systematically, persistently and patiently for a world-wide and internationally consolidated organisation of the politically conscious masses of the world socialist proletariat and the alliance with the peasants.

For a short historical period, the world proletariat was granted to build a second socialist country next to the first, socialist Albania. The revolution in Albania was also, according to its character and type, not only a national but mainly an *international revolution*, because it was the only one which answered with socialism to Hitler's fascism on the bases of Marxism-Leninism and thus a basis and a lever of the world revolution in continuation of the October Revolution. This Albanian basis and this Albanian lever of the world revolution was directed from the beginning in particular against revisionism in power, which had already - beginning with Yugoslav revisionism on the Albanian doorstep - taken on international forms. The Albanian revolution thus continued the world revolutionary process of a mainly *anti-revisionist character* and thus created the conditions for revolutionarily reclaiming the socialism eliminated by the revisionists, thus giving the only correct answer to the criminal work of the revisionists against the world proletariat. Thus, the Albanian revolution was a basis and a lever for the revolution to smash bourgeois rule in the revisionist countries and a basis and a lever for the anti-revisionist revolution in the old capitalist countries. And, to take up the words of Stalin, there are people around the world Marxist-Leninist movement today who have followed in the footsteps of the revisionists in the Comintern who have broken their necks. These people do not want to see the international character and type of the Albanian revolution because they are not only against the Albanian base and the Albanian lever for the anti-revisionist world revolution, but against any base and against any lever of the world revolution to limit the international character and type of any socialist revolution to a national framework and thus to open wide the doors again for the restoration of capitalism, to learn nothing from the history of the defeat of socialism and to take the workers for fools. These people do not understand that Albania had *created a new type of socialism*, the type of anti-revisionist socialism in a country, which today is a more or less obligatory form for the anti-revisionist dictatorship of the proletariat in all other countries. This is the whole essence of neo-revisionism on the question of world socialist revolution: the neo-revisionists differ from the revisionists only in that they recognise in words the role of the base and the lever of the socialist revolution of a country for the world revolution, but in deeds they follow the revisionists:

Reconquest of socialism - yes, but base and lever for anti-revisionist world socialism - "no !" Armed struggle for socialist revolution in one country - "yes!", but international armed struggle for world revolution, - "no !" These people do not understand that the international armed struggle includes and even presupposes that against revisionism, if it does not want to be condemned to defeat from the outset ! The international armed class struggle today is by its very nature an anti-revisionist struggle - these are the lessons we must draw from the defeat of socialism in Albania if we really want to reconquer socialism and not its revisionist image. Since Enver Hoxha, Marxist-Leninists all over the world understand by the dictatorship of the proletariat only the *anti-revisionist dictatorship of the proletariat*.

With anti-revisionist Albanian socialism, we could not yet speak of an anti-revisionist chain, of an anti-revisionist camp, and when we speak of the socialist camp today, we naturally mean the anti-revisionist, socialist camp. China was allied with Albania, but never socialist, which is why, strictly speaking, we cannot speak of an anti-revisionist camp. As is well known, it was the revisionists who prevented the socialist camp from the inside and the imperialists - and on whose behalf the revisionists acted - from the outside. The fate on the road to world revolution fell in a period of history where, in a relatively short time, the two camps of the fighting social world forces were on the verge of colliding. The fate of the socialist camp, which ended prematurely, decided the future of all countries in the world for a long period of time. The construction and disintegration of the socialist camp was decisive in setting the course for the straight path or a zigzag path to world socialism. Strictly speaking, one could not yet speak of a (already half-built) socialist camp in view of the predominantly revisionist balance of power in this camp at that time. The capitalist camp, with the help of the revisionists, made the socialist camp incapable of fighting before it could form itself sufficiently and develop properly in order to be prepared for a forthcoming decisive battle with the capitalist camp. We can only speak of the reconquest of the socialist camp if we understand it as the struggle against the revisionists, who have paralysed and thus prevented the development of the socialist camp and which we must now lead back to a victorious end by (international) detours. Having lost the struggle for the creation of the socialist camp to the revisionists, which would have led us on the direct road to world socialism, we have no choice but to accept the history of socialism as a history of zigzags. The Marxist-Leninists do everything to show the masses the straight path, help them to tread (and re-tread) this path, lead them to continue the struggle on this path. But this does not mean that we abandon the masses as soon as they are forced to take zigzag paths on the road to socialism, including difficult and risky zigzag jumps. Marxist-Leninists must not only be masters of the straight path, but also masters of the much more complicated zigzags. We are not against zigzag paths just because we are for straight lines. We do not reject the zigzag path and cannot reject it if we do not want to become outlandish exiles of socialism. We are communists because we want to arrive at our goals, even if we are forced to overcome intermediate stages and compromises with which they try to stop our victory and prolong imperialist slavery. Zigzag paths of socialism are not created by us communists alone, but are created by the historical development of socialism (in the thwarting of which the revisionists have a "not small" share). The straightforwardness of a communist is not measured by how well he can skip or circumnavigate intermediate stations and compromises, but by how clearly he can keep his eye on the revolutionary goals and pursue them under all circumstances, through all intermediate stations and compromises. The danger of a revisionist, on the other hand, is measured by the extent to which, behind the mask of this "straightforwardness of a communist", he succeeds in playing the world revolution to the tune of the imperialists. If we want to prevent the

zigzag course of our world revolutionary ship, and we can, then we must keep the ship firmly in proletarian hands on a safe Marxist-Leninist course, we must not leave it to the revisionist traitors, we must follow the needle on our Marxist-Leninist compass without deviating from it in the slightest and not the needle of a manipulated imperialist compass which shows us a " straight path to socialism" but in reality shows us the path into the swamp. Following our Marxist-Leninist compass without deviation does not mean ignoring the rocks and other obstacles that appear in the fairway - even a child understands this. We must always ensure that we have enough water under our keel, that is, that we are *carried by the masses*.

It is therefore necessary to use the zigzag path to which the revisionists have condemned us, and to do so without ceasing to fight consistently for the straight path, that is, to fight against the revisionists. To fight against revisionism means nothing else than to fight for the straight path of Marxism-Leninism, means not to accept zigzag paths as God-given, but to bring the revolution *back on the straight path* through all zigzag paths. Those who are unable to grasp this apparent contradiction bury their heads in the sand before the dialectic between the *straight* and *zigzag* paths of the revolution: if the socialist camp could not be fought for on the straight path, then it must be conquered on zigzag paths in order to then face the decisive battle with the capitalist camp *straight on* - this is how, and no differently, the revolutionary path to world socialism presents itself to the world proletariat today. Lenin said about the "most complicated and fantastic zigzags of history", which we Marxist-Leninists "undeniably have to reckon with": "The Marxist is obliged to fight for the straight revolutionary path of development, if such a struggle is prescribed by the objective state of affairs, but this does not mean (...) that we do not have to take into account the (...) zigzag turn" (Lenin, Vol. 13, p. 20, German edition). For Lenin, "to take account of zigzag turns" meant "that, while fully upholding our entire programme and all our revolutionary views, we must adapt the immediate appeals to the objective state of affairs of the given moment. We proclaim the inevitability of the revolution, systematically and unceasingly prepare the accumulation of inflammatory material in every respect [i.e., also in military terms - author's note], to this end carefully guard the revolutionary traditions of the best period of our revolution, cultivate them and purge them of the liberal [and today revisionist. ... - author's note] parasites, but at the same time not renouncing the everyday work in the (...) turn that is taking place in everyday life" (Lenin, Vol. 13, page 21, German edition). And what Lenin said here is also true of our present work, where we are zigzagging in preparation for the reconquest of socialism.

"The position of Marxism towards the zigzag of history, is basically the same as a position towards compromise [towards the straight path of history, which we Marxist-Leninists prefer, but which we cannot choose - author's note] - a compromise between the old, which is no longer strong enough to overthrow the new, which is not yet strong enough to overthrow the old altogether" (Lenin, Vol. 13, page 9, German edition). And to speak in the words of Marx and Engels (Volume 18, page 534, German edition):

In the building of socialism, and especially in the creation of the socialist camp, a lot of stupidities inevitably happened, just as at any other time, and if we look at them calmly in retrospect, capable of criticism, we come to the conclusion, especially with regard to revisionism: We did a lot of things we would have done better not to do, and we omitted a lot of things we would have done better, and that is why socialism went wrong. But what lack of criticism lies in canonising the development of socialism so far, in declaring it infallible? (And this, of all things, from the mouths of those who had ruined the development of socialism - from the mouths of the revisionists!) Only after revisionism - having come to power - was able to save capitalism (temporarily), only after the collapse of the Albanian struggle against revisionism, everything was decided in one fell swoop: victory of capitalism and defeat of socialism on a world scale. In a very simple way, all doubts, especially about the *anti-socialist role of the revisionists*, have been removed. No one can deny - after all that has happened in the past - the struggle against revisionism - *hence* the emergence of neo-revisionism and the anti-neo-revisionist struggle, the continuation of the anti-revisionist struggle on a higher level!

And only the revisionists could sneer after the conclusion of the historical battle waged by the Albanians to keep the socialist camp pure, in which the decision was made for the zigzag path and against the straight path, who fought to the end for the straight, the Albanian path to world socialism. Other than on a zigzag path, we cannot reconquer socialism, we cannot build a real anti-revisionist, socialist camp, the only camp that can not only parry the capitalist camp, but will also be the only camp that will bring the capitalist camp to its knees. Because: With every further socialist revolution, the chain of the socialist world order is formed, which is called the second period, the period of the socialist camp. The socialist camp is already an independent socialist chain next to the imperialist chain that holds together the hostile, capitalist camp. And in the third period, with the overwhelming majority of socialist countries on this earth, the completion of this socialist chain is formed, which breaks the remaining links of the imperialist chain (to which the revisionist links also belong), causes them to break and, with the destruction of the last link, has finally eliminated the whole world imperialist chain and turns to the final destruction of its shattered remains. This is a long process of maturation that cannot be skipped. Before world socialism can develop, socialism must first be consolidated and matured in a country as its centre. If a central camp of world socialism develops from this *centre*, it too requires a certain period of development, setbacks cannot be ruled out here either, and one must learn from the mistakes made in order to succeed in a further attempt to expand the socialist camp into world socialism. And here, too, the class struggle will not slacken, but will only reach its climax.

Sufficient time is needed here to become aware also of the *military* aspect of this whole world-historical complex of questions of the development of socialism so far, to work out its special significance for the future and thus to render a valuable service to the development of world proletarian military science. We shall return to this military aspect later, but here only this much, that in the period of rest between revolutions we must keep alive, defend and cultivate the military traditions of socialism, which international reaction is trying to erase from the historical consciousness of the world proletariat and kick into the mud.

The *basic question* of world revolution is world power. The character of the world revolution, its course and outcome are determined in full measure by in whose hands the power is, which class is in power. The world crisis is a crisis of power, is an expression of the struggle of the classes for power. The present revolutionary epoch is characterised by the fact that in it the struggle for world power assumes the sharpest and most undisguised character. But *no force* could *win* the victory of world revolution *if* the whole history of dying capitalism - the whole process of economic disintegration enormously accelerated by the imperialist wars - *had not* completely washed out and deeply undermined the ruling world imperialism.

"The epoch of imperialism, which completes the process of creating the material conditions of socialism (concentration of the means of production, gigantic socialisation of labour, strengthening of workers' organisations), at the same time intensifies the contradictions between the 'great powers' and provokes wars which bring about the disintegration of the unified world economy. Imperialism is therefore the decaying, dying capitalism. It is the last stage of the development of capitalism in general. IT IS THE DAWN OF THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION. The international proletarian revolution thus springs from the conditions of development of capitalism in general and its imperialist phase in particular. The capitalist system as a whole is approaching its final collapse. The dictatorship of finance capital is collapsing and giving way to the dictatorship of the proletariat." (From the Programme of the Communist International, Section I, Chapter 4, German edition)

"Now that these (material) conditions are in place, there will be no power on the whole earth that could prevent the Bolsheviks, if they do not allow themselves to be intimidated and know how to seize power, to assert it until the victory of the world socialist revolution[emphasised by author]" (Lenin, 1917, *"Will the Bolsheviks Assert State Power?"*, German edition).

Here Lenin clearly stated the conditions of the conquest of world power by the Bolsheviks:

First, the (material) conditions for the world power of Bolshevism were already in place in Lenin's time.

Secondly, the Bolsheviks could seize power anywhere in the world even then if they were not intimidated.

Thirdly, the Bolsheviks can maintain their power in one country until the victory of the world socialist revolution. But this is no longer in the power of the Bolsheviks in one country, but is the common work of the Bolsheviks throughout the world, and this was the crux of the matter at that time. The majority (Bolsheviks) in one country is one thing, the majority in the whole world is quite another. The Bolshevik world movement strengthened with the help of the Bolsheviks of the Soviet Union, but it proved to be too weak and the opponent still too strong to help communism to break through worldwide even then.

The spark did not come from the October Revolution mainly because the world Bolshevik movement was not yet mature enough. Due to the predominance of social-democratism and revisionism on a world scale, the spark could be extinguished because of the weakness of international Bolshevism, and therefore the influence of social-democratism and revisionism in the international workers' movement must first be completely extinguished by a strong Marxist-Leninist world movement before a new revolutionary spark can reignite the world. In any case, the failure of the spark to ignite at the time of Lenin and Stalin cost the world proletariat dearly: the loss of socialism altogether. The lesson is: with the victory of socialism in one country, the victory of the world revolution does not come by itself. That is, the final (guaranteed) victory in one country is only possible on the condition that the entire world proletariat has conquered its power, and this presupposes a strong world communist movement, which must first be rebuilt today. The socialist country is indeed the basis and the lever of the world revolution, but this does not mean that the socialist country can export power from one country to another by itself. In this way, the world proletariat could not and will not be able to conquer its power. This is what Marxism-Leninism teaches. At the second attempt, this leap must succeed with a better organisation of the world proletariat, so that the reconquered socialist country is not left isolated in the rain again. Socialist Albania was built as the second socialist country only when the fall of socialism in the first country, the Soviet Union, was already imminent. The revisionists gave the imperialists the decisive breathing space that led to the loss of socialism in both countries. They infiltrated the socialist camp even before it could form properly, with the revisionists building social fascism in these countries that were on the road to socialism and turning them into vassal states of the social-imperialist tsars.

So building socialism in "one" country is only *one thing*. To conquer it in a second country, that is, to assert it in two countries at the same time, *is another*. In order to build a socialist camp, a single socialist country cannot do it, it requires other socialist countries. To *crown* the victory of socialism in "one" country with the victory of the world socialist revolution, that is the most difficult but most important task. And this very task can only be really solved by the world proletariat under the leadership of the international Bolshevik movement, by no one else. The great goal, in order to prevent socialism from being taken away from us again in one country, is the world socialist revolution, not only a victorious socialist revolution or two, but the goal is to assert socialism in every country until the victory of socialism in the very last country of the world. And precisely for this reason we cannot avoid the solution of the question of a centralised military organisation of the world proletariat. We need not only the Red Army in one country, but a World Red Army commanding its sections in all countries. Only through the World Red Army can power be maintained in one country until the victory of the world revolution.

The socialist revolution was an enormous step towards socialism, a great step in the history of mankind; measured against the *world* socialist revolution, however, it was still a very great, long and arduous road, which we communists underestimated. This made possible the victory of the revisionists, because they were content with the exploitation and oppression of the socialist people and sold them off to the capitalists after they had parasitically sucked them dry. It has now turned out to be a historical fact that the reconquest of a lost socialism is much more difficult and complicated and requires even greater efforts than the first conquest of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But there is also much to be said for our hypothesis that the heavy victory of a recovered socialism will be more consolidated and secure. The capitalists seem to know this too, because although there has been no socialism in the world for almost 25 years, they have strengthened their forces against the world revolutionary movement, trying to destroy it in the bud so that it cannot spread in the first place.

What we have to prove today is to reconquer socialism and to defend it better this time, to defend it in such a way that a restoration of capitalism is made impossible, that we do not allow the communist army to be transformed back into a bourgeois army, that we break the back of the revisionists, that they can no longer turn back the wheel of history, that the next stage of development towards world communism can no longer be stopped and reversed by anyone. The world revolution is invincible just as the reconquest of socialism is invincible if it is not afraid of itself and puts all power into the hands of the world proletariat, for it is the armies of the proletarians of all countries of which it is composed that have to overcome great problems in one country or another, but are not thereby lost or annihilated for the international struggle, but on the contrary, thereby also make an international contribution and multiply the power of the world proletariat as a whole.

The military lessons for the seizure of power of the world proletariat cannot be separated from the military struggle for the defence of the world revolution, for the building and defence of world socialism, indeed it is one and the same military struggle which continues and develops from stage to stage.

Those who shed their blood with the world proletariat will also participate in the power of the world proletariat. History has proved that everything that is created and won with blood and sweat must also be defended with blood and sweat. This is also true for communism, especially for the communist army. Unfortunately, history has proved that socialism could turn back into capitalism, a communist army could turn into a social-fascist, social-imperialist, bourgeois army by the revisionists. What we have to prove is that socialism can transform itself back from capitalism, that revisionist armies can transform themselves into proletarian armies, that they can transform themselves *back into* socialist armies.

The military significance of proletarian internationalism

Internationalism is the ideology of the working class, its spiritual weapon which helps to unite all the national sections of the revolutionary forces into a united front of struggle against imperialism. But what is the ideology of internationalism worth if it is not also *practically* understood and applied as a military weapon? A true internationalist therefore recognises that internationalism is not only the spiritual but also the military weapon of the world proletariat. We Marxist-Leninists are internationalists of deed and not of word. But who can call himself an internationalist of deed who rejects the necessity of organising and using the internationalist weapons?

The most valuable thing that the proletarians of all countries have is the unity and organisation of their solidarity. Therefore, their military victory is only possible if they unite into a world army. The international revolutionary workers' movement is forced by the betrayal of revisionism to work its way up again from its fragmentation to unity, which, at the cost of its downfall, requires an all the more rigorous revolutionary centralisation, the Communist International. The further this process of unity is delayed, the worse the wars and civil wars still to come.

"The international revolutionary movement of the proletariat does not proceed uniformly in the different countries and not in one and the same form, nor can it. The complete and all-round utilisation of all possibilities in all spheres of action arises only as a *result* of the class struggle of the workers of the *various* countries. Each country contributes its own valuable features to this, but in each individual country the movement suffers from this or that one-sidedness, from these or those theoretical and practical shortcomings of the individual socialist parties. On the whole, however, we see clearly a tremendous advance of international socialism, the union with the millions of armies of the proletariat in many concrete clashes with the enemy, the growth of the decisive struggle against the bourgeoisie..." (Lenin, Vol. 15, page 182, German edition).

For the Communist International, the armed struggle of the world proletariat is such a difficult and arduous task because the conditions are different everywhere, so that not only geographically but also historically-socially on different fronts the weapons must speak differently at the same time. The world proletariat is simultaneously waging different wars, "which are extremely diverse both in their character and in their aims and in the composition of the social forces capable of taking a decisive part in one or the other war" (Lenin, Vol. 9, p. 304, German edition). But the unifying factor is also at the same time the strong, the insurmountable - proletarian internationalism, through which all the proletarian armies of the world are united. The unifying factor is Marxism-Leninism and the programme of the Communist International.

That the world revolution *will only begin in one country* is a truism of Marxism-Leninism. But it goes without saying that it cannot take the same course as after the October Revolution. From the unevenness of economic and political development is an unconditional law of capitalism, from which arises the unconditional law of the unevenness of the development of revolution and socialism in the individual countries. Socialism cannot win in all countries at once. Does this contradict the slogan: Proletarians of all countries unite? No, on the contrary. In fact, this is a basic prerequisite for the strategy and tactics of the world revolution. The international unification of the proletariat - across all national borders - is what makes it possible to exploit the unevenness of the development of capitalism in favour of the revolution in one country. By the proletarians intensifying the class struggle in their own countries, world capitalism in general is thereby weakened on all fronts at the same time. Most of all, however, the connection of world imperialism to the weakest imperialist chain link is loosened. And it is only from this that the possibility arises for the proletariat in that country which represents the weakest link in the imperialist chain to break it, that is, to carry out the socialist revolution. The weakest link in the chain does not break by itself, but certain objective and subjective conditions must first have matured, and the driving force of proletarian internationalism is part of this.

The real historical result of the armed struggles of the proletarians in individual countries was not only the immediate success of "socialism in one country", but the ever-widening unification of the armed struggle of the proletarians of all countries on the road to the victory of socialism on a world scale. Individual armed struggles were and are every time bloodily crushed by the international counterrevolution, not least favoured by the fragmentation of the actions, by the splitting of the world revolutionary class struggle on the part of the opportunists and by its lack of centralisation. Only with globalisation, with the breaking down of national barriers, the way is paved for the world revolutionaries to act together beyond the individual states. It is precisely through this that the armed struggle of the entire world proletariat becomes stronger, firmer, more powerful, and the world bourgeoisie with its imperialist wars of robbery supplies the world proletariat with the weapons that it can use victoriously against the world bourgeoisie. And not only the weapons, but also large components of the ruling class itself are not only thrown into the world proletariat, but a smaller component of them also joins the revolutionary world proletariat directly when international decisive battles occur. The violent military conflicts in the capitalist class society promote in many ways the course of development of the world proletarian revolution. Therefore, we communists promote the violent class struggle of the world proletariat at all times and with all available means, we attach the greatest importance to the military tasks of the world proletariat....

Comrade Stalin said that the Comintern, "expresses the unification of the efforts of the proletarians not only of the advanced countries, but also of all the countries of the world both in the interests of the world revolution and in the interests of the development of our (the October Revolution - the author) revolution. And who else but our Party took the initiative in founding the Comintern, and who else but our Party is its vanguard?" (Stalin Vol. 8, page 294, German edition)

According to this, the Red Soviet Army played a vanguard role in the armed struggle of the world proletariat, it was considered the nucleus of the red proletarian world army, the vanguard of the armed world revolution. This was precisely what Trotsky criticised and fought against.

It is therefore not a question of being content with the armed class struggle in our own country. The people's war at home only acquires an internationalist character when it is integrated as a part of the armed revolution of the other countries, when it is directed into the mainstream of the revolutionary world movement. This does not diminish the importance of the military struggle at home, on the contrary. The world revolution exists only in each individual country, through each individual country. Every revolution in the individual countries contributes in one way or another to the world revolution, is a part of the world revolution. In the world revolution, the revolutions in the individual countries are reflected, they form as parts the essence of the world revolution and impose their special character on the world revolution. They thus form the general essence of the world revolution, through which the force flows to it which not only inspires the revolution in the individual countries, but internationalises its character, i.e., Capitalism is an international power, and it can be finally destroyed only when victory is won in all countries and not only in one country" (Lenin, Vol. 28, p. 65, German edition). Lenin thereby resolutely opposed the view that the socialist revolutions of individual countries should be "*fixed*" in an order, so to speak:.

"'In one country revolution has come about, now the same thing must happen in Germany' - this way of looking at things is wrong. One tries to fix an order, but one cannot. We have all experienced the 1905 revolution, we have all heard or seen how it caused an upsurge of revolutionary ideas throughout the world, as Marx used to say. The revolution cannot be made nor can an order be set. You cannot make revolution to order, revolution grows up. To want to do so is pure charlatanry, which is now particularly common in Russia. When the objective conditions change, an uprising is inevitable. But in what order, at what time and with what success, we do not know. We are told: If the revolutionary class in Russia takes power into its hands, but there is no uprising in other countries, what should the revolutionary party do? What should happen then? To this question the last point of our resolution gives the answer. 'But as long as the revolutionary class in Russia has not taken the whole state power into its hands, our party will support in every way those proletarian parties and groups abroad which are really already waging a revolutionary struggle against their imperialist governments and against their bourgeoisie during the war'. That is all we can and must promise to do immediately. The revolution is ripening in all countries, but when and to what extent it will be ripe, nobody knows. In all countries there are people who are leading a revolutionary struggle against their governments. It is them and only them that we must support. This is a serious matter, all the rest is lies and deceit" (Lenin, Vol. 24, p. 259, German edition).

The armed struggle for the world revolution and for the revolutions in the individual countries stand in a relative relation to each other, like the relativity of wholeness and partiality. They are identical in their internationalist, socialist character, but they all differ from each other in nationally different forms. The closer the respective next revolution approaches the world revolution, the more the revolutions also lose their national military characteristics, but without losing them completely. The revolution in the individual countries and the world revolution are also inseparable insofar as nothing can work in the world revolution that does not also work in the revolutions of the individual countries and, conversely, nothing can work in the individual countries that does not work in the whole world as a revolutionary whole. A world revolution does not cease to be a world revolution because it does not extend to many countries, but only to one country, not to many revolutions, but to one revolution. Each revolution for itself and all revolutions together form a single world process, which unfolds its full development with the world revolution and qualitatively reaches its highest stage. Each revolution not only serves liberation in its own country, but also facilitates liberation in other countries. In that each revolution also serves the revolution in another country, all revolutions serve all other revolutions, they all serve the world revolution, the world revolution serves all. All revolutions are parts of one struggle, the overthrow of the world bourgeoisie, the smashing of world imperialism and the creation of world socialism. The world revolution cannot trigger itself. Its fate stands and falls with the fate of the revolution in each individual country, with the fate of the revolutions in all countries. Each revolution goes its own way, but (more or less - but as far as possible) in step, all their paths lead towards world revolution. Nor can the world revolution be merely the sum, arithmetic sum, or average result of all revolutions. Nor can one revolution take over the function of the world revolution or become so strong that it makes the world revolution or other revolutions superfluous. Revolutions cannot be exported. The world revolution differs in its relative self-legality from the different self-legality of all other revolutions. Different and even contradictory interests can arise as between parts and their whole. The parts are assigned to the whole. Those interests of the individual parts that serve their whole are subordinate to it. Everything serves the world revolution, is subordinated to it, because only through the world revolution are all revolutions brought to an end, the revolutions are secured, there is no more encirclement by the imperialists, the bourgeois classes in the individual socialist countries no longer receive military support from outside, the classes gradually begin to die off through the world dictatorship of the proletariat. The likelihood of the bourgeoisie regaining world domination after the world revolution is not guaranteed to be ruled out, but it is extremely small, because it is deprived of its economic basis to regain military strength. A socialist class society still exists, but with classes that are no longer antagonistic. This time is still in the distant future and we cannot yet foresee so far ahead as to make this or that prognosis. In any case, one thing is clear: we have let the revisionists take the gun out of our hands for the last time. The revolutionary theory of the armed struggle of the

proletariat is never limited to the borders and problems of the proletarians in the individual countries.

Never do the military actions of the proletarians have only a limited national character or only a national significance or a national side (this is not to be confused with the Marxist-Leninist principle that we must not necessarily and inevitably support every national struggle, whereas we must necessarily and without exception support every international struggle against world imperialism) - We are speaking here of something quite different, that is, exclusively of the revolutionary national character, of the revolutionary national significance of the armed class struggle, of the national side of the internationalist revolution, of the national forms inseparable from the international character of the world army of the proletariat. Just as there can be no socialist revolution confined exclusively to the borders and problems of individual countries (National Socialism, National Bolshevism, etc.). Conversely, there can be a "world revolution" that is limited only to the "interests of the world community", "to the whole world proletariat", etc. The revolutionary world army of the proletariat must never allow itself to be harnessed to the world imperialist cart and be guided by bourgeois, cosmopolitanism. There is no army of the world proletariat that is "above" the armies of the proletarians in the individual countries, no proxy world army, no "higher" world army in which the whole is detached from the parts. There is also no "ultra-internationalist" world army which, so to speak, neatly separates the international side of each individual revolution from the national forms of armed struggle in the individual countries, in order to join this international side with the international sides of all other revolutions, from which the respective national forms are also neatly separated. This would be a fantasy of people who absolutise the world revolution, highly sterilise it in "pure culture" and thus transfigure the world army of the proletariat only into a hollow phrase of imperialist cosmopolitanism. If one exposes those opportunists who deny and fight the national forms and national characteristics of the proletarian armies in the individual countries, one must also expose those who try to do this on a world scale, and in this way rape the revolutionary army in the individual countries. Thus, the armed struggle against globalisation does not cancel out the armed struggle against capitalism on a national scale, but rather presupposes it. In this respect, many "theories" of the opponents of globalisation are not Marxist, although they claim the struggle against world imperialism. The revolutions are the individual components of the whole general revolutionary process, which is advanced on a world scale by the world proletariat waging a fierce armed class struggle in a united world front with the armed liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples. The victory of revolution on a national scale is always a victory on an international scale, understood not as a passive mechanistic, spontaneist effect, but in that the external internal factors of any revolution on a world scale are dialectically linked together by the strategy and tactics of the world revolution. Insofar as the strategy and tactics of the revolutions in individual countries are linked to the strategy and tactics of the world revolution as if in chain links, the individual links of this chain can merge more easily and more firmly, the external and internal factors of the revolution

can work together more optimally and thus accelerate and deepen the world revolution. This is also the case in the military field. Revolutions all have their internal and external factors, which are different from each other in each revolution. The external factors work through the internal factors, because the internal factors are the decisive factors of every revolution: "If the Marxist-Leninist parties consistently adhere to the principle that the internal factor, the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the people of each country is itself the decisive factor in the victory of the revolution, while the external factor is a supporting and secondary factor, they in no way ignore or underestimate the external allies of the revolution,. Both towards the internal and towards the external allies they adopt an attitude which is both principled and elastic" (Enver Hoxha, "Imperialism and Revolution", page 262, German edition).

This principle applies to revolution in all countries without exception. This gives the relationship between the internal and external factors not only a meaning limited to the individual country, but also an internationalist meaning, the meaning of the interconnectedness of all "internal" and "external factors" of all countries. This is an important question of the strategy and tactics of the world revolution in relation to the strategy and tactics of the revolution in the individual countries.

If all other Marxist-Leninist parties are aware of this and draw lessons from it, they can coordinate and link this principle at the international level and derive military benefit from it not only for their own revolution but also for the world revolution, which presupposes the unification of the Marxist-Leninist parties into sections of the Comintern (SH) and the formation of international combat units.

"It would be folly to claim that in characterising this or that current, this or that error in the revolution of a particular country, one cannot draw any analogies at all with the revolutions of other countries. Does not the revolution of one country learn from the revolutions of other countries, even if these revolutions are not of the same type? Otherwise, what does the science of revolution amount to?" (Stalin, vol. 10, page 26, German edition). This also applies to the further development of the military science of Marxism-Leninism.

We have to understand dialectically that in the question of the military struggle for the world revolution, the view of the military struggle of a country is relativised.

The world proletariat can only liberate itself by the proletarians in all countries liberating themselves. Every revolutionary army is linked to all other revolutionary armies, is in connection with them, in a causal relationship. Every revolutionary army is a part of the great army of the world proletariat.

The defence of the socialist fatherland mobilised not only the forces of the socialist people, but also the forces of the world proletariat and all the peoples of the world. The military force based on proletarian internationalism, which is for the world revolution, is the strongest force in the world. It must be trained, developed and mobilised in the international class struggle.

The aspiration for the liberation of the oppressed peoples from the yoke of world imperialism favours the workers' efforts to free themselves from capital and vice versa. The national and social liberation movement forms a common front worldwide against the capitalist world order. Engels speaks of the "establishment of the harmonious international cooperation of peoples, without which the rule of the proletariat cannot exist" (MEW, Vol. 21, page 407, *"The Role of Violence in History"*, German edition).

The world proletariat becomes a world power from the day when an independent world proletarian organisation is formed. The world proletariat becomes a military power the moment it begins to create its own military organisations. Just as Lenin defined the "world domination" of the bourgeoisie as "the content of imperialist policy, the continuation of which is imperialist war" (Lenin, Vol. 23, page 26, German edition), we define the world domination of the proletariat as the content of anti-imperialist-socialist, world revolutionary policy, the continuation of which is international civil war.

Characterising the role of the Soviet state in the liberation struggle of the toilers of the capitalist countries, comrade Stalin pointed out that the faster the country in question becomes a base for the further unfolding of world revolution, a source of the further decomposition of imperialism, the faster and more thoroughly the process of turning a number of new countries away from imperialism will proceed (see: Stalin, Works, Vol. 6, page 399, German edition).

The toilers of the capitalist countries fighting against capital rely on the international solidarity of the toilers of *all* countries.

The military side of proletarian internationalism is becoming more and more central with the intensification of the world crisis of imperialism, with the inevitable international, military, warfare of the imperialists connected with it. It is now time for the world proletariat to speak out and take a stand, to deal with the military question in a scientific, internationalist and historical way. The globalisation of world imperialism has put the globalisation of the front against world imperialism on the agenda. The militarisation of the globalisation of world imperialism has put the arming of the global class struggle, the militarisation of the whole world proletariat on the agenda.

How can the world revolution triumph over the international counterrevolution?

The Marxist-Leninist theory of the world proletarian revolution starts from three interrelated guiding principles, the unification of three fronts of struggle, against world imperialism:

First guiding principle:

The imperialists defend their world domination just as they have established it - with dollars and banks; and the dollars and banks they need more for this, they get with more war. Globalisation openly reveals the brutal-parasitic character of international monopoly capitalism and makes the domination of finance capital to the last corner of the world a hundred times more noticeable than ever before, which makes the indignation of the world proletariat against the foundations of capitalism grow internationally and which leads the masses of the whole world - as the only salvation - to the proletarian, socialist world revolution.

The world proletarian front is the inner and decisive, the main front of the revolution against world imperialism.

Engels once said : "For the workers, of course, everything is favourable which centralises [and *globalises* - note of the author] the bourgeoisie" (Engels, MEW, Vol. 31, page 243, German edition), because in doing so it also centralises and globalises the forces of world revolution, globalises its own gravediggers. The internationalisation of counterrevolution centralises the tyranny of finance capital, organises its world fascism and thus prepares the *mechanism* of world revolution. With globalisation, the bourgeoisie establishes the united battlefield on which the world proletariat and the world bourgeoisie will measure their forces. If capitalist private ownership of the means of production is in flagrant disagreement with the globalised character of the production process, with the globalised character of the productive forces, then the result of this disagreement is the world economic crisis and the associated consequence of the globalised destruction of the productive forces. It is precisely this incongruity that constitutes the economic basis of the globalised social revolution, the purpose of which is to destroy the present relations of production and to produce new ones corresponding to the character of the productive forces. Thus, when the globalised productive forces are increasingly constricted, slowed down and finally destroyed by the world imperialist relations of production, this means the shutdown of world production as a result of the crisis of overproduction. This is the time of great mass unemployment in the world, a time when the majority of the world's population suffers hunger, not because there is a lack of goods, but because too many goods have been produced. Only through the socialisation of the globalised productive forces, the abolition of world capitalist property, which is in the hands of a few, only through the transformation of capitalist property into socialist property, can the productive forces and the relations of production be brought into line worldwide, because the international, social character of the globalised production process is underpinned by social ownership of all the means of production in the world. Only when the world proletariat has gradually taken possession of world production through world revolution can it finally produce the supply of the world population itself. But as long as world production is subordinated to the profit interests of international finance capital, as long as the world proletariat, the world producer, only watches silently as world capitalism wrecks everything and everyone, the needs of the world population for vital material goods cannot be satisfied by the actual producers themselves. And it is precisely here that the enormous role of the idea of world socialist revolution, of the centralisation of newly created institutions of the world proletariat, its new political power, which is called upon to finally eliminate the old relations of production of world imperialism by force, in order to put an end to the need and misery in the world, becomes apparent. And the ingenious formulation of this revolutionary idea is found in Marx's "Preface" to his famous book "On the Critique of Political Economy", which he wrote in 1859:

"At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come into contradiction with the existing relations of production, or, what is only a legal expression for it, with the relations of property within which they had hitherto moved. From forms of development of the productive forces, these relations turn into fetters of the same. An epoch of social revolution then occurs. With the change of the economic basis, the whole immense superstructure turns over more slowly or more rapidly. (...) A social formation never perishes before all the productive forces for which it is advanced enough have been developed, and new, higher relations of production never take their place before the material conditions of their existence have been hatched in the womb of the old society itself. Therefore, humanity only ever sets itself "tasks" [and so also the task of carrying out the armed world socialist revolution - author's note] which it can solve, because if we look more closely, we will always find that the task itself only arises where the material conditions for its solution are already present or at least in the process of becoming present" [and the material conditions of the world socialist revolution have long been present - author's note].

And Stalin developed from this in his writing: "*On Dialectical and Historical Materialism*": "On the basis of the conflict between the new productive forces and the old relations of production, on the basis of the new economic needs of society, new social ideas arise, the new ideas organise and mobilise the masses, the masses unite into a new political army, create a new revolutionary power and use it to *forcibly eliminate* the old conditions in the field of relations of production [emphasised by the author] and to establish and anchor new conditions. The elementary process of development gives place to the conscious activity of the people, the peaceful development to the violent upheaval, the evolution to the revolution" (Stalin, History of the CPSU [B], page 164, German edition).

If - to borrow the words of Karl Marx - *the international violence* of the socialist revolution is the midwife of world imperialism, pregnant with world socialism , then the *world proletariat*, as an international armed class, *violently abolishes* the old relations of production of world imperialism. The proletariat must centralise its world political domination, won at gunpoint, before it can gradually wrest all world capital from the world bourgeoisie, it must centralise all the means of production in the hands of its world state, thereby increasing the entire productive forces of the world according to plan and as rapidly as possible. The world proletariat, in order to survive, not only needs the centralisation of the world economy that capitalism has left behind with globalisation, but is building its own world socialist planned economy to organise world production to satisfy the needs of the world's population. If this centralisation succeeds, then the world proletariat can win more and more allies in the world and expand its world revolutionary base. The world revolution can only develop its full force if it starts from its centre and spreads from there over the whole globe (not to be confused with the anti-Marxist-Leninist theory of "*exporting the revolution*" !).

On the opposite side to *capital*, on the side of *labour*, the material situation has rapidly deteriorated during globalisation, not only of the employed workers combined in world production, but above all of the unemployed, who as a result of a worldwide ruinous competitive struggle have swelled into a huge world reserve army, unprecedented in its gigantic scale. It has thus grown into the largest and most important reserve of the world proletarian army and is being thrown into the world battle between labour and capital with all its force. The more miserable the situation of the reserve army of the world proletariat becomes, the more profoundly it affects the impoverishing situation and the labour agony of the workers remaining employed in world production. "From this the first conclusion is: the aggravation of the revolutionary crisis within the capitalist countries, the accumulation of dynamite on the internal, the proletarian front in the 'mother countries'" (Stalin, Vol. 6, page 83, German edition). If, with the united front of the working and unemployed workers, we strategically succeed in the victory of the world proletarian revolution and in returning this vast international reserve army of the unemployed to the world production process - that is, in reactivating the reserve army - through unheard-of efforts of eliminating world private property, then the world dictatorship of the working class will stand on firm legs, the world population can be adequately supplied for the first time in its history, and then the economy of the world bourgeoisie, on which its rule was based, will have played out for ever!

Second guiding principle:

The world system of financial enslavement and colonial exploitation, the war for maximum profit, has transformed the competitive struggle for raw material and sales markets into a self-destructive race, into a hopeless international war for the "spheres of influence" of the imperialist great powers and their alliances, with the result of the greatest world economic crisis in the history of humanity, which is deepening more and more. This world economic crisis breaks the links of the unified world economic chain and drives the individual national economies and national territories to ruin, subjugating all state apparatuses of the world under the world monopolies. As a consequence, the world economic crisis thus also undermines the population of the globe, which is divided into two camps, the handful of rich "great powers" and the "rest" of the world, i.e. the overwhelming majority. Because: the world economic crisis is already destroying the physical existence of the colonised peoples in peacetime, condemning them to total exhaustion, hunger, disease and death through unheard-of intensified exploitation. And that is why the majority of the world's population is forced to rise up against the handful of "civilised" world rulers in order to shake off the imperialist world yoke. "From this arises the second conclusion: the aggravation of the revolutionary crisis in the colonial countries, the growth of the elements of indignation against imperialism on the external, on the colonial front" (Stalin, *ibid*, page 84, German edition). If the world socialist revolution succeeds in integrating all the peoples oppressed and exploited by world imperialism into the anti-imperialist battle, then the colonial system, which feeds the rule of world imperialism, will have played out forever.

Third guiding principle:

The third front of the world proletarian revolution is formed between the imperialists themselves. The imbalance of the dying process of the imperialist countries drives them against each other into the world economic crisis and into imperialist wars in order to wrest from each other the shares of the world they have seized and to restore the "balance" disturbed by the crisis by redistributing the spoils. According to Kautsky's theory of "ultra-imperialism", the struggle of national finance capitals among themselves would be replaced by the common exploitation of the world by internationally allied finance capital. Kautsky was of the opinion that the capital magnates would unite on a world scale into a single world trust, which would then replace the competition and struggle of the state-separated finance capitals by the international unification of finance capital. With his theory of "peaceful" "ultra-imperialism", of a peaceful transition of imperialism to socialism, Kautsky dreamed that one would no longer need a socialist world revolution, that the development of globalisation would automatically make revolution superfluous. However, globalisation shows us that international finance capital is digging its own grave all the deeper, that international capital destroys the old framework of nation states through its monopolisation, that it cannot eliminate the inequality of the development of imperialism in the different countries, but on the contrary makes it much more unstable, drives the contradictions between capital and labour to a revolutionary outbreak and thus inevitably brings the world socialist revolution closer, indeed facilitates it even more, when the world productive forces have assumed a socialist degree of socialisation, that they explode the relations of production all the more violently, since the world is now only in the hands of the clan of a few rich people. The globalisation of finance capital globalises the world revolution of labour, which will naturally and inevitably pass through the stages of relatively weak germinal forms. Lenin replied:

"There is no doubt that the development is in the direction of a single world trust devouring all undertakings and all states without exception. But this development is taking place under such circumstances, at such a pace, under such contradictions, conflicts and shocks - by no means only economic, but also political, national, etc., - that it is necessary to make the necessary adjustments. U.S. - that necessarily, before it comes to a single world trust, to an 'ultra-imperialist' world unification of national finance capitals, imperialism must inevitably burst, that capitalism will turn into its opposite" (Lenin, Vol. 22, page 106, German edition).

The globalisation of international finance capital creates all the objective conditions for the realisation of world socialism, thus directly ushers in world socialism - but not automatically, not by peaceful means, but by the armed means of world socialist revolution, by the means of international civil war, which inevitably emerges from the imperialist wars, and which amounts to the complete DESTRUCTION of world imperialism and its political rule. The contradictions inherent in imperialism accelerate this world revolutionary process and must therefore be exploited. "Great sharks are fighting with each other to devour foreign 'fatherlands'. (...) The epoch of capitalist imperialism is that of mature and overripe capitalism, on the verge of collapse, ripe to make way for socialism" (Lenin, Vol. 22, page 108, German edition).

"All this leads to the strengthening of the third front, the inter-capitalist front, which weakens imperialism and facilitates the unification of the first two fronts, the revolutionary-proletarian front and the front of the colonial liberation movement, against imperialism". This leads to the third conclusion: the inevitability of wars under imperialism and the inevitability of the coalition between the proletarian revolution in Europe and the colonial revolution in the East into a united world front of revolution against the world front of imperialism" (Stalin, *ibid*). Thus, in order to establish world socialism, the weakening of the imperialists must be exploited as a third front from the common first and second fronts. Thus, in order to eliminate the inevitability of imperialist wars before its outbreak, all three fronts must work together to enable the world proletarian revolution to destroy world imperialism and - if this does not succeed - thus, if the first and second fronts together cannot prevent imperialist war by exploiting the third front, then this must be transformed into the international, socialist civil war with the goal of socialism, because "outside socialism there is no salvation for mankind from wars, from famine, from the ruin of further millions and millions of people" (Lenin, Vol. 24 page 19, German edition).

All these conclusions Lenin unites in the *general* conclusion: 'Imperialism is the eve of the socialist revolution'" (Stalin, *ibid*, page 84, German edition),

This is the international situation in which we still find ourselves at the present time, soon to be on the eve for almost 100 years. The imperialist countries will not evenly "mature" into socialism, will not lie down quietly arm in arm to die, but their dying process will be whirled by a ruthlessly waged, brutal "struggle for survival" of one against another imperialist country, or rather the competing alliances will clash in the struggle to maintain or conquer world domination. In this struggle for survival, one will fall by the wayside sooner and the other later, and thus also in one country the proletariat will be able to rise to proletarian revolution sooner and in the other later. It is not where the imperialist struggle for survival is won, but where it will be lost, that the proletarian revolution can be victorious and thus socialism is most likely to be reconquered. Our world revolutionary strategy and tactics are therefore fundamentally aimed at directing the main blow of the proletarians of all countries at that dying imperialist country which is the first to lose to its adversaries in the struggle to the death and which has been pushed to the end of the imperialist chain by its capitulation. In its last convulsions, the bourgeoisie of this country will brutally overuse the instruments of exploitation and oppression and thus saddle itself with the revolutionary situation, which it will then no longer have the strength to deal with. Against this weakest imperialist link, the main blow must also come at the same time from the side of the colonial and dependent countries, especially from those in which the revolutionary, national liberation movement is developing most rapidly and strongly - and these are usually those that have been most exploited and oppressed by the imperialist "loser". So, the colonial hinterland of the country that crashes first due to the world economic crisis has to be forcibly severed in order to knock away the last crutch of the staggering one. This is then also the signal for the attack of all other colonial and dependent countries. In this way, the internal front of the proletariat in the country of the "loser" for the victorious carrying out of its socialist revolution receives active support from the outside both from the proletarians of the other imperialist countries and from the colonial and dependent countries. In the concentration and centralisation of these three fronts in the country with the revolutionary situation also lies the key for the main blow against the next "loser" etc. etc., until the world proletariat finally crowns its world dictatorship with the blowing up of the last link of the imperialist chain.

Where the weakest link is and where it breaks cannot be predicted with certainty at the moment, because it also depends on the subjective factor, namely, whether the proletariat of this country in question has the necessary equipment to actually decide the socialist revolution for itself. It also depends on the army of the world proletariat, to what extent it can sufficiently support its section from the outside in the country where the socialist revolution first breaks out, and it also depends on the condition of the armies of the national liberation movement which intervene in the battle from its side. Above all, the international counterrevolution will prefer to try to bail out its "loser" rather than sacrifice it to its enemies, the proletariat, because a proletariat in power can become a serious danger to any imperialist country, even to the "winners" and eventually to the whole world imperialist system. On its way of descent, the inter-imperialist contradictions have produced the world wars. Even now, the danger of a 3rd world war is acute. With its wars, world imperialism has not given up its existence until today, although revolutions have been caused with it, but with each further war against socialism or against its reconquest, capitalism puts its existence a bit more at risk each time. In the end, capitalism will inevitably succumb to socialism, and the more savagely it lashes out, the faster it will do so. World imperialism today resembles a beast, tossing and turning like mad in its death throes, threatening to drag everything with it into the abyss, convulsing until its very last twitch ends its reign forever.

"A victory of the revolution in Germany means the securing of the victory of the revolution on an international scale", this is what Stalin said 80 years ago, one year after the Hamburg uprising (Stalin, Vol. 6, page 238, German edition). Is this statement still contemporary? Why not, actually? In any case, it is worth giving it some serious thought. Let us take Germany as just *one* possibility *among many other* possible countries - without blindly and dogmatically applying Stalin's quotation to today's situation. German imperialism, which expanded into the East and West with its second world war of robbery, virtually sucked the East and West into itself like an imperialist vacuum after the lost war. It is therefore no coincidence that the spearheads of the two superpowers in the Cold War met and powered each other up on German soil of all places. Following the law of unity and the struggle of opposites, the proletariat in Germany has been given the opportunity to turn the melting pot of world imperialist conflicts of interests into a melting pot of the *united* world proletariat - fed in particular by East and West - and to become the spearhead of the proletarian world army, which can make its triumphal march around the whole world via a conquered socialist Europe.

Reunified imperialist Germany has enormously strengthened its position vis-à-vis the other imperialist countries. The old revanchism is strongly pronounced and is catching up militarily [*"German capital, German money-murdering with all over the world"*], reorganisation of the Bundeswehr in the conflict between independent imperialist army of conquest or American auxiliary force!] It is knocking ever louder at the gates of the hegemonic power and is therefore a thoroughly serious rival for the No.1 in power since two world wars - the USA - which has certainly learned from its defeats in two world wars and is now skilfully tacticking with other great powers and in this way trying to pull its own conductor's baton out of its pocket as far as possible. The USA, through its supremacy, has the advantage but is entangled in deep contradictions and offers the whole world the target of the main enemy, in whose shadow imperialist Germany has always grown stronger. This was the tactical line given to German imperialism as the loser of the Second World War. In view of the recent past, there can be no doubt that the USA is not squeamish towards Germany and does not flinch for long as soon as its interests are violated. Anyone who does not unconditionally take up arms to support the raids of Anglo-American predatory warfare is quickly dismissed by the No. 1 superpower as a "cowardly shirker". Germany is thus one of the first on the USA's list of competitors to be eliminated. In the past, the victorious powers have robbed Germany blind and not everyone will want to back the new horse - the "eternal loser". The stick is in the dog's mouth. Weakness of the competitor means strengthening oneself, and the shirt is closer to everyone than the trousers. Let us assume, then, that the pressure on Germany intensifies and that Germany - as so often - is once again forced into a loser role, with or without war. This would predestine Germany, already chronically labouring in its deepest crisis, as the candidate for the weakest link in the imperialist chain, pushed from the West to the East.

The chauvinist revolutionaries of every imperialist country want the revolution for the victory over all other imperialist countries trying to dominate their own country (especially over the biggest and most dangerous competitor). The proletarian internationalists want the revolution in order to facilitate the overthrow of the imperialists of all other countries at the same time with the overthrow of their own imperialism through the world socialist revolution.

It is a lie to claim that by overthrowing German imperialism one would contribute to the strengthening of US imperialism, to the strengthening of the other imperialist "great" powers, to the outbreak of a reactionary war, etc., etc. It is not the task of the world proletariat to ensure the international "balance" of the world imperialist order. It is the task of the world proletariat to exploit the imbalance, the conflicts and difficulties of the imperialists, to accelerate their process of disintegration, to weaken the imperialist alliances, to bring world imperialism into difficulties in order to be able to overthrow it all the better. The main enemy of the proletariat of an imperialist great power is not any other imperialist great power, but always its own, whereby its own great power, through its alliance with other great powers, naturally does not face its own proletariat in isolation, but in the case of the imminent danger of a socialist revolution would most probably find support from outside and that same proletariat will therefore be forced for its part to also get international support, for example, through the socialist revolution of the proletarians of those "great" powers which will rush to the rescue in order to "bail out their partners". The idea of international armed class struggle is based on the insurrection in the rear of the belligerent armies, that is, on the idea of international civil war. The centrally directed strategy and tactics of the world socialist revolution are built on this idea.

Superpower difficulties are not necessarily and automatically advantageous for the proletarians if the other imperialists can strengthen themselves through them. The world proletariat, on the other hand, must wage a united struggle, must transform the weakness of a single imperialist country into the weakening of world imperialism as a whole and vice versa. The world-wide fraternisation of the workers and the international revolution of the proletariat, the awakening of the revolutionary spirit in the masses of the international proletariat - therein lies the only salvation! Whoever defends individual imperialism against the other imperialist "great" powers defends imperialism as a whole and harms the world socialist revolution as a whole. Every weakening of world imperialism, every weakening of one of its links, especially the weakening of its weakest link, brings the world proletariat a little closer to the victory of its world socialist revolution.

The German people have experienced two devastating world wars, and are therefore psychologically not to be enthused for a hurrah war of robbery by the USA, nor for a war of robbery by any other imperialist, not even for the war of the imperialists in their own country. Whoever brings the German people close to a war inevitably brings them close to the mass strike against the war, brings them a little closer to the revolution and a little away from being lackeys to the national as well as the international bourgeoisie. This is a big plus for the German proletariat. A proletariat which fights in an imperialist country in which the bourgeoisie, as the loser, is put in its place in terms of forces - that is laboriously forced to assert itself internationally in the competitive struggle and in doing so must wear out great forces and sacrifices - can exploit this weakening better for its socialist revolution than any proletariat of any other imperialist country. It can draw more strength for itself from its national reunification than the German bourgeoisie, which was forced into the international fold every time it became too strong nationally. If we now turn the gaze of the German proletariat to the East and reverse the role of the German revolution in securing the October Revolution and thus the world revolution, then the German proletariat would have a key international role to play in helping the Russian proletariat, which is suffering greatly today, to win back its socialism and thus to re-establish the old strong German-Russian starting position of the alliance for the world revolution. Today, the Russian proletariat would have a reliable ally in the German proletariat in order to better protect itself against the main imperialist enemy, the USA, and likewise against the old German revanchism. Allied with the Russian proletariat, the German proletariat could also best protect its own socialist revolution against the international counterrevolution from the West, for it is less to be feared from the East through the strengthening of the Russian proletariat. All this would facilitate the socialist revolution throughout Europe, which would be a great step towards the victory of the world revolution. There can be no question of exporting the German revolution or of favouring it of one's own making, for the conditions for the socialist revolution are ripe in exclusively all European countries, more ripe in some countries than in others, and the reconquest of socialism in Russia is overripe. But the proletarians must return to their old traditions and activate them; this is especially true of the revolutionary traditions of the German and Russian proletariat. Their division, the extinguishing of the sparks of the October Revolution, saved world imperialism at that time. The completion of their unification, the revolutionary unification of the Western and Eastern proletariat, will break the neck of world imperialism. That is why the main blow must come from the centre of Europe. And it is precisely for this reason that Stalin's quotation still has meaning, even under the conditions of the loss of the Soviet world centre, but precisely for this reason not all the less, but all the more.

The German proletariat works and lives in the centre of Europe, has, like the other proletarians of Europe, a great experience in class struggle. It is therefore a reliable pillar of the European workers' movement, just as it was a reliable pillar in the Spanish Civil War of 1936. If the European workers had united with arms in defence of the bourgeois republic, they will also unite in support of the struggle for socialist revolution in every European country in much greater numbers - i.e. en masse - and will carry through this internationalist struggle together even in a protracted civil war, because all proletarians know that the reconquest of socialism - no matter in which country - is also a great force for the struggle for socialist revolution in their own country, which the proletarians of the other countries will certainly come to the aid of in the same way. In a centrally located European country like Germany, proletarian internationalism can develop optimally, it can expand from there into all countries, in order to build itself up beforehand into a strong centre of force from all sides. Even the main reserves - for example, the huge European unemployed armies and the impoverished European peasant armies could quickly reach the main revolutionary centre from East and West, South and North, and be thrown onto the battlefield of the future common socialist Europe. The German proletariat, however, has not only won sympathy from the proletarians in the capitalist countries even outside Europe, but has many friends among the colonial and dependent countries. It can therefore unite the peoples of the West with the peoples of the East in common struggle and thus become the revolutionary world centre, which immediately reaches the more distant continents, thus turning the whole hinterland of world imperialism upside down and growing into the support of the world proletariat.

For the first time in its history, the German proletariat was able to eat its fill to some extent during the brief pauses for peace between the many wars and, in particular, to regain its strength after the murderous fascist oppression and exploitation. The superpowers regarded Germany as their figurehead and pushed it to a significant place in world production and trade. But it was also the most neuralgically concentrated and thus most incendiary frontier of their sphere of power, making Germany not only the largest mobile arms depot in the entire world, but also the centre of the largest army depot in the history of mankind, which not only increased the danger of war, but from where war transports of the superpowers began and ended in many parts of the entire world - as now in the Near and Middle East. Germany was used as a hub for the superpowers. This brought the peace movement on the scene, so that a strong centre of peace developed in Germany, which the German proletariat could use to gather its forces to be able to wage its class war now that the occupation forces have withdrawn from the whole country and are continuing to withdraw for the benefit of the German proletariat. Added to this is the overcoming of its national division, which has once again potentiated its strength.

After the Second World War, the German proletariat admittedly got itself a thick, parasitic labour aristocracy, which not only imposed a decades-old muzzle on it with the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia in alliance and plastered the brains of the proletariat, but which had also wreaked its havoc throughout the world with its international supremacy in the imperialist trade unions and continued the betrayal of the II International. If the German proletariat comes to terms with the imperialist trade union, which has now been overcome by parasitic rot, this will weaken the European imperialist trade union federation and thus make it easier for the proletarians of all other countries to free themselves from their own labour aristocracy. The German proletariat has become quite tame in peacetime, but it is strong enough in times of its coming test to cope with this problem and casually shake off the imperialist trade union gang to build its own revolutionary organisations of struggle. The German proletariat has recovered from its historical strains, has become a little sluggish in the past *[only it should be noted: no comparison with the rotten, decadent, parasitic, cowardly and miserable German bourgeoisie !]*, but has built up reserves of strength by winning a whole lot of reforms. It will therefore not have to accept the path of its present rapid impoverishment without resistance and will be able to mobilise its real strength quickly, thus having good starting conditions to start a class war and to lead it to a victorious end. This proletariat has historically always bled heavily in numerous wars and civil wars, but has always quickly got back on its feet. It will not be able to help itself out of social decline so easily, but it will ally itself with the small peasants who have no other option. The German proletariat also has a good chance of winning over the soldiers who do not want to be harnessed to the imperialist cart again in order to pull the coals out of the fire for others in a new war of robbery *[international finance capital cannot order around with the German troops in the same way as with the troops of other countries, the German bourgeoisie in the focus of world public opinion through all its previous historical war guilt least of all]*. Once the German proletariat gets hold of German war production, it has a solid basis to defend its power externally and internally and to lead its war to victory. After the First World War, the German proletariat suffered its most serious defeat in its November Revolution *[and thus caused its later slaughter by fascism]* *[and thus ultimately also the Soviet Union, for it would be Germany's turn as the next link in the chain of world revolution - a socialist country alone could not sustain itself in the long run, however great and strong it was]*; after the Second World War, the German proletariat was defeated in the Second World War. After World War II, the German proletariat was split into two states and cheated out of its well-deserved socialism by the social fascists, but was amply rewarded for it with "heavily viediened" apprenticeship money. With their two German bourgeois pimps in East and West Germany, the two superpowers had simultaneously raped the German proletariat from the front and from behind by both social and national division and impregnated it with a very special combination of revolution *[a new socialist revolution uniting in itself the force against imperialism AND social imperialism, against fascism AND social fascism, against national AND social division !]* - and

this in the birthplace of communism, in the capitalist country that was most represented in the Comintern and in the country where the Comintern (SH) was founded. What this means does not have to be explained to the German proletariat, it will already recognise this for itself from its historical development. The German proletariat can look back on a glorious, combative history and is quite capable of turning its defeats into victories. Defeated armies fight well, Engels once said. But this also requires strong leadership, and the German proletariat has yet to create this in order to deserve a key international role at all. All in all, however, not a bad chance, at least not worse than the situation in all other capitalist countries.

Proletarians of all countries unite, through their unification the proletarians of every capitalist country today have a good chance for the victorious socialist revolution - and this maturing of the revolution in the individual countries as a whole is the most favourable situation so far for the victory of the proletarian world revolution, and this also distinguishes it from the time of the October Revolution when its infancy began.

This was only a mental game of how it might happen, but we can't prophesy about it for a long time yet. You can spin it any way you like: it can start almost anywhere else in the world. We don't know where it will start first, but the fact that it will start at all is, so to speak, the side effect of globalisation. Not only has the whole world moved closer together, but so have the socialist revolutions. The objective conditions are ripe and the world proletarian revolution is experiencing its rebirth, as comrade Enver Hoxha rightly observed. As in the German example given, the proletarians in each country, for their part, must independently consider the best possible strategy and tactics of world revolutionary warfare, and how to approach the cause from their situation and conditions. All these views must merge into a common strategy and tactics of the proletarian world revolution, in order to be put into action unitedly. It is precisely this joint exploration of possibilities which the main forces of the world proletarian revolution, the proletarians of all countries, have by means of their unification, to which the German example should inspire.

Lenin explained how the international counterrevolution itself contributes to transforming the revolution in one country into the world revolution:

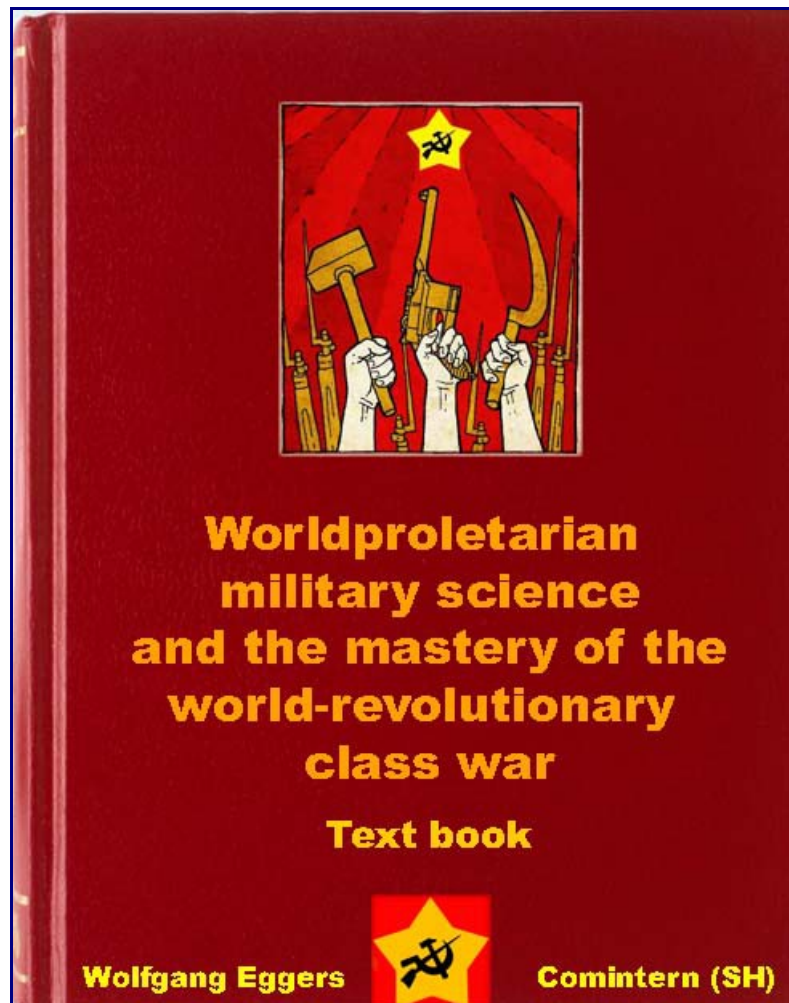
"The Russian government is calling in foreign troops to help against the Russian people (...) Let the workers and the peasants know that the government is betraying the homeland in order to secure the rule of a gang of program heroes. So it has always been, and so it will always be. History teaches that the ruling classes have always sacrificed everything, but everything - religion, freedom and fatherland - when it came to putting down the revolutionary movement of the oppressed classes. (...) But the workers and peasants need not fear such a step. The government of Russia has an international reserve, namely the reactionary governments of Germany, Austria and other countries. But we, too, have a powerful international revolutionary reserve, namely, the socialist proletariat of Europe, organised in a party of three million in Germany and in strong parties in all European countries. We welcome the fact that our government has turned to the international reserve of reaction: this will, firstly, open the eyes of even the most ignorant people in Russia and do us the best service in destroying faith in the monarchy, and, secondly, this will broaden the base and sphere of action of the Russian revolution better than anything else, turning it into a world revolution. Come on, then, you Trepov gentlemen! Shoot! Summon Austrian and German regiments against the Russian peasants and workers! We are for the broadening of the struggle, we are for the international revolution!" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 93, German edition).

Let us come to the revolutionary importance of the rear:

No army in the world can be victorious without a firm *hinterland*. By this, of course, we mean only permanent and firm victory.

"The rear has first-rate importance for the front, because from the rear, and only from the rear, the front is fed with provisions and material as well as with men, that is, with fighters, moods and ideas. A wavering, and all the more a *hostile hinterland* inevitably transforms the very best, most united army into a wavering mass without cohesion" (Stalin, Volume 4, page 285, German edition).

- End Part X -



PART XI

Textbook

on the Marxist-Leninist foundations of

World proletarian Military Science

and on the Art of

World revolutionary Class Warfare

August 2004

written by Wolfgang Eggers



PART XI

What about the *hinterland of the world revolution?*

The forces of world revolution already potentially have a large reliable hinterland, actually distributed over the entire globe, namely that huge hinterland which world imperialism with its globalisation is exploiting and oppressing today - the multitude of individual national colonies has become a single *world colony* of globalised world capital. It is therefore much more reliable in global terms than the hinterland of the counterrevolution, because in the course of the crisis of capitalism, the counterrevolution has drawn more and more peoples into the conflicts, has itself thus "involuntarily" ensured the enlargement of the enemy's hinterland to the same extent as it also ensures that it deprives itself of its own hinterland territory by territory on all continents. The more the class enemy forces (has to force) its hinterland to make ever greater sacrifices for the wars of robbery, the more the hinterland is enslaved, deprived of its democratic rights and exploited, the less the hinterland will be prepared to support the enemy, the more it will ferment, there will be resistance and partisan struggles, the link between front and hinterland will falter and finally collapse. If the hinterland itself turns into a new front of the class struggle, this will undermine the basic pillars of the front. It is world imperialism itself that is making the peoples agree more quickly to shake off the common imperialist yoke and more willing than ever to support the struggle of the world proletariat for its socialist revolution. The hinterland of the world revolution is thus bigger and stronger than any hinterland that has ever existed in world history.

The cause of the unreliability of the hinterland inter-counterrevolutionary troops has a strong social component. Thus, it is a fact that the recruitment of troops from the hinterland is different in social composition from that of the US troops in high command. To the extent that the US troops are forced to recruit and deploy auxiliaries from other countries, especially from countries cruelly exploited and oppressed by imperialism - and with the necessary pressure (for voluntarily no country lets its troops bleed to death for the foreign big robbers!) - , to the extent that the social composition of the counter-revolution changes in favour of the world revolution. Brothers will not shoot brothers, but as the word implies - fraternise against the common class enemy. Actively influencing fraternisation at the front is an important task of our international war agitation among the soldiers, as well as fraternisation in the rear. It is not only dangerous for the international counterrevolution to set the peoples of Europe on each other (the European peoples will not be prepared to do this so easily because of their painful historical experiences, they would resist!), or to create a front between the USA and Europe, a front between East and West, a front within the continents and a front between the continents. Today, we are no longer dealing with a classic two-front war, but with a globalised front that creates a much larger area of friction. It is especially dangerous for the international counterrevolution if an international front between rich and poor, between the globally oppressed classes and the globally oppressing classes develops out of the imperialist wars of robbery, if the civil wars that legally develop out of the imperialist wars spread into an international civil war. This will accelerate the process of decomposition in the internationally deployed and operating imperialist forces and thus put the conquest of the world power of the proletariat on the agenda. But it is most dangerous for the US forces when they are forced to augment their regular troops from within their own country with the broad masses of the American people. Here the front will be disintegrated not from outside but from within, for demoralisation, mutinies, revolts and insurrections will occur much more rapidly in their own ranks, making revolution at home inevitable. And this will have a devastating effect on the allied troops of the other great imperialist powers, will make the revolutionary process of disintegration unstoppable there too. This bacillus will one day eat the whole international counterrevolution from within.

The rear of the troops of the world revolution will strengthen to the same extent. This is a law of international class war. The rear of the world proletarian army feeds the red front with its juices, because this army, an army of international liberation of the working class and all other oppressed classes in the world, thus enjoys the confidence of the majority of the world population and can be sure of its support.

To the extent that the globalisation of world capital tears down national barriers, it also tears down the bourgeois influence of nationalism and social chauvinism on the proletarians of all countries, the class consciousness of the world proletariat develops in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, which thus not only reaches a higher stage of development, but is also a prerequisite for the development of its characteristic, internationally united class power. The overcoming of national barriers across all continents gives unity and unity to the front of the world proletariat, the national limited "homeland feeling" becomes an international class force through the "boundless homeland feeling" of all exploited and oppressed across the whole globe. Class-wise, the hinterland is different in each country (and it cannot even be the same yet!), but the class conflicts there will reach a strength through the raging of the counter-revolution, whereby the hinterland will move closer to the front, whereby the hinterland of the enemy can be neutralised and finally transformed into our hinterland, in order to then itself, infected by the centres of the revolution, go over to the revolutionary overthrow of its own exploiting and oppressing classes and drive the international occupiers out of the country with the help and support of the revolutionary world centres. It is different with the counter-revolutionary troops operating from different parts of the world in nationally different detachments under the command of imperialist elite units, especially under the high command of the USA imperialists - as auxiliary troops, so to speak, who ensure peace and order in the hinterland after the elite troops of the imperialists have left this or that country to conquer the next country. The imperialists hope for a gradual "pacification" by replacing the foreign troops with domestic ones, more or less auxiliaries of the comprador bourgeoisie, but in any case kept on a shorter or longer leash by the imperialists and - after some "breathing space" - in turn even available for the predatory operations of the imperialist troops, because they owe the imperialists "some gratitude" and a "return favour". It is clear that these new auxiliaries of the imperialists in the new war zones are not welcomed by the majority of the people living there, that they are also opposed to them there as "occupying auxiliaries". All this inevitably leads to the insecurity of the troops, inevitably leads to the shaking of their moral steadfastness, their belief in the righteousness of their cause and their confidence in victory, the character of their nationally composed formations turns into a negative factor, both for the imperialist elite troops and for the national troops at home. And the deeper they are pressed into the international conflicts, the stronger will be the effect of this negative factor - which, of course, only helps the proletarian world revolution on the other side to break through even further.

Here we come to the question of the area for the *main attack*. In every war, and especially in international civil war, success, decisive victory, often depends on the correct choice of the area for the main attack, on the correct choice of the area from which one intends to lead and develop the main blow against the enemy. If we look at the globe and on it the location of the headquarters of US imperialism and thus the military high command of world imperialism, we immediately notice that it is on the American continent - more precisely on the northern hemisphere [the land conquered and robbed through the extermination of the indigenous Indian population]. - is located. This is not exactly the centre of the continents and rather a relatively unfavourable position for wars of conquest, but again a favourable position for defence, because there are relatively few areas of friction in the immediate neighbourhood - a factor with which the position of German imperialism in particular was and is linked. The location of the main imperialist centre is not insignificant for the strategy and tactics of the world revolutionary forces, especially for the armed socialist revolution of the American proletariat and its special contribution to the beheading of world imperialism - but more on that later. In order to penetrate the coveted raw material countries, without which US imperialism cannot survive, long sea routes must be travelled by American troops. For this reason, US imperialism has set up strategic military bases all over the world, which supply them with supplies from the "homeland" during acute operations and from which operations are launched. In the air war, with which the Yankees are wont to launch mostly on the strategically important centres of their raids, to be followed by land troops who have been bombed out of the way into the enemy centre, the US air fleet preferably started from Germany, which they considered a "reliable" ally". Now, in order to minimise insecurity factors with their German rival, they are beginning to move smaller air bases further east, which also brings advantages of moving closer to distant theatres of war, for example in the Middle East. Furthermore, American forces also have large sea-based air forces, which, although not as mobile, are suitable for short-range operations near the coast. It is therefore not unimportant for the strategy and tactics of the world revolution to "make" Germany, for example, the most important American base, less secure. If Germany fails, the Yanks have a problem. That is why the German Marxist-Leninists must intensify their efforts to make the German proletariat aware of these connections and concentrate their anti-imperialist struggle against the Frankfurt air base, to give just one illustrative example of what the targeted action of the revolutionary forces in each country must look like. In any case, one cannot stand and wave the slogan: "The main enemy is in one's own country!" while US imperialism calmly and unhindered launches its raids from this or that country to get the world more firmly in its clutches. The Comintern (SH) draws a clear dividing line between the revolutionary forces in each country and the enemies of world revolution in each country. The highest interests of the entire world proletariat are to help the world revolution to victory over world imperialism. The revolutions of the proletarians in all countries serve this aim. Therefore, it is a question of clearly

recognising, in the first place, from the perspective of the world revolution, the difference but also the unity between the internal and external class enemy of each country, in order to put the main emphasis against the main enemy in each country. If we strike the main blow against the main enemy, we must not, of course, disregard the other enemies and, above all, not underestimate them:

"In our time, under the conditions of imperialism, not only in the developed capitalist countries, but also in the oppressed and dependent countries, the main internal enemy of the revolution is the local big bourgeoisie, which is at the head of the capitalist order and fights with all means, with violence and oppression, with demagoguery and deceit, to preserve its rule and its privileges, to stifle and strangle every movement of the toilers which even in the slightest way touches its power and its class interests. Under the present conditions, the main external enemy of the revolution and the peoples is world imperialism, above all the imperialist superpowers. To advise and call upon the proletariat and the oppressed peoples to rely on one superpower to fight the other or, allegedly in the name of defending freedom and national independence, to enter into alliances with the imperialist powers, as is preached by the Chinese revisionists, is nothing but betrayal of the cause of revolution" (Enver Hoxha, Imperialism and Revolution, pages 252-253, German edition).

"The theory of 'three worlds' preaches social peace, class reconciliation, it seeks to create alliances between irreconcilable enemies, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the oppressed and the oppressors, between the peoples and imperialism" (ibid, page 298, German edition).

We will never shoot over the heads of a class enemy who has his guns pointed at the world revolution in the hope of someday getting the big "main enemy" in front of his shotgun. The main enemy is always the one who poses the greatest danger to the world revolution, who causes it the greatest damage, who most sensitively inhibits and undermines its process of development. The main class enemy of the world proletariat is also the main enemy in the struggle of the peoples for their liberation from foreign domination, is the main enemy of democracy, freedom and socialism in the whole world - world imperialism with USA imperialism at its head.

The Chinese revisionists, however, in their tripartite division of the world, started from the war against the rising main enemy of the "First World", i.e. the one who tried to outstrip the No. 1 in the world, against whom the "Third World" would have to ally itself not only with the "Second World", but also with the existing, but declining main enemy No. 1 - i.e. even with this worst and largest part of the "First World". This is nothing other than the strategy of a third great superpower trying to weaken and wear down each other's two greatest rival superpowers in order to seize world hegemonic power in a Third World War. The world proletariat and the revolutionary peoples will not fall for such a thing, because they see today in the course of globalisation that all "worlds", however much one may enumerate and subdivide them, always differ class-wise, that is, everywhere exist oppressors and exploiters, domestic and foreign bourgeoisie on one side and exploited and oppressed, domestic and foreign workers and other labourers on the other side. In the new world order of imperialism today, two main classes are hostile to each other: the world proletariat and the world bourgeoisie. The other world order that was hostile to world imperialism, the socialist world order, has been temporarily smashed and will be reconquered one day. The socialist world order is the only world order that can and will eliminate the existing order of world imperialism forever. Therefore, world imperialism also has the tendency to stand as united as possible against the revolutionary forces from which the danger of the proletarian world revolution emanates and to prevent their unification by force, to split and to liquidate them. At the same time, however, there is also the tendency of capital to oppose one imperialist to the other, as Lenin teaches. This tendency of world imperialism must necessarily be exploited everywhere, especially in its future development, its degree of expression, its different importance and efficiency for the world revolution. This is also, not least, an important component of the *armed strategy and tactics* of the world proletariat in the face of the inevitable *armed* contradictions and conflicts in the ranks of the class enemy, both within individual countries and in the international arena.

To conquer the metropolises from the "Third World", that is the people's war theory of the Maoists, that is the basis of the so-called "Three World Theory". This theory completely denies the hegemony of the world proletariat, denies the leading force of the independently organised proletariat, denies the proletarian world revolution and is thus a theory which helps the international counterrevolution to keep the revolution at bay in the metropolises and to protect its fortresses there, from which all its raids emanate. By concentrating their "people's wars" in the imperialists' hinterland, the Maoists are sharing the front with the world proletariat, thus adding to the concentration of the enemy armies. If the Third World gets behind the second, it is cut off from the world proletariat and is no longer available as a reserve for the world revolution. On the contrary, the Third World is being transformed by the Maoists into a force AGAINST the world proletarian revolution, this is the reactionary core behind the "revolutionary" Maoist people's war tactics. We Marxist-Leninists start from the centres of the world proletariat, from the areas where the proletariat is strongest, or at least where it finds conditions to grow strong; where it has the best possibility to put its concentrated strength on the scale and conquer power in the weakest imperialist link. In the course of globalisation, the world proletariat is given more and more possibilities to operate internationally and to create a manoeuvrable, elastic centre. No longer does everything depend solely on a geographically bound world centre, geographically fixed as "socialism in one country", which the counterrevolution can shoot back at and strangle by encircling it. The creation of a world revolutionary centre, centralisation, is a fundamental question of the hegemony of the world proletariat and therefore its primary task, but the solution of this task is no longer confined to a national ground in the course of globalisation. If the Paris Commune was the centre of an urban proletariat in power, in Russia it was the proletariat of a vast area of this globe united in the Soviet Union. It was the first socialist state, a socialism with a strong reserve potential in the hinterland, which made a very long survival possible and thus could also enormously promote the spread of the world revolution, which was not only stopped from the outside by the imperialists, but at the same time from the inside - by the revisionists - both outside the Soviet Union (right opportunist majorities in almost all Communist Parties and thus also majority in the Comintern) and inside the Soviet Union itself (Khrushchev revisionism). When revisionism was sweeping across the oceans and the world proletariat was heading for disaster, Albania was the only beacon of socialism and with it the world Marxist-Leninist movement of comrade Enver Hoxha. From it, the Comintern (SH) has developed without the existence of "socialism in one country" and has set itself the task of again creating a new centre of world revolution. Through globalisation, great shifts have taken place and continue to take place, so that the world proletariat not only grows enormously, but also, after 150 years, has historically long since spread beyond the geographical framework of Europe and America to all continents, more on some and less on others.

This expansion, however, has not been accompanied by a centralisation of its revolutionary forces, but has taken place painfully through divisions, through the intensification of globalised competition on the labour market; and this competition, with worldwide mass unemployment and impoverishment, can only be eliminated internationally, through a world socialist system. Something is moving and in this movement a new world centre will emerge, a new border between the world revolution and the international counter-revolution will become more and more apparent. As long as the picture is not yet clear, it is our task to emphasise the interests of the overall movement of the world proletariat and to accelerate the centralisation of the movement. The new world revolutionary ideas of the Comintern/ML do not yet find the great resonance in the world for our aims, but this will change quickly, and not in any part of the world, but everywhere in the world, the revolutionary movements in the individual countries will mature and unite in this process faster than ever before - our enemy has seen to this through his globalisation, he sees to it daily, he works into our hands. Our idea will soon be taken up and implemented by the whole world proletariat, which will create its own centre with new forms and structures that will be different from the earlier ones. etc. etc. Thus the October Revolution dealt the first crushing blow to imperialism, to the entire world capitalist system. It is therefore firstly undisputed that with the October Revolution the revolutionary world centre had shifted from Europe to Russia. But it is equally undisputed that this centre could not hold on in the long run without spilling over into the West and taking hold of the revolutionary proletariat of Europe. The October Revolution could not - as hoped - spread to the West, could not fulfil its mission of initiating the world proletarian revolution in Europe through the strong imperialist bulwark in the West. The basis and lever of the world revolution remained in Russia. If the European proletariat had become the base and lever of the world revolution through the October Revolution, socialism would have been secured in Russia, the imperialist encirclement of "socialism in one country", the restoration of capitalism there would have been doomed to failure, world revolution would have been victorious, because world imperialism would have been deprived of its areas of retreat for regeneration, would have been severely weakened in its centre and thus would have come into serious existential danger, because the revolutionary peoples could have liberated themselves one by one under these favourable conditions. September 11 showed the weakness and vulnerability of the imperialist centre. Even if it was "only" to create a pretext for the imperialist centre of power - following the example of the Berlin Reichstag fire of the Nazis - to extend its predatory wars outwards and its fascism inwards, To protect the centre of the monopoly bourgeoisie and to develop it as the command centre of the international counterrevolution, the cobbled together "front against international terrorism" serves altogether to maintain the power of world imperialism, the "advance defence" of its centre, its most sensitive nerve. Behind this is the imperialists' fear of the renaissance of communism, of world communism. This is basically the continuation of the old doctrine of the US

imperialists to maintain the status quo of their hegemonic power with the sword and to defend the world monopoly of strategic weapons. They do not make a single, voluntary military concession to keep states and peoples under their yoke, the exploitation of the national wealth of other countries under their control. All past, present and future American military alliances serve this end: War as the only means to exploit the world, its markets, its sources of raw materials, to increase its capital and to increase maximum profits, partial wars in the Near and Middle East, in Southeast Asia, in Africa. ... with intensified means, which reveals to the world proletariat not the strength but the weakness of the enemy in the metropolises. This show of force of the international counterrevolution is not directed against a few "groups terrorising the world population", but against the most dangerous enemy of the capitalist world system - against the WORLD PROLETARIAT.

The imperialists are arming themselves against the world proletarian revolution, that is what is really behind the events of September 11. The basis of the centres of the world revolution are the world industrial centres, are the centres where the proletariat is most developed and advanced. These centres have long since ceased to be limited to old Europe and America alone. New centres of the industrial proletariat have emerged and are emerging all over the world in the course of the globalisation of world imperialism. This globalisation of the base of the world proletariat, its unification on a world scale, brings objectively disastrous inevitable disadvantages to the base of international counterrevolution and equally inevitable advantages for world revolution. What Stalin emphasised here for the civil war in Russia applies to a much greater extent today to the international civil war:

"For the success of the troops operating in the epoch of a bitter civil war, the unity and cohesion of that living human milieu is absolutely necessary with whose elements these troops are nourished and thanks to whose juices they keep up their strength, whereby the unity may be national (especially at the beginning of the civil war) or class (especially when the civil war has unfolded). But that is precisely the point, that for the troops of Denekin and Kolchak, the peripheral areas of Russia (the eastern and southern) do not represent, nor can they represent, even the minimum of unity of the living milieu, both nationally and class-wise, without which (as I said above) a serious victory is impossible" (Stalin, Vol. 4, p. 254, German edition).

The world proletariat, however, has the best contact between its revolutionary centres and its hinterland. The ranks of the front can be replenished everywhere in these centres, an inexhaustible source of forces and their supply is available. However, as soon as the imperialist troops invade these centres, as soon as they cross the borders, they find themselves in the enemy country and inevitably suffer a catastrophe, when the enthusiasm of victory of the blitzkrieg gives way to the disillusionment of the armed resistance, of the partisan struggle, when the offensive of the imperialist enemy is followed by the counter-offensive of the people etc. In this way many a small oppressed country in history has defeated many a great oppressive power and sent the invaders packing:

"The weakness of Kolchak and Denekin was to be explained by the fact that they had no 'own' rear, that, imbued with genuinely Russian great power aspirations, they found themselves compelled to build up, supply and replenish the front to a significant extent at the expense of non-Russian elements hostile to such aspirations, operating in areas manifestly foreign to their troops. Naturally, the troops, which had no internal, no national and certainly no class unity, were bound to collapse in a hostile atmosphere at the first strong blow of the Soviet troops" (Stalin, Vol. 4, page 286, German edition).

World revolution cannot be "made to order": some naive world revolutionaries and anarchists are under the illusion that all that is needed is a kind of command to strike out in several countries at the same time. But the history of "striking out everywhere at once" - whether in a single factory, in an entire state, or on a world scale - teaches that one must never trust "that practical necessity, the instinct of self-preservation, will of itself bring about a firm and unbreakable alliance among the protesting communities. And what happened? Each community, each town defended only itself, there was no question of mutual support, and with only 3000 men Pavia in 14 days threw down one town after another and put an end to the whole anarchic glory" (Engels, MEW, Vol. 18, pp. 566-567, German edition).may be that

For us world revolutionaries there is no doubt that world socialist revolution is impossible without a revolutionary world situation. Not every world revolutionary situation automatically leads to world socialist revolution. The revolutionary situation in one country and the world revolutionary situation must not be equated, but neither must they be separated. They are dialectically connected with each other, they condition each other. "Dialectics demands the all-round investigation of a given social phenomenon in its development, as well as the tracing back of the external and apparent to the fundamental driving forces, to the development of the productive forces and the class struggle" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 211, German edition

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The characteristics of the world revolutionary situation are:

1. The impossibility of the world bourgeoisie to maintain its world domination over the whole globe unchanged as before; Cracks in the world domination caused by the world political crisis of the "upper strata", by the tearing apart and breaking of the imperialist chain - arising from the intensifying process of the uneven economic and political development of the individual links of the chain of the various great powers and their alliances, by the breaking away of weak links of the imperialist world system, by imperialist wars among themselves, by wars of conquest to redivide the world, and

through which the indignation and discontent of all oppressed and exploited classes breaks out on a world scale.

In order for world revolution to occur, it is usually not enough that the poor world cannot and will not continue to live, but also that the rich world cannot continue to rule in the same way as before.

2. the distress and misery of the poor world, which are becoming more and more dramatic with each passing day, are rapidly reaching an unbearable level, a turning point which means the complete collapse of the basis of life for the majority of the world's population.

3. As a result of the dramatic situation arising from the world economic and political crisis, the "peaceful" epoch of the exploitation of the poor world is reaching its culmination, the millions of masses of the whole world are being driven to common political action, there are stormy eruptions of mass movements of an international character.

Through the world crisis, the stormy time finally arises in which the rich world, under the compulsion of its own downfall, is itself pushed towards international counter-revolution. The revolutions which flare up all over the globe, which accumulate, which expand, which merge, create a world revolutionary situation which sets all classes of the world in motion, whirls them into a world revolutionary whirlpool, drives them to a single world revolutionary movement; the revolutionary upheaval of the capitalist world economy also overturns the antagonistic classes by means of intensified class struggle. Not only one or more links are broken off, which immediately oppose the whole imperialist chain, but the imperialist world chain itself is broken up and finally dissolved, whereby it does not remain with one or the other socialist country, but a socialist world chain is formed, where the world chain of socialism opposes the world chain of capitalism, where the socialist world chain snatches one link after the other from the capitalist chain, until there is nothing left of the latter. The world revolutionary situation through which this process is accomplished and completed is objectively present here and now. The world revolutionary situation is the situation where the antagonistic classes are in a stage of world struggle, as a result of which the antagonism of the world classes is blown up and begins to dissolve, precisely through the annihilation of the world bourgeoisie by the world proletariat. The victory of the proletariat over the world bourgeoisie means at the same time the downfall of the proletariat as a specific class of precisely this antagonistic class society. But while the class of the world bourgeoisie disappears, the revolutionary proletariat in the socialist society is transformed into a socialist working class, which finally transforms the socialist world divided into classes into a classless world community. The division of society into particular class is ended by the commonwealth of world communism. The world revolutionary situation of Lenin's time gave birth to the socialist country. The world revolutionary situation of today brings forth the socialist world. The world revolutionary situation in Lenin's time produced first of all the victory of the proletariat of a country over the bourgeoisie of that same country. The world revolutionary situation of today produces the victory of the world proletariat over the entire world bourgeoisie. The Communist International (Stalinist-Hoxhaists) has emerged precisely on the basis of this world revolutionary situation and thus continues the old Comintern, which emerged precisely on the basis of the world revolutionary situation in the time of Lenin, as a result of which socialism was created in one country. The world revolutionary situation in Lenin's time, the Comintern, developed in the initial phase of imperialism. The world revolutionary situation today, the Comintern (SH), developed in the final phase of world imperialist development. The Comintern was the international organisation of the vanguard of the world proletariat at the time of socialism in one country. The Comintern (SH) is the international organisation of the vanguard of the proletariat at the time of *world* socialism. The times when the cause of socialism was linked only to one country are irrevocably gone. The times when the struggle for survival of world imperialism was linked with the encirclement, with the restoration of capitalism,

precisely of a socialist country, with the prevention of the formation of a socialist camp, are irrevocably gone. We are approaching the times of the united socialist states of the world, which can actually secure socialism in a single state, or at least secure it more successfully than was the case in the times of Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha. Today, the slogan of the united socialist states of the world can no longer give any food to the false conceptions of the impossibility of victory in one country, because the possibility of socialism in one country has long since been historically proven by facts. And the classics of Marxism-Leninism, as is well known, have never tired of emphasising the necessity of the victory of socialism on a world scale, on which the victory of socialism in any country absolutely depends. The slogan of the United States of the World is the wrong slogan - the slogan of the United Socialist States of the World is a correct slogan under the conditions of the present world revolutionary situation.

"Without these objective changes, which are independent of the will not only of individual groups and parties, but also of individual classes, a revolution is - as a rule - impossible. The totality of these objective changes is then also called a revolutionary situation" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 207, German edition).

Why did no world socialist revolution emerge from the October Revolution? Because in addition to the objective conditions for a world revolutionary situation, there are subjective international conditions. Bolshevism has not been able to develop into world Bolshevism through opportunism, through revisionism. The world proletariat has not yet been able to appear as a revolutionary class on a world scale with international revolutionary mass actions, not strong enough to completely shake and overthrow the centre of imperialist world domination. The world bourgeoisie is not brought down by the world revolutionary situation, but only by the organised world proletariat bringing down the international counterrevolution by force of arms. This is the Marxist-Leninist conception of the world revolutionary situation, as it has long been unquestionably recognised. Above all, we Marxist-Leninists must take into account that it is in particular the inevitable imperialist predatory war that deepens and widens the world revolutionary situation. Even if the world proletariat has not succeeded in transforming the imperialist war into the world socialist revolution, has not succeeded in answering the war with the world revolution, it still remains a fact that the masses learn the revolution faster, easier and more thoroughly from the *world* revolutionary situation.

So the world political and economic crisis has been obvious today for a long time. Not a single government in the whole world can really think itself safe for tomorrow, not a single one is free from the danger of financial bankruptcy, the debts can no longer be counted in billions of dollars, the spheres of influence are becoming more and more insecure, the territories, the whole world market more and more unstable. All governments are living on an international volcano, they are all appealing to the whole world themselves, the epoch of great world tremors has long been announced. We are already in the middle of it, getting deeper and deeper into this world revolutionary epoch. In short: the world revolutionary situation is now actually present. What Lenin said then applies all the more to the US government today: "Never has a government relied so much on the consent of all parties of the ruling classes under this rule as during the war. That, firstly; and secondly, if 'at the outbreak of war', especially in a country expecting a rapid victory, the government is apparently all-powerful, never and nowhere in the world has anyone linked the expectation of a revolutionary situation exclusively to the moment of the 'outbreak' of war, still less equated the 'apparent' with the real. (...) The more the war drags on and intensifies, the more the governments themselves must and will develop the activity of the masses by calling on them to extraordinary exertion and self-sacrifice. Through the experience of war, as through the experience of every crisis in history, every great affliction and every upheaval in the lives of men, some are blunted and broken, but others are enlightened and steeled, whereby in the history of the whole world, on the whole, the number and strength of the latter, with the exception of special cases of the decline and fall of this or that state, have proved to be greater than that of the former. (...)

Will this situation last long and how far will it get worse? Will it lead to revolution? We do not know, and no one can know. Only experience will teach us, which will show us how revolutionary moods develop and how the most advanced class, the proletariat, moves to revolutionary action. Here there can be no question at all of any 'illusions', nor of their refutation, for not a single socialist has ever, anywhere, given the guarantee that it is precisely today's (and not tomorrow's) revolutionary situation that will bring about the revolution. Here we are dealing with the absolutely indisputable and fundamental duty of all socialists: the duty to show the masses the existence of the revolutionary situation, to explain its comprehensive and profound character, to awaken the revolutionary consciousness and the revolutionary determination of the proletariat, to help it to advance to revolutionary action and to create organisations appropriate to the revolutionary situation for work in this direction" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 209, German edition).

"The revolution can and probably will consist of struggles of many years, of several periods of onslaught interrupted by counter-revolutionary convulsions of the bourgeois order. The crux of the present political situation is solely whether to take advantage of the revolutionary situation that already exists by supporting and unfolding revolutionary movements. Yes or no. On this question, politically speaking, the social-chauvinists and the revolutionary internationalists separate today" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 406, German edition).

The socialist war

What is a *socialist* war?

A socialist war is a war waged by the working class in power (i.e. under the conditions of socialism) against the class enemy to protect and defend socialism and the socialist revolution, i.e. also and above all the *world socialist revolution*. The socialist war is an internationalist class war of the ruling working class. The era of socialism transforms war into socialist war. But this era in no way excludes wars to reconquer imperialism.

If the socialist war is waged by a single socialist country, it is in its form a national war (Stalin's Great Patriotic War). Socialist war can be waged to prevent or end an imperialist war. There can be socialist wars against revisionist/social imperialist countries should they act violently against a socialist country or against oppressed peoples .

This socialist war of a single socialist country can trigger national liberation wars of the oppressed nations. The socialist war can internationalise and ignite the world revolution, can thus contribute to the emergence or re-emergence of new socialist nations. The socialist war can be the basis and lever for the war of liberation of the whole oppressed world from imperialism.

If this war is waged jointly by several socialist countries, it can take both national and international forms, depending on the concrete conditions. In general, in the course of the historical development towards world socialism, the national forms of the socialist war take more and more international forms, the national forms are transformed into international forms. However, during this process of development, it cannot be theoretically excluded that under the pressure of the imperialists, the predominant international forms of socialist war can regress to national forms, that socialist wars must be waged in order to counteract the regression of world socialism, the breaking of the socialist chain.

If the world socialist war is waged, i.e., under the conditions of world socialism in power, then it is an international war not only in content but also in form, whether it is waged to defend world socialism or to reconquer it if it should have been lost again to imperialism/social imperialism.

If it is a question of "imperialist"/revisionist wars of liberation, militarily organised raids by residual imperialist/social imperialist/revisionist elements to reconquer imperialism/social imperialism/revisionism, the socialist war will concentrate on these local wars, thus nipping imperialist resistance in the bud, where it would also occur in the socialist world. If counter-revolutionary "islands" appear in the socialist world sea, they will be swamped by the socialist wave.

A socialist war can also be waged to protect or achieve the right of nations to self-determination, to liberate or protect oppressed peoples, to support the revolutionary war of national liberation.

Among socialist nations there can in principle be no war at all, unless a socialist country degenerates [has become revisionist] , is forcibly broken out of the socialist chain and severed by the class enemy, and then turns its guns on the socialist nations.

There is also no war of socialist nations against the national liberation wars, unless the latter - instead of continuing to be directed against imperialism - is directed against socialism, when the national war turns into a nationalist war and this is answered by the internationalist war.

The socialist war *is not only a defensive* war, but also a war in support of the world revolution and the wars of liberation of the oppressed peoples (Albania and the Soviet Red Army).

"No revolutionary class can once and for all renounce revolutionary war, for otherwise it condemns itself to a ridiculous pacifism" (Lenin, Vol. 25, page 27, German edition). This was true not only of the revolutionary class before he came to power, but also afterwards.

"The Party has always assumed that the victory of socialism in *one* country means the possibility of establishing socialism in that country, this task being solvable with the forces of one country; that the complete victory of socialism, on the other hand, means the guarantee against intervention and restoration, this task being solvable only on the condition of the victory of the revolution in some countries. (...) Comrade Lenin says that we are not secured against the possibility of intervention, and this is absolutely true. But has the party ever said that we are able to secure our country from the danger of intervention by our own strength alone? Has not the Party claimed, and does it not continue to claim, that only the victory of the proletarian revolution in some countries can offer us a guarantee against intervention?" (Stalin, Vol. 8, pp. 293-294, "Conclusion to the paper 'On the Social-Democratic Deviation in our Party', 3 November 1926, German edition).

The individual socialist country has opposed the rest of the entire capitalist world. The single socialist country has drawn the oppressed classes, the proletarians of all other countries, to its side, has sparked uprisings, revolutions and liberation struggles in all other countries. It has also acted with armed force, with people's wars against the exploiting classes and their states. It centralised the liberation wars of all the oppressed classes in the other countries with its people's war. The October Revolution created the lever and the basis of the world proletarian revolution, finally enabled the world proletariat to direct socialism in one country as a lever and basis for the people's war against the most aggressive and dangerous imperialist enemy, the spearhead of world imperialism, against the fascist Hitler Empire and to crush it victoriously. The people's war of the socialist country thus proved to be an even greater and stronger lever, a broader and deeper basis for the victory of the world socialist revolution. Lenin created the lever and the basis for the world revolution and snatched imperialism's weakest link, Stalin used this lever in the Great Patriotic War and smashed the strongest link in imperialism's chain. Enver Hoxha continued this struggle victoriously by leading the Marxist-Leninist world movement further on the victorious road to socialist revolution, by breaking the capitalist-revisionist encirclement of socialist Albania and opposing the whole capitalist-revisionist world, by drawing the oppressed classes, the proletarians of all countries to his side and by igniting uprisings, revolutions and liberation struggles in all countries. Enver Hoxha has also been victorious by force of arms, by a people's war against the Hitler fascists, has defeated the revisionist intentions of forcibly annexing socialist Albania into the sphere of power of revisionism, resp. prevented the restoration of capitalism in its own country and thus created the conditions for a socialist united Europe by making socialist Albania a lever and a basis of the socialist revolutions in the European states, by accelerating the creation of Marxist-Leninist parties in Europe and strengthening their Bolshevisation in the struggle against revisionism. However, since the revisionist leaders of the CP of China took the capitalist road, since Marxism-Leninism in China could not free itself from the revisionist Mao Zedong ideas, this meant a weakening of the Albanian bulwark of the world socialist revolution, which finally set back the world socialist revolution after the death of comrade Enver Hoxha, after the Albanian revisionists had taken the capitalist road with Ramiz Alia.

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Back to Lenin - long before the October Revolution :

"Social democrats can even get into the position of calling for wars of aggression themselves. In 1848 (...) Marx and Engels considered a war of Germany against Russia necessary. Later they sought to influence public opinion in England in order to induce that country to take warlike action against Russia (....) It is obvious that in this question (as in the conception of 'patriotism') not the offensive or defensive character of the war, but the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat, or rather the interests of the international movement of the proletariat, form that only possible standpoint from which the question of the position of Social-Democracy on one or another phenomenon in international relations can be considered and decided" (Lenin, Vol. 15, page 194, German edition).

Today, history has already proved that it is necessary not only to call for a socialist war of aggression, but also to carry it out when conditions make it unavoidable. In the light of history, it is even permissible to ask why this instrument of class struggle has not been used more consistently by the proletariat in the struggle against the predations of world imperialism.

" The experience of more than thirty years since liberation had shown that the defence of a country depends on its internal situation. Without exception, every imperialist or social-imperialist power has specific strategic plans for attacking and occupying one country or another, one zone or another, in one situation or another. But these plans can be realised only when the situation in the country to be attacked and occupied is politically, economically, morally and militarily weak. Therefore, the Party concentrated its attention mainly on explaining and making understandable as well and deeply as possible the decisive role of the internal factor and the struggle for the all-round consolidation of the internal situation, for the highest possible and comprehensive training of the army and the whole armed people for defence.

This in no way underestimates the external factor, i.e. the powerful support of the progressive and freedom-loving forces of the world and of the Marxist-Leninist world movement, which they give to socialist Albania and which is likely to increase in the event of imperialist-revisionist aggression against Albania. But this external support can only have its great effect if the internal situation of the country is solid and stable, if the internal factor is at a corresponding level" (History of the PLA, Volume II, page 277, German edition).

"Always the external enemies of Marxism-Leninism have encouraged the traitors within the Party to sow division and revisionism in the Party (...).

The revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot but act violently against the enemies of the party, the people and socialism. The contradictions between us and the class enemies cannot be resolved in any other way. To try to resolve these contradictions in the same way as contradictions within the labouring masses, between the different sides of the socialist order, would amount to falling into idealism, into class conciliation. As long as the class struggle between socialism and capitalism continues and will continue sharply on a national and international scale, it is objectively impossible for there to be no mistakes and weaknesses, no extraneous phenomena, no negative phenomena within the leading party organs and party organisations. The aim of the party's struggle is that the alien phenomena do not get out of hand, that they are destroyed as soon as they raise their heads, that they do not turn into incurable diseases that choke the breath of the party of the working class and turn it into a bourgeois-revisionist party (History of the PLA, Volume II, page 217, German edition).

This also applies to the struggle against the class enemies within the People's Army and the defence of the socialist fatherland, this also applies to the international armed struggle for world revolution.

"In contrast to the practice of many other working class parties, mass purges have never been carried out in the PAA. This is due to the fact that there is no possibility of installing factionalist currents and opposing lines within the party, which would require mass purges to smash. The purges of the PAA have always been carried out in the ordinary way, in the process of the proper application of the principles and norms of its statute" (History of the PLA, Volume II, page 219, German edition).

In his report to the 7th Party Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: "The building of socialism is a process of fierce class struggle" (page 127, German edition).

"The artificial fomentation of class struggle, Stalin explained, leads to civil war; to ignite such a war in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat undermines socialism" (History of the PLA Volume II, page 235, German edition). It goes on to say that "over no other question does the class struggle assume such vehemence and come to such a head as over the question of power. This is also the starting point of the sharp struggle which has always developed between Marxist-Leninists and revisionists on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat and which will continue to develop in the future.

The (7th) Party Congress also dealt with the close connection and intertwining between the internal and external fronts of the class struggle. This connection and intertwining results from the connection and cooperation between the external and internal enemies. Without exception, all the internal enemies are at the same time, in one way or another, agents of the external imperialist and revisionist enemies. The threads connecting the former with the latter are numerous. 'We must therefore confront the united front of the enemies by,' said the Party Congress, 'strengthening our internal front in every respect, in the field of defence and economy, politics and ideology, and always consistently waging the class struggle' [Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Party Congress of the PLA, page 116, German edition]" quoted in History of the PLA, Volume II, page 238, German edition).

Lenin spoke of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois element fighting against Soviet power in two ways, on the one hand from the outside:

"(...) on the other hand, this anarchy works from within, exploiting every element of decomposition, every weakness, in order to bribe, in order to aggravate the indiscipline, the dissipation, the chaos. The nearer we come to the *complete military suppression* of the bourgeoisie [at the more advanced stage of the seizure of power - author's note and emphasis], the more dangerous for us becomes the element of petty-bourgeois anarchy" (Lenin, Vol. 27, page 256). Once the bourgeoisie as the exploiting class has been *militarily* destroyed, this does not automatically put an end to the class struggle, then it is necessary to act first of all against the counter-revolutionary *petty-bourgeois* element, but in the main not by military means as Lenin pointed out:

"And the struggle against this element cannot be waged by propaganda and agitation alone, by organising competition alone, by selecting organisers alone - the struggle must *also be waged by coercion*. To the extent that the main task of state power becomes not military repression, but administration - the typical manifestation of repression and coercion becomes not shooting on the spot, but the court. In this respect, too, the revolutionary masses took the right road after October 25, 1917, and proved the viability of the revolution when they began to create their own workers' and peasants' courts already from any decrees on the dissolution of the bourgeois-bureaucratic judicial apparatus" (Lenin, *ibid.*, pp. 256-257, German edition).

Lenin thus teaches us how the military struggle to conquer power and maintain the power of the proletariat is transformed into a struggle for the installation of the socialist state, where the dictatorship is objectified and materialised through the proletarian state, where all the other organs of state are built up as organs of power alongside the military organs. When the military counter-revolution subsides, the military struggle of the ruling proletariat against it necessarily subsides in equal measure and the civil state power of the dictatorship of the proletariat increases in equal measure. When the counter-revolution is defeated militarily, there is no longer any need to wage military war against it under socialism, there are other means of the dictatorship of the proletariat, namely, coercion by the proletarian state. Thus, in the transition from capitalism to socialism, only the form of coercion changes, not the coercion itself. The forms of struggle of the revolution change with the changes in the construction of socialism. The less this construction is confronted by violent obstacles from the remaining remnants of the class enemy, the more the dictatorship of the proletariat can dispense with military action to remove these counter-revolutionary violent obstacles. "One can let the iron fist feel in the velvet glove, but one must let it feel" (Engels to Bebel, MEW, Vol. 34, page 241, German edition). We are speaking here, mind you, of the military forms of struggle receding into the background in the phase of the "peaceful" construction of socialism, and this means nothing else than that the other, non-military forms of class struggle come to the fore. This is what Lenin was talking about, and he was directing this against those representatives who had a bourgeois, militarist socialism in mind, and who then also came to power with revisionism after the death of Stalin and transformed the Soviet state into a social-fascist-social-imperialist state, which has now become openly fascist and openly imperialist, having dropped all its Msken.

"Any attitude and action not in accordance with objective laws and conditions, wait-and-see attitude, adventurism, carelessness, fear, losing one's head in the struggle and, what is worse, capitulation before the pressure of the enemies or before difficulties and obstacles are fatal to the revolution, entail defeats in the class struggle, provide the opposing bourgeois-imperialist, revisionist and reactionary forces with the opportunity to win.

"The class enemy," stressed the 7th Party Congress, "tries to lull the vigilance of the masses to sleep. In the denial of the class struggle, it also seeks to obtain periods of rest and breathing space in order to gather forces and attack surprisingly. The task of all party organisations and all labourers, with the working class in the lead, is not to allow such situations favourable to the enemy to arise, but to be always on the offensive, to keep the sword of the class struggle always sharpened and to be always irreconcilable to the enemies and their ideology" (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Party Congress, page 120, German edition).

"The decisive factor for the unfolding of the class struggle over capitalism and revisionism is leadership by the working class. How this leadership is secured, how it persists and cannot be destroyed once it is realised, on this everything depends" (History of the PLA, Volume II, page 240, German edition).

The military lessons from the struggle against the transformation of the communist army back into a bourgeois army.

(*military* restauration of capitalism)

The defence policy of socialism requires the training of the whole people in a short time in order to have large reserves for resistance in case of an attack from outside. At the same time, socialism must also be protected from within to prevent the restoration of capitalism. This requires a vigilant people with high socialist consciousness and, if necessary, a revolutionary, conscious, quickly assembled but just as quickly disbanded unit of loyal workers to be armed in case of internal revolts and raids by counter-revolutionary groups of bourgeois remnants who remain hostile to socialism, want nothing but revenge and to regain their old power. But these must not become privileged permanently stationed elite troops or so-called "cadre troops" bred in a hothouse. The defence of the people must be based primarily on universal conscription of all residents capable of service, and this good system must not be watered down or dogmatised. The period of service for training in peacetime must be limited to the extent necessary for this purpose, and this applies in the same way to the organisation of a defensive war. The army must be as small as possible, but as large as necessary. Its fighting power must be strengthened by all means. However, the level of armament, preparedness, vigilance and determination, the will to defend, the mobility of the people cannot be high enough when possible dangers threaten. The armaments for war will become larger and larger, but the peace armies smaller and smaller. Defence will become stronger and attack more difficult. The large size of armies will eventually turn into a reduction in expenditure and a guarantee of peace. This is the direction in which we are working. We are for the necessity of militant socialism, but opponents of all bureaucratic bloat and militarism, all militaristic fetishisation, and hate military pomp, even and especially when it tries to put on a red tunic. Unnecessary hierarchies, bureaucratisation, elite troops, privileges, etc. are alien to the people and can provoke contradictions with fatal consequences for the people. Every good soldier who leaves the army to join the elite forces creates a gap in the regular army, which can contribute to its moral weakening and, in the worst case, even to its liquidation. The regular army must not be degraded or alienated in this way from its original mission of protecting the socialist fatherland and nothing more. An elite force easily loses the original character of defending its own people, can be more easily misused for palace revolts or as an army above the people's army, or can be more easily transformed back into a bourgeois-revisionist, social-imperialist army of attack. The people's army must in principle always be recruited from the people, educated in the people's school and controlled by the people, in whatever form - otherwise it loses its people's character, alienates, degenerates and finally turns into an army against the people:

"If the communists succeeded in covering themselves with glory in the struggles for socialism, but the enemies of communism were defeated, this was due, among other things, to the fact that the communists understood how to draw the best (...) from the ranks of the non-party, that they understood how to draw forces from the broad strata of the non-party, that they understood how to surround their party with a broad non-party active" (Stalin, Vol. 12, page 200, German edition). - especially in the organisation of the Red Army.

Question of military bureaucratism (Trotsky?); restoration of the bourgeois army of capitalism and the transformation into a social-imperialist army (Czechoslovakia, Afghanistan).

What if the socialist power of the working class could be eliminated and the capitalist power of the bourgeoisie regained?

Lessons from the military intervention of international capital to overthrow Soviet power

"Only when the workers and peasants saw that in the struggle against Kolchak, Denekin and Wrangel they were defending their land, their factories and works, their own interests against the landlords and capitalists, did everyone help to the best of their ability and support the Red Army. When the Red Army saw that they were being taken care of in the rear, the Red Army was animated by that spirit which brought it victory" (Lenin, Vol. 31, page 325, German edition).

"Why was it possible for a military intervention by international capital to succeed in our country? Because in our country there were whole groups of military specialists, generals and officers, sons of bourgeois and landowners, who were always ready to undermine the foundations of Soviet power. Could these officers and generals have organised a serious war against Soviet power without financial, military and any other support from international capital? Of course not. Could international capital have organised a serious intervention without the help of this group of White Guard officers and generals? I don't think so. (That (...) the roots of the military intervention (...) lie in the class antagonisms between the Soviet power on the one hand and international capital together with its henchmen, the generals in Russia, on the other - about this (...) there can be no doubt" (Stalin, Vol. 11, page 51, German edition).

"It would be foolish to assume that international capital will leave us alone. No, comrades, it is not so. Classes exist, international capital exists, and this capital cannot sit quietly by and watch the development of the country that is building socialism. In the past, international capital believed that it could overthrow Soviet power through direct military intervention. The attempt failed. Today it is striving, and will continue to strive, to weaken our economic power by an invisible, not always noticeable, but quite lasting economic intervention, organising pest labour, preparing all sorts of 'crises' in this or that branch of industry, and THUS facilitating the possibility of future military intervention. Here everything is tied into a knot, the knot of the class struggle of international capital against Soviet power (....) *Either* we will continue to pursue a revolutionary policy and rally the proletarians and oppressed of all countries around the working class of the Soviet Union - and then international capital will seek to disrupt us from our advance by ALL means; *or* we will renounce our revolutionary policy, make a series of concessions in principle to international capital - and then international capital will probably not be averse to 'helping' us transform a socialist country into a 'good' bourgeois republic (...). ..." (ibid., pp. 48-49, German edition).

"It must be understood, comrades, that the conditions of struggle are different now than in the period of the civil war. In the period of the civil war, one could take the enemy's positions by storm, by boldness, audacity, by a cavalry charge. Today, in the conditions of peaceful economic construction, cavalry charges can only spoil things. Boldness and audacity are needed now, just as they were in the past. But boldness and audacity alone will not get you far. To defeat the enemy now, one must know how to build up industry, agriculture, transport, trade (...) (Stalin, Vol. 11, p. 68, German edition).

World War Communism

(military aspect)

What Comrade Stalin teaches about the war communism of the young Soviet power would also have significance for a possible, as yet unforeseeable world communism. The exchange of production between the individual countries would have a military character, and the distribution of world products would have to be organised in such a way that the supply of the international revolutionary armies on the world front and of the workers in the rear countries would be jointly guaranteed:

"Can it be said that War Communism forms an *inevitable* phase of the proletarian revolution ? No, it cannot. War communism is a policy of the proletarian dictatorship dictated by the war situation and intervention, calculated to establish, not by means of the market, but to the exclusion of the market, through measures of a mainly extra-economic and partly military character, the direct exchange of production between town and country, with the aim of organising the distribution of products in such a way as to ensure the supply of the revolutionary armies at the front and of the workers in the rear. If it had not been for the war situation and the intervention, it is clear that there would have been no war communism either. Therefore, one must not claim that war communism forms an economically inevitable phase of development of the proletarian revolution" (Stalin, Vol. 11, page 129, German edition).

"But if one cannot accept that intervention, and therefore also war communism, are an *indispensable* phenomenon for all countries, one can and must nevertheless accept that they are more or less probable. Therefore, I (...) agree (...) that (...) war communism is possible for the countries of the proletarian revolution in a certain international situation, could replace it with the formula that intervention and war communism are more or less *probable*" (Stalin, *ibid*, page 132, German edition).

"Sometimes war communism is confused with civil war, the first is identified with the second. This, of course, is wrong. The seizure of power by the proletariat in October 1917 was necessarily a form of civil war. But it would be wrong to say that we began to introduce war communism right away in October 1917. It is quite possible to imagine a state of civil war without applying methods of war communism, without renouncing the foundations of the New Economic Policy, as was the case with us at the beginning of 1918, until the intervention.

It is said that the proletarian revolutions proceed in isolation and therefore no single proletarian revolution can do without intervention, that is, without war communism. This is wrong. After the consolidation of the Soviet power in the USSR, the growth of the communist parties in the decisive countries of capitalism and the strengthening of the Comintern, there cannot and must not be any isolated proletarian revolutions. One cannot ignore such factors as the deepening crisis of world capitalism, the existence of the Soviet Union and the growth of communism in all countries" (Stalin, Vol. 11, pp. 130-131, German edition).

On war communism, the following passage is found in the programme of the Comintern:

"In the event of the probable armed intervention of the capitalists or of a prolonged counter-revolutionary war against the proletarian dictatorship, economic management must be based above all on the interests of defending the proletarian dictatorship. In this process, a war communist economic policy ("war communism") may become necessary. This is nothing other than an organisation of rational consumption serving military defence, combined with a system of increased pressure on the capitalist groups (confiscations, requisitions, etc.). In the process, free trade and market relations are more or less liquidated and the individualist economic drives of the small producers are greatly disrupted, which is associated with a decline in the productive forces of the country. This policy of "war communism" finds its historical justification in the fact that it undermines the material basis of the hostile strata confronting the working class within the country, ensures a rational distribution of the available supplies and facilitates the armed struggle of the proletarian dictatorship. Nevertheless, it must not be considered a "normal" economic-political system of the proletarian dictatorship".

The Comintern programme states unequivocally and clearly:

"In the case of a revolutionary upsurge, when the ruling classes are disorganised, when the masses are in a state of revolutionary ferment, when the middle classes are inclined towards the proletariat and the masses prove themselves ready to fight and sacrifice, the proletarian party has the task of leading the masses to a frontal attack against the bourgeois state. This is achieved through the propagation of step-by-step increased transitional looseness (workers' councils, workers' control of production, peasant committees for the forcible appropriation of the landlord's land, disarming the bourgeoisie and arming the proletariat, etc.) and through the organisation of mass organisations, to which all branches of the party's agitation and propaganda must be subordinated, including parliamentary activity. Such mass organisations are: Strikes, strikes combined with demonstrations, strikes combined with armed demonstrations and finally general strike united with armed insurrection against the state power of the bourgeoisie. This highest form of struggle follows the rules of the art of war, presupposes a campaign plan, offensive character of the fighting, unlimited devotion and heroism of the proletariat. Actions of this kind have as an absolute precondition the organisation of the broad masses into fighting formations, which by their very form must seize the largest masses of the working people and set them in motion (workers', peasants' and soldiers' councils, etc.) and the increase of revolutionary work in the army and the fleet. In the transition to new, sharper slogans, the following basic rule of the political tactics of Leninism must be the guiding principle:

The party must know how to lead the masses into revolutionary positions in such a way that their own experience will convince them of the correctness of the party line. If this rule is not followed, it inevitably leads to separation from the masses, to putschism and to the ideological degeneration of communism into "left" doctrinarianism, into petty-bourgeois "revolutionary" adventurism. It is no less pernicious when the party of the proletariat misses the climax of revolutionary development, which calls for a bold and determined attack on the enemy. To let such an opportunity pass without going over to insurrection is to leave the initiative to the enemy and to lead the revolution towards defeat."

The victory of "socialism in one country" was undoubtedly also based on the military victory over the internal counterrevolution and its support by the international intervention. In military terms, therefore, "socialism in one country" has an internal, national side and an external, international side, just as, conversely, socialism on a world scale is based, on the one hand, on military victory over the international world imperialist forces and, on the other hand, over the national and regional armed counterrevolutions, in order to prepare for the reconstruction of international forces and to force the international restoration of capitalism. The internal side, in the case of "socialism in one country", is the question of the exchange relations of the classes within a country and thus the military struggle against the attempts of the internal counterrevolution to forcibly transform the socialist country back into a capitalist country or to facilitate an invasion by the external enemy. The international side of "socialism in one country" in military terms is the defence against imperialist-social imperialist encirclement or against internationally supported intervention. The Red Army can deal with internal difficulties on the basis of its own strength, but not with capitalist intervention from outside - at least not in the long term, not permanently. It can stop the external enemy, push it out of the country, but it cannot eliminate the danger of the military threat alone. The elimination of the military threat from outside is therefore only possible through the military victory of the proletarian world revolution, or at least through the military victory of the socialist revolution in those countries which are capable and able to guarantee the final victory of "socialism in one country" together, that is, with united forces.

The solution of the military question of the defence of a socialist country against imperialist and social-imperialist encirclement

Socialism victorious in one country "by no means excludes all wars at once. The development of capitalism proceeds most unevenly in the various countries. It cannot be otherwise with commodity production. From this the unsworn conclusion: socialism cannot triumph simultaneously in all countries. It will first triumph in one or a few countries, others will remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois for a certain time [or become bourgeois again - author's note]. This must produce not only friction but also direct aspirations of the bourgeoisie of other countries to crush the victorious proletariat of the socialist state. In such cases a war on our part would be legitimate and just, it would be a war for socialism, for the liberation of other peoples from the bourgeoisie. Engels was completely right when, in his letter to Kautsky of 12 September 1882, he explicitly recognised the possibility of 'defensive wars' of socialism, which has already won. Indeed, he meant the defence of the victorious proletariat against the bourgeoisie of other countries" (Lenin, Vol. 23, page 74, German edition).

" More than thirty years of experience since liberation had shown that the defence of a country depends on its internal situation. Without exception, every imperialist or social-imperialist power has special strategic plans for attacking and occupying one country or another, one zone or another, one territory or another, in one situation or another. But these plans can only be realised when the situation in the country to be attacked and occupied is politically, economically, morally and militarily weak. Therefore, the Party concentrated its attention mainly on explaining and making understandable as well and deeply as possible the decisive role of the internal factor and the struggle for the all-round consolidation of the internal situation, for the highest possible and comprehensive training of the army and the whole armed people for defence.

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The (7th) Party Congress also dealt with the close connection and intertwining between the internal and external fronts of the class struggle. This connection and intertwining results from the connection and cooperation between the external and internal enemies. Without exception, all the internal enemies are at the same time, in one way or another, agents of the external imperialist and revisionist enemies. The threads connecting the former with the latter are numerous. 'We must therefore confront the united front of the enemies by,' said the Party Congress, 'strengthening our internal front in every respect, in the field of defence and economy, politics and ideology, and always consistently waging the class struggle' [Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Party Congress of the PAA, page 116, German edition]" quoted in History of the PAA, Volume II, page 238, German edition).

"Every attitude and action not in accordance with the objective laws and conditions, wait-and-see attitude, adventurism, carelessness, fear, losing one's head in the struggle and, what is worse, capitulation before the pressure of the enemies or before difficulties and obstacles are fatal for the revolution, entail defeats in the class struggle, provide the opposing bourgeois-imperialist, revisionist and reactionary forces with the opportunity to win.

"The class enemy," stressed the 7th Party Congress, "tries to lull the vigilance of the masses to sleep. In the denial of the class struggle, it also seeks to obtain periods of rest and breathing space in order to gather forces and attack surprisingly. The task of all party organisations and all labourers, with the working class in the lead, is not to allow such situations favourable to the enemy to arise, but to be always on the offensive, to keep the sword of the class struggle always sharpened and to be always irreconcilable to the enemies and their ideology" (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Party Congress, page 120, German edition).

"The decisive factor for the unfolding of the class struggle over capitalism and revisionism is leadership by the working class. How this leadership is secured, how it persists and cannot be destroyed once it is realised, on this everything depends" (History of the PLA, Volume II, page 240).

The Chinese revisionists were ideologically unable for decades to bring to their knees the Albanian comrades who, under the leadership of comrade Enver Hoxha, stood on unshakable ground of Marxism-Leninism. So they tried this in the economic and military field with gradual intensification of acts of sabotage. They did not honour their contracts and finally cut off aid altogether. In this way, the Chinese revisionists pursued the goal of forcing the capitulation of socialist Albania and turning it into a vassal state of China, a European base of Chinese social imperialism. The superpowers of the time, the USA and the USSR, had so far been unable to force socialist Albania to surrender with their imperialist blockade, despite their greatest efforts, especially with the help of the Yugoslav and Soviet revisionists. For this they finally enlisted the support of revisionist China. To break Albania from Marxism-Leninism was, so to say, the touchstone of all imperialists of the world, first of all of the two superpowers, with which the Chinese revisionists should prove their credibility and to get their ticket for the world club of imperialist robbers. Betraying Albania, removing it as a troublesome obstacle, was the Chinese leaders' way of getting closer to their goal of becoming a superpower. For the world imperialists, this was proof that China really no longer posed a threat to their profits, but on the contrary opened up a safe, and at the same time one of the biggest, markets in the world for the fattest profits. But even the Chinese revisionists failed, at least as long as Enver Hoxha was still alive, and as long as after his death the PLA stuck to the Marxist-Leninist course of comrade Enver Hoxha. The pressure of the imperialist-social-imperialist blockade on socialist Albania had become even greater through the betrayal of China, but the external factor could finally only work through the internal factor, through betrayal in its own ranks, through the revisionist line of Ramiz Alia, through capitulation in its own country.

Only with the additional help of the Albanian revisionists did the international counterrevolution succeed in wiping socialism off the face of the earth. The ideological preconditions for this most enormous damage in the history of socialism were provided by the Albanian revisionists, who hid behind the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha, camouflaged themselves with them, seized power by abusing his banner, undermined the dictatorship of the proletariat from the inside, and finally couped and stabilised the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, especially with the military help of the external enemies. Thus, the ideological struggle in defence of socialism is decisively directed against the neo-revisionism that hides behind the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha. Above all, in the reconquest of socialism, the struggle against the falsification of comrade Enver Hoxha's works will be decisive. But not only. The danger of social-revanchism, that is, the re-establishment of a revisionist bulwark against a soon-to-be-reconquered new socialism, emanates not only from the revisionists who have entrenched themselves behind Comrade Enver Hoxha, but also from the revival and renewal of revisionism as a whole throughout the world. So the main danger today comes from newly emerged international centres of neo-revisionism hiding behind bourgeois anti-revisionism. So there is no place for the neo-revisionists in our new trenches of world revolution. Bourgeois anti-revisionism must be exposed, fought and defeated with the weapon of proletarian, Marxist-Leninist anti-revisionism as developed and taught by comrade Enver Hoxha. This is also true in the field of proletarian military science and people's war art.

At the 3rd and 4th CC Plenums (November 1977 and January 1978), the PLA prepared the Albanian people to make great efforts for defence and to rely even more on their own forces. All forces were mobilised to break the imperialist-revisionist blockade, which was now being tied up more brutally by the betrayal of the Chinese revisionists. The blockade could only be broken through the hardest revolutionary work, through steely discipline, through the fulfilment of all tasks to strengthen socialism and its defence. It was above all important to strengthen oneself on all sides and not to focus unilaterally only on the struggle against Chinese revisionism. At the same time, the threat from the other revisionist countries remained very real, especially that of Yugoslav revisionism right on its doorstep (Kosova). Therefore, the PLA continued its struggle against the revisionists of all other countries, ready to push the frontal struggle in all directions. In this period, not only socialist Albania was at the peak of its revolutionary power, but at the same time it revolutionised the whole Marxist-Leninist world movement in defence of socialist Albania in particular and in defence of Marxism-Leninism against revisionism in general. The Comintern (SH) ties in with this in its struggle for the reconquest of socialism and the directly related struggle against neo-revisionism.

The world proletarian class wars

Today it is no longer sufficient to be "only" for world socialist revolution in general, although this question already separates the wheat from the chaff. Today, a Marxist-Leninist can only be someone who is prepared to lead the *permanent* socialist world revolution to a victorious end, even if this means the inevitability of world proletarian class wars. For: in order to test the real power of world capitalism in the present phase of its disintegration, there is no other means and there can be no other means than the world proletarian class war under the leadership of the Communist International.

Lenin already taught at the time of the outbreak of the first imperialist world war:

"This war will soon be followed, if there is not a series of successful revolutions, by other wars - the fairy tale of the 'last war' is an empty, harmful fairy tale, a petty-bourgeois 'myth'" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 27, German edition).

World imperialism itself transforms the wars of nations into civil wars, and this transformation, in Lenin's view, corresponds to the objective conditions of capitalism in the final epoch of world imperialism. World proletarian class wars are the highest form of international civil wars, are wars between the two social systems of capitalism and socialism.

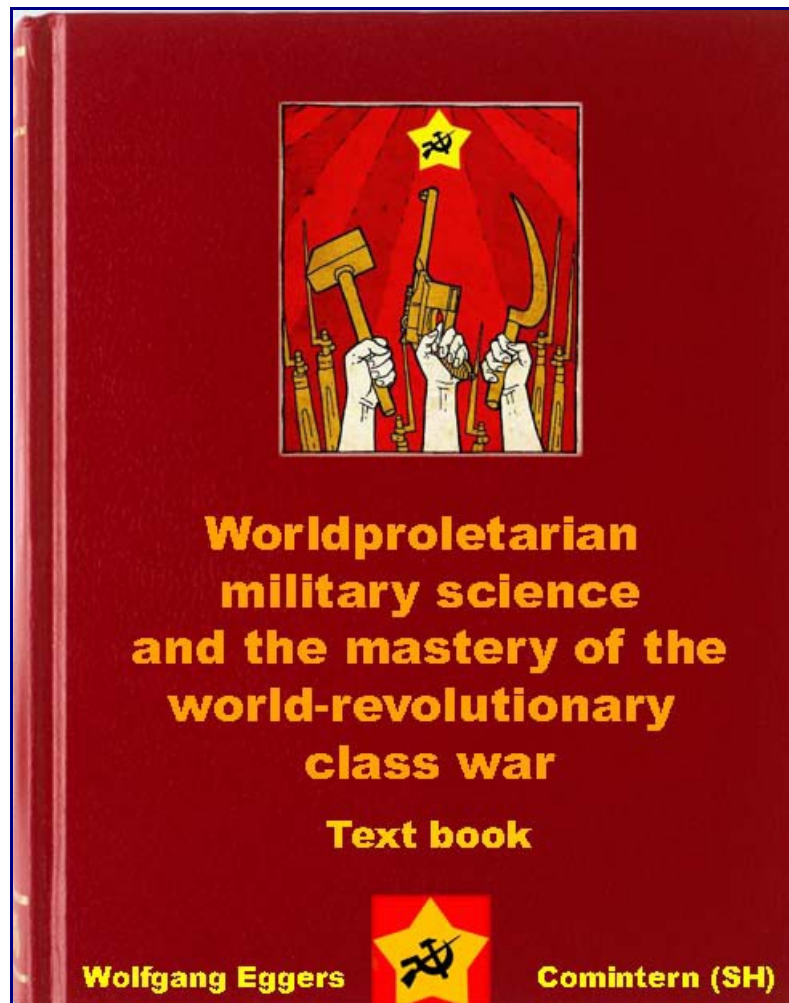
As long as world imperialism is not *eliminated*, it *inevitably* generates, following the laws of capitalism, imperialist world wars again and again. These imperialist world wars can only be ended by the permanent socialist world revolution or by world proletarian class wars. This does not and cannot happen in one fell swoop. "The whole history of capital is a history of acts of violence and plunder, of blood and filth" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 94, German edition). And as long as the world proletariat has not snatched the last piece of capital, this history lives on, remains alive, is to be fought with all means to the end. The more powerful capitalist property, the more powerful capitalist wars. "One capitalist kills many!" is how Karl Marx formulated the historical tendency of capitalist accumulation in the initial phase. "Internationally concentrated and centralised finance capital strikes dead all capitalists throughout the world!" is what world capitalist accumulation ultimately boils down to. The international monopoly of capital becomes the fetter of the world mode of production that has blossomed with and under globalisation. The international centralisation of the means of world production and the socialisation of world labour reach a point where they become incompatible with their world capitalist shell. It is being blown up. The imperialist world wars are supposed to save world capitalism from its downfall, but in this way capitalist private capital will be all the more thoroughly eliminated, the expropriators of this world will be all the more thoroughly expropriated by the socialist world revolution, the socialisation of the entire world production will be all the more perfectly accomplished by transferring the means of world production into the hands of the entire world society (so Karl Marx teaches us in Capital, Volume I, German edition). Without world socialist revolution, the war for capitalist private property will globalise unhindered, this war for capitalist private property will become more centralised, more concentrated and will inevitably take place on an even greater scale, private property will be swallowed up by the war, the world proletariat will thereby also seize imperialist weapons on an even greater scale and use them not only to eliminate the world war for capitalist private property, but also to abolish private property itself. But this is taking place in a long, complicated process of a whole series of world wars:

Even when world socialism has won its first revolutionary victory over world imperialism, there is all the greater danger of war, because what was true of the intensification of the class struggle in a single socialist country, what was true of the imperialists' war against a single socialist country in particular, is all the more true of the whole future socialist world in general: World capitalism will try tooth and nail to regain its power through wars against world socialism. The question of the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which remains perpetually unavoidable between capitalism and communism, can finally only be solved internationally. That this period will not end without international class wars is very probable. The class war is therefore not automatically eliminated with the victory of a single world socialist revolution, just as the class war was not automatically eliminated after the October Revolution. So it cannot be ruled out that further world socialist revolutions will be necessary, just as it has been historically proved that not only one October Revolution but a second and perhaps a third October Revolution is needed, that world socialism may again be superseded by world imperialism and can only finally triumph in the second attempt, etc. etc. For us communists, to fully resolve the question of world socialist revolution means to deal with what comes after world socialist revolution. The world proletariat will inevitably have to fight one, two or a whole series of international class wars, so that we cannot exclude *a whole period of world proletarian class wars* in which it will be decided who will finally win - world imperialism or world socialism. *To recognise the dictatorship of the proletariat today means to recognise the international proletarian class war, if this is necessary to assert or reconquer the dictatorship of the world proletariat.* Only with the victorious end of this entire period of probable world proletarian class wars will the wars at all on this earth be eliminated forever. The world proletariat must be prepared for this, must become aware that it will probably not be able to conquer or assert its world power without one, two or more international class wars. For the world proletariat, therefore, a new theory of the coming world proletarian class wars is urgently needed. It is the task of the Communist International to elaborate this theory of the world proletarian wars on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and to arm the world proletariat with it, because without this theory of the world proletarian class wars the world proletariat may not be able to fulfil its historical mission. We are entering new theoretical territory here, which will not spare us many errors and confusions. But we will learn, learn and learn again. The road to communism will inevitably not be a peaceful one, but rather a bloody one with great human sacrifices. However, the better we succeed in working out the theoretical foundations of the world proletarian class war, the smaller will be the number of victims. But no theory can perform miracles. Miracles will only be performed by the revolutionary world masses - and this will not happen without sacrifices - the dying classes, who do not want to leave the world stage of history voluntarily, and who see their last salvation in the war against communism, will see to that. Nothing is more harmful than the illusion that the path of world socialism to world communism will be exclusively peaceful. As long as society is still divided

into classes, i.e. also in the period of world socialism, there is a danger of the restoration of antagonistic class society, this question will ultimately be decided by arms, by class wars. The probability that the danger of war will be minimised in the course of the period of world socialism is great, but who can *guarantee* peace in this period? We cannot say that with certainty today, but at any rate we cannot rule it out from today's point of view. Wars of reconquest of capitalism have been waged against a single socialist country; we shall see how it will be with the warlike reconquest of world capitalism. We are far from having victory in our pockets, we cannot feel safe from wars of reconquest of world capitalism, we must be vigilant and prepared, there will be a whole series of world class wars and world revolutions, there will be *a whole epoch* of world bourgeois crusades.

[What do we mean by the "*theory of world proletarian class wars*"? (is to be elaborated and explained in more detail here!)]

- End Part XI -



PART XII

Textbook

on the Marxist-Leninist foundations of

World proletarian Military Science

and on the Art of

World revolutionary Class Warfare

August 2004

written by Wolfgang Eggers



PART XII

Chapter 4

The proletarian International and its military mission

First International

Second International

Comintern

(incomplete)

Comintern (SH)

(not yet completed)

The I. International

Marx's speech at the 7th anniversary celebration of the First International - delivered in London on September 25, 1871 - was recorded by a correspondent:

"If the existing conditions of oppression were removed by the handing over of the means of production to the producing workers, by which every man capable of work would be compelled to work for his living, the only basis of class society and oppression would also be removed. But before such a change could be effected, a dictatorship of the proletariat was necessary, AND ITS FIRST PREREQUISITE WAS AN ARMY OF THE PROLETARIAT. THE WORKING CLASSES WOULD HAVE TO FIGHT FOR THE RIGHT TO THEIR EMANCIPATION ON THE BATTLEFIELD. THE TASK OF THE INTERNATIONAL IS TO ORGANISE AND UNITE THE FORCES OF THE WORKERS FOR THE COMING BATTLE" (MEW, Vol. 17, page 433, German edition).

This is the military programme of the Comintern (SH) in its shortest version - and there is "nothing else" to add to this basic idea of Karl Marx until today but to put it into practice. The world proletariat will one day transform this military programme of the Comintern (SH) into material violence.

Just as after the fall of the dictatorship of the proletariat of the Paris Communards, the Soviet Union and Albania, so the world proletariat reaches a degree of maturity by which it is reactivated, recovers from defeat and pushes to end the black period of reaction as soon as possible. Engels said:

"When the European working class had sufficiently strengthened itself again for a new attempt against the power of the ruling classes, the International Workingmen's Association came into being. Its purpose was to unite the entire militant working class of Europe and America into ONE great army body" (Engels, MEW, Vol. 22, pp. 57-58, German edition).

Now the Comintern (SH) came into being and a new attempt against the world bourgeoisie is beginning. We are firmly convinced that soon that favourable situation of the world proletariat will arise which Engels described on May 1, 1890 in the following words:

"'Proletarians of all countries, unite!' Only a few voices answered when we shouted these words out into the world, now 42 years ago, on the eve of the first Paris revolution, in which the proletariat emerged with its own claims. But on 28 September 1864, proletarians from most West European countries united to form the International Workers Association of Glorious Memory. The International itself, however, only lived for nine years. But that the eternal union of proletarians of all countries founded by it is still alive, and lives more vigorously than ever, there is no better witness to this than this very day. For today, as I write these lines, the European and American proletariat is LOOKING FORWARD to its STRUGGLERS mobilised for the first time, mobilised as ONE army (...)" (ibid. page 58, German edition) [underlined by the author].

In the instructions to the delegates of the Provisional Central Council on the individual questions, Marx also listed the *question of armies* as early as 1867:

"10. Armies. (a) The pernicious influence of large standing armies on production has been sufficiently expounded at bourgeois congresses of all kinds, at peace congresses, economic congresses, statistical congresses, philanthropic congresses and sociological congresses. We therefore consider it unnecessary to dwell on this point.

(b) We propose general arming of the people and general training in the use of arms.

(c) We agree, as a temporary necessity, to small standing armies to serve as schools for officers of the militia; every male citizen shall serve for a short time in these armies" (Standing Army and Relation to Production, Karl Marx "*Instructions to the Delegates of the Central Council*" 1st Congress of the 1st International, MEW, Vol. 16, page199, German edition).

The First International fought heroically until its dissolution in 1876 for the union of proletarians of all countries against the wars of conquest of the bourgeoisie and big landowners, developing tactics that remain valid for the Comintern (SH) today.

In his First Address on the Franco-Prussian War, the founder and leader of the First International, Karl Marx, wrote "that, may the forthcoming hideous war end as it will, the alliance of the workers of all countries will eventually eradicate the war. While official France and official Germany are engaged in a fratricidal struggle, the workers are sending each other messages of peace and friendship. This single great fact, unparalleled in the history of the past, opens the prospect of a brighter future. It proves that, in contrast to the old society with its economic misery and its political folly, a new society is emerging whose international principle will be peace, because the same principle prevails in every nation - work! The pioneer of this new society is the International Workers' Association" (MEW, Vol. 17, p. 7, German edition). For example, the Berlin section of the 1st International responded to the manifesto of the Paris Federation of the I International in 1870: "We join heart and hand in your protest.... We solemnly pledge that neither the sound of trumpets nor the thunder of guns, neither victory nor defeat shall turn us away from our common work of uniting the workers in all countries" (ibid., page 6, German edition).

The First International was opposed to unjust wars and rejected any idea of conquest. It called on the workers of the whole world to make this social misfortune impossible forever by demanding for the peoples themselves the *power* to decide on war and peace and thus to make themselves masters of their own destinies.

In his Inaugural Address of the International Workingmen's Association, written by Karl Marx in 1864, 140 years ago, immediately after the founding of the I International, he concluded: "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" The working class, conscious of this slogan, has not forgotten to this day that the workers of all countries are friends and the despots of all countries are enemies. The working class has never ceased to support its friends in solidarity in all countries and to fight the enemies in all countries. The slogan: "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" is therefore ultimately also a slogan for the military unification of the workers of all countries, is a slogan for the unification of the proletarians of all countries into a single class, into the world proletariat, for the violent liberation of the world proletariat, for the military organisation of the world proletariat. Whoever excludes, denies or undermines *this is not a Marxist*. For: the necessity of military unification is justified by the fact that without it all class rule cannot be destroyed, which, as is well known, always rests on the bayonets against the workers.

Thus Marx wrote in the Provisional Statutes :

"that the emancipation of the working class *must be conquered* by the working class *itself*" and "that the struggle for the emancipation of the working class (is a) struggle *for the annihilation* of *all* class rule (...) that the economic emancipation of the working class (...) is the great final end to which every political movement, as a means, is to be subordinated" (MEW, Vol. 16, page 14, German edition). From this it becomes clear that the military conquest of the political power of the world proletariat is not an end in itself, but serves its social liberation, ultimately, that is, the international, economic emancipation of the working class. Without military means for the destruction of all class rule, therefore, there can be no international economic emancipation of the world proletariat! Thus the basic aim of the military means of world revolution is already laid out in Marx's core.

On the question of border conflicts, Karl Marx said in his "*Second Address on the Franco-Prussian War*" to the members of the International Workingmen's Association:

"If frontiers are to be determined by military interests, there will never be an end to the claims, because every military line is necessarily defective and can be improved by annexation of further territory; and, moreover, it can never be finally and justly determined, because it is always imposed on the vanquished by the victor and consequently already carries within itself the germ of a new war. This is the lesson of history: it is with nations as with individuals. In order to deprive them of the possibility of attack, one must deprive them of all means of defence. One must not only seize them by the throat, but also kill them" (ibid., page 274, German edition).

In the First International, Marx and Engels fought against the fomentation of nationalist, bourgeois influences within the international workers' movement, educating workers in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and exposing *great power chauvinism*:

"If members of the International belonging to a *conquering* nation called upon the nation which has been conquered and continues to be oppressed to forget its specific nationality and situation, to put aside 'national differences' etc., this would *not be* internationalism, but nothing more than preaching to them submission to the yoke, and an attempt to justify and perpetuate the rule of the conqueror *under the guise of internationalism*" (MEW, Engels, Vol. 18, page 80, German edition).

Remarkable is the speech Karl Marx gave on 13 August 1867 at the meeting of the General Council on tactical behaviour at the Congress of the Peace and Freedom League (= bourgeois-pacifist). The speech itself is no longer available, but it was reported in the minute book as follows:

"The Congress of the International Workingmen's Association was in itself a peace congress, since the unification of the working class of the various countries must eventually make international wars impossible. If the initiators of the Geneva Peace Congress had really understood the core of this question, they would have joined the International Association. The present increase of large armies in Europe was caused by the revolution of 1848; large standing armies were the inevitable result of the present state of society. They were not maintained to fight international wars, but to hold down the working class. But there are not always barricades to bomb and workers to shoot; then there is the possibility of starting international conflicts so that the soldiers do not get out of practice. (...) Whoever refuses to cooperate in a change in the relations between labour and capital ignores the real preconditions for a general peace" (MEW, Vol. 16, page 530, German edition).

The First International set itself the task of uniting the proletarians of all countries in the struggle for peace, freedom and justice, including the struggle against the foreign policy of their own country to exploit and oppress the workers of other countries, in particular against the poaching and importation of foreign workers for the purpose of wage dumping and strike-breaking on the domestic labour market. The elimination of international wage slavery is the precondition and also guarantee for the elimination of all class domination and all class wars.

Through wartime cunning, the I International prevented wage reductions through threats by the factory owners to outsource production or to replace local workers with cheaper foreign workers. As comparatively shown by the resistance struggle in Iraq at present, it also succeeded there in forcing the governments of various countries to withdraw their soldiers, thus dealing a serious blow to the American high command, which commands the international units of the occupation.

The guarantee of lasting world peace lies in the international solution of the contradiction between capital and labour. This is where the bourgeois peace movement differs from the proletarian peace movement even today. Those who do not help the world proletariat to free itself from world capital objectively support the international wars to hold down the world proletariat - whether they want to or not. Only the unification of the working class of the different countries can finally make international wars impossible. These core statements of Karl Marx are still valid today.

The First International, through Karl Marx, took a position on how the international proletariat should behave tactically towards the Franco-Prussian War:

"1. Join the national movement.... as far as and as long as it is limited to the defence of Germany...,

"2. emphasise the difference between the German-national interests and the dynastic-Prussian interests,

3. oppose any annexation of Alsace and Lorraine...,

4. as soon as a republican, non-chauvinist government is at the helm in Paris, to work for honourable peace with it, 5. to constantly emphasise the unity of interests of the German and French workers, who do not approve of the war and who are not at war with each other" (MEW, Vol. 17, p. 691, German edition).

On 5 September 1870, a "Manifesto on War" was issued as a leaflet. The manifesto called on the German working class to remain loyal to the international cause of the proletariat and suggested that German workers hold mass rallies and protest meetings against the Prussian government's annexation plans "This war has shifted the centre of gravity of the continental workers' movement from France to Germany" (MEW, vol. 17, page 270, German edition). "The German working class vigorously supported the war, which it was not in its power to prevent, as a war for Germany's independence and for the liberation of Germany and Europe from the oppressive yoke of the second empire. It was the German industrial workers who, together with the rural workers, supplied the sinews and muscles of heroic armies while leaving their half-starved families behind. Decimated by battles abroad, they will be decimated again by misery at home. And the patriotic criers will tell them for consolation that capital has no fatherland and that the wage of labour is regulated by the *unpatriotic international law* of demand and supply. Is it not therefore high time that the German working class should speak out and no longer allow middle-class gentlemen *to speak in its name*? For their part, they are now demanding 'guarantees', guarantees that their tremendous sacrifices have not been made in vain, that they have conquered freedom, that the victories they have won over the Bonapartist armies will not be turned into a defeat of the German people as in 1825. And as the first of these guarantees they demand, 'an honourable peace for France' and 'the recognition of the French Republic'. (...) May *the sections of the International Workingmen's Association in all countries* call the working class to active movement. If the workers forget their duty, if they remain passive, the present terrible war will only be the precursor of even more terrible international struggles and will lead in every country to new defeats of the workers by the masters of the rapier, of landed property and of capital. *Long live the Republic!* The General Council"(*ibid*, pages 276 and 278, German edition). Engels addressed a communication to the 6th Congress of the Belgian section of the International Workers' Association calling for solidarity with Liebknecht and Bebel and another 50 workers who had been arrested for the Manifesto, for fraternising the German and French workers. Bebel and Liebknecht organised the internationalist agitation and propaganda of the First International as an opposition in the so-called national representation:

"The International is accused of having given all these citizens the instruction for a vast revolutionary conspiracy. We are undoubtedly dealing here with a second edition of the International's infamous plot on Paris, a plot which the Bonapartist police claimed to have uncovered and which finally dissolved into a miserable nothingness. Despite these persecutions, the international workers' movement is on the advance and is strengthening more and more" (ibid., page 282, German edition). The international bourgeoisie and all its governments tried to incite, divide, persecute and dissolve the sections of the International with denunciations, had "manifestos of the International" distributed which were in reality written by the Versailles police (call for arson in the name of the International etc.) and slanderously presented the International as a scapegoat, a "rebel" and a terrorist organisation. To this Marx replied: "It is in the nature of things that the grand dignitaries and ruling classes of the old society, which can only maintain their own power and the exploitation of the productive masses of the people through *national* struggles and antagonisms, recognise in the International Workingmen's Association their *common* enemy. To destroy him, *all means* are good" (ibid., page 300, German edition).

The Central Council of the International was *organisationally* conceived by Karl Marx in such a way that the individual workers' parties affiliated to the I International could "operate simultaneously and uniformly" (ibid., page 16, German edition). Viewed on an international scale, the young workers' movement was still *spontaneous* in character. It still lacked the centralisation of the international workers' movement. It is thanks to Marx and Engels that they emphasised the need for the creation of independent revolutionary workers' parties and contributed on the part of the First International to the emergence of workers' parties in many countries of the world. "Since, on the one hand, the success of the workers' movement in each country can only be secured by the power of unification and combination, while, on the other hand, the effectiveness of the International Central Council is essentially conditioned by the fact that it negotiates with a few national centres of workers' societies, instead of with a large number of small and disjointed local societies, - the members of the International Association should summon up all their forces for the unification of the scattered workers' societies of their respective countries into national bodies, represented by national central organs" (ibid.). It need not be further explained that in this direction the military link of the countries with an international centre must also be structured in order to make the armed world proletariat capable of action and manoeuvre. In this way, the international staff acts permanently between the various fighting units of the individual countries that work together and thus directs the entire armed movement of the world proletariat, which may differ in national form in the individual countries and depend on the different conditions and preconditions. But everyone can contribute in solidarity to the success of the whole through participation in the international, centralised coordination. Karl Marx was always opposed to turning the First International into a letterbox of the individual sections.

"Our aims must be so broad as to include all forms of working class activity. If we had given them a special character, we should have adapted them to the needs of only one section, of the working class of only one nation. But how could we induce all men to unite for the interests of a few? If our Association did this, then it would not have the right to call itself International. The Association does not dictate any particular form of political movement; it only requires that this movement be directed towards one and the same ultimate end. It comprises a network of branch societies extending over the whole world of labour. In each part of the world particular aspects of the problem arise, the workers take these into account and approach the solution in their own way" (MEW, Vol. 17, page 641, German edition).

The First International did not presume to see how the working class in one country or another conducted its struggle for the common ultimate purpose of the economic emancipation of the proletarians of all countries through the attainment of political power. Instead of dictating, it expressed its sympathies to every (armed) movement and gave it aid and support within the framework of its own laws. Karl Marx struck the sensitive nerve of the First International, which is historically still true today:

"Whether we (...) grant the General Council the right of a Negro prince or of the Russian Tsar, its power is nevertheless illusory as soon as the General Council ceases to be the expression of the majority of the IWA; THE GENERAL COUNCIL HAS NO ARMY [emphasised by the author], no budget, but it is only a moral power and it always becomes impotent if it does not have the consent of the whole Association" (MEW, Vol. 18, page 688, German edition).

To deduce from this that Marx was fundamentally opposed to centralised armed action by the International is also invalidated, among other things, in the following quotation, taken from his speech on the Hague Congress:

"The Hague Congress granted new and even more extended powers to the General Council. Indeed, at a moment when the kings are assembling in Berlin, when from this meeting of the powerful representatives of feudalism and the past new and more decisive measures of repression are to emanate against us, at the very moment when persecution is being organised, the Hague Congress has thought it appropriate and necessary to extend the powers of the General Council and to CENTRALISE, for the struggle now beginning, ALL ACTIONS WHICH WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE IN ISOLATION [emphasis added by the author]. And with whom else, by the way, could the powers of the General Council cause unrest if not with our enemies? Has he then a bureaucracy, an armed police force to enforce obedience? Is not its authority merely moral, and does it not submit its decisions to the judgment of the federations entrusted with the execution of the same? Under such conditions, without an army, without a police force, without courts, the kings, on the day when they would be compelled to maintain their power only by moral influence and moral authority, would be but weak obstacles to the forward progress of the revolution. (...)

Citizens, let us remember that fundamental principle of the International: solidarity. Only if we place this life-giving principle on secure foundations among all workers of all countries will we achieve the great final goal we have set ourselves. The revolution must be based on solidarity, this is what the great example of the Paris Commune teaches us, which fell because in all the centres, in Berlin, in Madrid, etc., there were no great revolutionary movements equal to this most powerful uprising of the Paris proletariat. (...) The whole rest of my life will (...) be consecrated to the triumph of the social idea (...) - the world domination of the proletariat (...)" (MEW, Vol. 18, page 159, German edition). We add to this quotation from Karl Marx the note in the appendix of volume 18 on page 730, where a Dutch correspondent reported Karl Marx's speech:

"As long as the International does not appear as a firmly united body, as long as it cannot centralise a movement so that it arises everywhere at once, its efforts will be of little use. The speaker brings the example of the Paris Commune. Why did it suffer failure? Because it was isolated and remained isolated. If revolutions had broken out in Berlin, Vienna and other capitals *at the same time* as the revolt in Paris, there would have been more chance of success".

However, the subjective conditions were not yet ripe for this, especially the non-existence of revolutionary workers' parties that would have been able to coordinate, centralise and concentrate their actions. And even today these conditions are far from being fulfilled, all the more serious and intensive work is needed. Isolated armed struggles of the proletarians in the individual countries, even if they lead to the dictatorship of the proletariat through excellently organised and powerful Bolshevik Party, are ultimately powerless from today's point of view, if they are not supported at least by the proletarians of some other countries, if they are not supported by the world proletariat as a whole. This was and still is the Marxist-Leninist conclusion of the doctrine of "socialism in 'one' country".

The basic principle of the International is and remains, as Marx defined, solidarity. He explicitly does not limit himself to *moral* solidarity. With moral influence and moral authority alone, in Marx's words, one cannot maintain class rule, still less can the world proletariat conquer its world rule with morality, for world imperialism will never of itself preach the morality of fei willing renunciation of its class rule, unless the world proletariat forcibly compels it to do so. Just as world imperialism does not decay on its own, neither does its morality, if it has one at all. When Karl Marx spoke of the "secure foundations" of the basic principle of the International, this includes the *material* foundations on which the Marxist idea of the solidarity of all workers of all countries is based. And precisely one of the most decisive material foundations is solidarity in armed struggle, is the creation of a centralised - with powers of the sections of the Communist International acting jointly and unitedly - Red World Army.

This was forced into illegality and forced to dissolve both from the outside by arrests and the creation of police sections and from the inside by the penetration of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas in its previous form of organisation, to be continued in a new form in the II International in 1889:

"After the fall of the Paris Commune, of course, all organisation of the working class of France was temporarily broken up, but it is now beginning to develop again. On the other hand, at the present time the Slavs, namely in Poland, Bohemia and Russia, in spite of all political and social obstacles, are taking part in the international movement on a scale which could not have been foreseen by the greatest optimist in 1872. Thus the International, instead of dying out, has merely passed from its first incubation period into a higher phase in which its original aspirations have already become partly a reality. In the course of this progressive development it will still have to undergo many changes before the last chapter of its history can be written" (MEW, Vol. 19, written by Engels in early July 1878, page 147, German edition).

"The international movement of the European and American proletariat is now so strengthened that not only its first narrow form - the secret confederation - but even its second, infinitely more comprehensive form - the public International Workingmen's Association - has become a fetter for it and that the simple, based on the insight into the equality of the class situation, is sufficient to create and keep together among the workers of all countries and tongues one and the same great party of the proletariat" (MEW, Vol. 21, *Zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten*, 1885 [!], page 223 -, German edition [the Communist International of the class-conscious world proletariat, which enables and empowers it to arm itself in an organised way against the international enemy, to go to war against it and to defeat it! - Emphasis added by the author].

When the II. International was bogged down in opportunism, Lenin created the Third International with the words that the International had not gone down and would not go down. This historical truth has been confirmed even after the dissolution of the Comintern through the creation of the Comintern (SH) . We cannot exclude that the Comintern (SH) will also be forced to dissolve, who knows. But the world proletariat will not have lost its Communist International forever because of this. It will overcome its mistakes and weaknesses and then one day finally have built that Communist International which will not only withstand the pressure of world imperialism but will also defeat it. The Communist International fights for the achievement of the immediately present purposes and interests of the world proletariat, but at the same time, in the present world revolutionary movements, it represents the future of the proletarians of all countries who "fight as one army under one and the same banner" (MEW, Engels, Vol. 21, page 343, German edition) - [Underlined by author].

The Second International

"The Second International began with the Paris International Socialist Congress of 1889, and it was at the subsequent congresses in Brussels (1891), Zurich (1893), London (1896), Paris (1900) and Amsterdam (1904) that this new International, based on firmly established national parties, finally gained strength. The great importance of the International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart lies precisely in the fact that it manifests the final consolidation of the Second International and the transformation of the international congresses into objective meetings, which are of the greatest influence on the character and direction of socialist activity throughout the world" (Lenin, Vol. 13. Page 74, German edition). This is what Lenin wrote immediately afterwards in 1907.

On the agenda of the

Stuttgart Congress of 1907

was the subject of "*Militarism and the International Conflicts*" (Lenin worked in this discussion).

Of the leading revolutionary role which the German Social Democracy had hitherto played in the Second International in this respect, there was nothing to be seen in Stuttgart. They were and remained from that time onwards the spokesmen of opportunism - so also on the question of militarism and colonial policy. Lenin commented on this as follows:

"Socialism has never refused and does not refuse to advocate reforms also for colonies, but this has nothing to do and must have nothing to do with a weakening of our principled stand against conquests, against the subjugation of foreign peoples, against violence and robbery, which form the content of 'colonial policy'. The very term 'socialist colonial policy' is hopeless confusion" (Lenin, Vol. 13, page 79, German edition) [This term was deleted from the resolution and colonial policy was condemned more sharply than at all previous congresses of the Second International - author's note]. As for the attitude of the Stuttgart World Congress to militarism, Lenin assessed it as follows:

"Not empty hervèist threats [herèism, as a semi-anarchist attitude, was rejected at the Congress not in favour of the opportunists represented, but in favour of the revolutionaries represented - author's note], but clear consciousness of the inevitability of the social revolution, firm determination to fight to the end, readiness to use the most revolutionary means of struggle - this is the meaning of the resolution of the Stuttgart International Socialist Congress on the question of militarism. The army of the proletariat is strengthening in all countries. Its class consciousness, its unity and determination are growing daily and hourly. Capitalism, however, is successfully ensuring the ever more frequent recurrence of the crises which this army will use to destroy capitalism" (Lenin, Vol. 13, p. 85, German edition).

Lenin quoted an important passage from the correct resolution on militarism adopted at the Stuttgart Congress:

"Wars between capitalist states are as a rule the consequences of their competition on the world market, for each state strives not only to secure its market areas for itself but also to conquer new ones, in which subjugation of foreign peoples and countries plays a leading role. These wars further result from the incessant arms race of militarism, which is a main tool of bourgeois class rule and the economic and political subjugation of the working class. The wars are favoured by the prejudices of one people against the other, systematically nourished among the cultural peoples in the interests of the ruling classes, in order thereby to turn the masses of the proletariat away from their own class tasks and from the duties of international class solidarity. Wars, therefore, are in the nature of capitalism; they will cease only when the capitalist economic order is eliminated or when the magnitude of the sacrifices in men and money necessitated by military-technical development and the indignation aroused by armaments drive the peoples to the elimination of this system. Therefore, the working class, which has preferably to provide the soldiers and mainly to make the material sacrifices, is a natural opponent of war, which is in contradiction with its aim: the creation of an economic order based on socialism, which realises the solidarity of the peoples..." (quoted by Lenin in his Works, Vol. 15, page 188). Lenin noted that this was only one side of militarism ("outward"), while the question of militarism "inward", which was the suppression of the revolution, was not the issue. which concerns the suppression of the revolution in the individual countries (see Lenin, Works, Vol. 15, p. 187, German edition), distracts from the question of the international significance of militarism in its struggle against the proletarian world revolution. The Stuttgart Congress - and this is its merit - reaffirmed the stand of international socialism against militarism and its principled connection with capitalism. Its weakness, however, was that the socialists could not agree on a binding, universal and unified international anti-militarist tactic, that there were widely divergent opinions on the practical question of "how to fight against the burden of militarism and how to prevent wars" (Lenin, Vol. 15, p. 188, German edition). There were two "extreme" positions. The German Social Democracy was on the path of defence of the fatherland and was on the threshold of its notorious chauvinist and social-chauvinist betrayal of the II International, while on the other pole was the numerically small group of Hervé's supporters. Lenin described this position as follows: "The proletariat has no fatherland argue the Hervéans. So every war is a war in the interests of the capitalists; so the proletariat must fight against every war. The proletariat must respond to every declaration of war with the military strike and insurrection. This is what the anti-militarist propaganda should aim at in the first place. In Stuttgart, Hervé therefore presented the following draft resolution: `... it (the congress) calls upon all comrades to answer every declaration of war, from whatever side it may come, with the military strike and with insurrection'" (quoted in Lenin, Works, Vol. 15, page 189, German edition). Lenin saw in these two positions those two "diseases (...) which still have a harmful influence on the activity of the socialist proletariat in Western Europe: the opportunist tendencies on the one hand and

the anarchist phrasemongering on the other" (Lenin, Vol. 15, page 189, German edition); "'heroic folly' of the Hervéists and opportunist cowardice on the 'right wing'" (Lenin, Vol. 15, page 192, German edition).

With regard to the necessary internationalisation of the armies of the proletarians of all countries, the problem of immigration must also be mentioned, which was dealt with at the Stuttgart Congress. Lenin wrote on this:

"In our struggle for true internationalism and against 'jingo-socialism' we always refer in our press to the opportunist leaders of the SP in America who advocate restricting the immigration of Chinese and Japanese workers (especially after the Stuttgart Congress of 1907 and contrary to its decisions). We think that no one can be an internationalist and at the same time advocate such restrictions. And we maintain that socialists in America, especially English socialists, who belong to the ruling, that is, an oppressive nation, if they do not oppose all restrictions on immigration and the seizure of colonies (Hawaiian Islands), if they do not stand for the full independence of the latter - that such socialists are in reality 'jingos' [English jingoists - author's note]" (Lenin, Vol. 21, p. 435, German edition).

The Copenhagen Congress of the II International

took place on 28 August to 3 September 1910. The RSDWP was also represented at the Congress by Lenin. The resolution adopted at the Congress on the struggle against militarism and war reaffirmed the Stuttgart Congress resolution "*Militarism and International Conflicts*." It contained several demands for the struggle against war to be made by the socialist representatives in the parliaments: a) compulsory settlement of all conflicts between states before international arbitration tribunals; b) general disarmament; c) abolition of secret diplomacy; d) right of self-determination of all peoples and their defence against warlike attacks and violent oppression.

Lenin's stand on anti-militarist tactics has already been discussed in the chapter on "Lenin".

Referring to the slogan of the Stuttgart and Basel resolutions, Lenin wrote in his article "*Situation and Tasks of the Socialist International*":

"The bourgeoisie deceives the masses by dressing up the imperialist raid with the old ideology of 'national war'. The proletariat exposes this fraud and proclaims the slogan of transforming the imperialist war into civil war. It was precisely this slogan that was envisaged in the Stuttgart and Basel resolutions, which did not foresee war per se, but precisely the present war, and which did not speak of the 'defence of the fatherland', but of the need to 'hasten the elimination of capitalist class rule', to exploit for this purpose the crisis brought about by the war, and to follow the example of the Commune. The Commune was the transformation of a people's war into a civil war" (Lenin, Works, Vol. 21, page 26, German edition).

The Basel Congress of the II International

... met on 24 and 25 November 1912, convened as an extraordinary congress on the occasion of the Balkan War and the threat of war in Europe. It adopted a manifesto which highlighted the imperialist, reactionary character of the coming world war and called on socialists of all countries to fight actively against the war. With the decisions of the Basel Congress, Lenin drew the line of demarcation with the opportunism of the II International, which manifested itself in the fact that the opportunists renounced the revolutionary positions of the II International and trampled on the Basel Congress, betrayed it. Lenin was the most faithful defender of the Basel Congress, built up its resolution as one of the foundations of the foundation of the III. International. With the demarcation line of the Basel Congress, Lenin rallied the Bolsheviks of all countries to the struggle against the social-chauvinism of the II International, to the struggle against imperialist war, to the struggle for revolutionary civil war and socialist revolution, to the struggle for international socialism:

"This resolution, which draws the conclusion of the enormous propaganda and agitation literature of all countries directed against war, is the most precise and complete, the most solemn and official statement of the socialist conception of war and of tactics towards war (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 201, German edition). Precisely with regard to the present war between 'the great powers of Europe', the Basel resolution says that this war 'could not be justified by the slightest pretext of a popular interest'!" (ibid, page 202). "The Basel Resolution does not speak of the national war and not of the people's war, of which there were examples in Europe, even typical of the epoch from 1792 to 1871, it does not speak of the revolutionary war, which the Social Democrats never rejected, but of the present war on the ground of 'capitalist imperialism' and 'dynastic interests', on the ground of the 'policy of conquest' of both warring power groups, both Austro-German and Anglo-French-Russian" (ibid., page 203).

"The Basel Manifesto states:

- 1. that the war will bring about an economic and political crisis;**
 - 2. that the proletarians will consider it a crime to take part in the war and 'to shoot at each other for the advantage of the profit of the capitalists, the ambition of the dynasties or for the higher honour of diplomatic secret treaties', that the war must arouse the 'indignation and outrage' of the working class;**
 - 3. that the socialists are obliged to exploit this crisis and this state of mind of the workers 'to arouse the people and thereby hasten the removal of capitalist class rule';**
 - 4. That the 'governments' - all without exception - 'cannot unleash war without danger to themselves';**
 - 5. That the governments are 'fearful of proletarian revolution';**
 - 6. that the governments may 'remember' the Paris Commune (i.e., the Civil War); the 1905 revolution in Russia, etc." (ibid. pp. 205-206).**
- "The Congress proclaimed the coming of the *proletarian revolution* precisely in connection with this war".**

The International Socialist Women's Conference

... took place in Berne from 26 to 28 March 1915, with Krupskaya, Lenin's wife, in attendance:

"At the conference two world views clashed, two views of the war and of the tasks of the International, two tactics of the proletarian parties:

One view: there has been no collapse of the International, there are no deep and serious obstacles to the return from chauvinism to socialism, there is no strong 'inner enemy' in the shape of opportunism, the latter has committed no direct, undoubted, obvious betrayal of socialism. From this the conclusion: we do not want to condemn anyone, we will give 'amnesty' to those who have violated the Stuttgart and Basel resolutions, we will confine ourselves to the advice to take the course more to the left and to call the masses to demonstrations.

The other view on all the points mentioned here is absolutely opposite. There is nothing more harmful and disastrous for the proletarian cause than the continuation of inner-party diplomacy towards the opportunists and social-chauvinists. The resolution of the majority proved acceptable to the opportunists and supporters of the present official parties precisely because it is completely imbued with the spirit of diplomacy. The working masses, who are currently being led by the official social patriots, are being thrown sand in the eyes with such diplomacy. The undoubtedly erroneous and harmful idea is being instilled in the working masses that the present Social-Democratic parties with their present leaderships are capable of changing the course and steering a correct one instead of the wrong one" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 193, German edition). The International Women's Conference had not broken with chauvinism, had not rallied under the old banner of Marxism-Leninism. Lenin criticises the violation of the Basel and Stuttgart Congresses by the opportunists and "centrists" being swept under the carpet; he criticises Clara Zetkin as the leader of the Kautskyan "centre" and consequently strikes at the heart of the conciliatory attitude of the majority at the International Socialist Women's Conference:

"But what about the resolution of the majority? Not a syllable of condemnation of the traitors, not a word about opportunism, a simple repetition of the thoughts of the Basel Manifesto !!!! As if nothing serious had happened (...) But this is a direct mockery of the decisions of the International, a mockery of the workers. The social-chauvinists basically want nothing more than a simple repetition of the old decisions, so that in reality nothing is changed. This is nothing more than a tacit and hypocritically veiled amnesty for the social-chauvinist supporters of the majority of the present parties. (...) We repeat: We will not go down this road" (Lenin Vol. 21, pp. 195-196, German edition).

"The conferences with so-called 'action' programmes have hitherto only led to the proclamation at them, more or less completely, of the programme of simple pacifism. Marxism is not pacifism. It is necessary to fight for the quickest ending of the war. But only if revolutionary struggle is called for at the same time does the 'peace' demand acquire proletarian meaning. Without a series of revolutions, the so-called democratic peace is a bourgeois utopia. A real programme of action would only be a *Marxist* programme which gives the masses an exhaustive and clear answer to what has happened, enlightens them about the nature of imperialism and about the struggle to be waged against it, openly states that the collapse of the II International was brought about by opportunism, and openly calls for the establishment of a Marxist International *without* and *against* the opportunists. Only such a programme, which would testify that we have lost neither faith in ourselves nor faith in Marxism, that we are declaring a life-and-death struggle against opportunism, would sooner or later secure for us the sympathies of really broad proletarian masses" (Lenin, Vol. 21, pp. 330-331, German edition).

What does this mean when applied to today's situation?

Without *a series of world revolutions*, so-called world peace is a bourgeois utopia. A real programme of action would only be a Marxist-Leninist programme which would give the masses throughout the world an exhaustive and clear answer to what is happening today, enlighten them about the nature of rotten imperialism and about the international struggle to be waged against it, openly state that the collapse of the Comintern was brought about by revisionism, and openly call for the establishment of a Marxist-Leninist International without and against revisionism. Only such a programme, which would testify that we have lost neither faith in ourselves nor faith in Marxism-Leninism, that we declare a life-and-death struggle against revisionism worldwide, would sooner or later secure for us the sympathies of really broad proletarian masses throughout the world. Hence the founding of the Communist International (Stalinist-Hoxhaists in 2000.

Thus, what Lenin said here against the conciliators against the opportunists in the II International is *also* true against the conciliators against the opportunists in the Comintern: *Repetition* of the decisions of the VII World Congress today means continuation of the *revisionist line in the struggle against fascism and war*. The Comintern (SH) will not grant any amnesty to the leaders of the VII World Congress, neither to Dimitrov nor to Togliatti and all the others - neither openly nor in a veiled form. We repeat: The world proletariat will not go down this road of Dimitrov and Togliatti for a second time, the Comintern (SH) will see to that! Whoever grants amnesty to the weapons of the old revisionists, activates them against the world socialist revolution, stands on the other side of the barricade, who may be "against" revisionism in words, but is a neo-revisionist in deeds, who in reality turns his weapons against the Comintern (SH), against the world proletariat, against Lenin. One cannot make the revisionist course of the VII World Congress "innocent" again if one wants to smash world fascism with international armed proletarian organisations and establish the dictatorship of the world proletariat on its ruins. The VII World Congress meant the revisionist disarmament of communism up to the date of the foundation of the Comintern (SH) in 2000, but the foundation of the Comintern (SH) means the continuation of the period of disarmament of revisionism by Stalin and later Enver Hoxha, which began after the VII World Congress.

"Where the old International broke off, precisely there the new one began again" (Engels; MEW, Vol. 38, page 151, German edition). But the II. International did not justify the hopes Engels had placed in it. If in the first years of its existence, when Engels assisted it with advice and criticism, it was a Marxist international organisation of struggle, after Engels' death and with the development of capitalism into imperialism, the reformists and revisionists, as well as the hidden opportunists, the centrists, gained ever greater influence. The opportunists prepared the II. International for a good decade until the outbreak of war to defect to imperialism. This eventually led to its ignominious collapse in 1914. Nevertheless, Engels' activity in spreading Marxism and proletarian internationalism in the international workers' movement bore fruit in the early years of the Second International. It was a contribution to the education of the truly revolutionary elements in the parties of the Second International who held high the banner of Marxism and proletarian internationalism - first and foremost V. I. Lenin and the revolutionary wing of Russian social democracy:

"The collapse of the Second International is the collapse of socialist opportunism. The latter grew up as a product of the previous 'peaceful' period of development of the workers' movement. This epoch taught the working class the use of such important means of struggle as the exploitation of parliamentarism and all legal possibilities, the creation of mass economic and political organisations, the creation of a widespread workers' press, etc. On the other hand, this epoch produced a tendency to deny the class struggle and to preach social peace, to deny the socialist revolution, to reject illegal organisations in principle, to affirm bourgeois patriotism, and so on. Certain strata of the working class (...labour aristocracy) as well as the petty-bourgeois fellow-travellers within the socialist parties were the main social support of these tendencies and the bearers of bourgeois influence on the proletariat" (Lenin, Vol. 21, pp. 150-151, German edition).

"The II. International is dead, defeated by opportunism. Down with opportunism; long live the III International purged not only of 'defectors' (...) but also of opportunism! International! The II. International did its share of useful preparatory work to organise the proletarian masses first during the long 'peaceful' period of hardest capitalist slavery and fastest capitalist progress in the last third of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. The III. International has before it the task of organising the forces of the proletariat for the revolutionary onslaught against the capitalist governments, for civil war against the bourgeoisie of all countries for political power, for the victory of socialism!" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 28). "The RSDWP must support all international and revolutionary mass actions of the proletariat and seek to unite all the anti-chauvinist elements of the International" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 151, German edition). On these tasks of a III. International Lenin wrote already 5 years *before* its foundation!

In the letter of invitation to the first Congress of the Comintern, under "II. Relationship to the 'socialist' parties", it was written: "(9) In relation to the social-chauvinists, who appear everywhere at critical moments with gun in hand against the proletarian revolution, only ruthless struggle is possible."

The First World War was an imperialist war, a war of conquest and robbery on both sides. The war put all currents in the workers' movement to the test. The West European social democratic parties, eaten away by the rust of opportunism long before the war, had betrayed the working class and began to help the bourgeoisie to set the workers and peasants of the warring countries against each other in the name of "*defence of the fatherland*" - the *bourgeois* fatherland. The II. International disintegrated. The leaders and leaders of the II International and most of the socialist parties took the stand of defending and supporting their imperialist governments. In this perilous historical moment, in the situation of profound crisis of the socialist parties of betrayal and renegadeism of the leaders of the workers' movement, only Lenin and the Bolshevik Party he founded and educated raised the banner of struggle against the imperialist war without wavering. Lenin immediately came forward with an accurate and clear assessment of the war, showing the workers and peasants the only way out of the world carnage - the way of struggle to overthrow their own imperialist governments. Lenin thus took the stand of a true internationalist and demanded that the workers and peasants not turn their guns against their brothers in the other countries, but turn the guns around and use them as their own weapons of civil war.

In the present time of globalisation, in the case of a new world war, the task of *overthrowing one's own government is no longer sufficient*, but the overthrow of world imperialism as a whole must be tackled in a planned, systematic, centralised way, the struggle must be directed towards the establishment of the proletarian world dictatorship. In order to overthrow the whole of world imperialism today, the proletarians of all countries cannot liberate each other individually, but must liberate each other together through direct mutual aid, with a central leadership, by fusing into a united, united international class with its own headquarters, in order to go into action as one man on the battlefield. In this political direction of Lenin, the II. International could not and would not work. The worst thing that could happen to us Marxist-Leninists in today's world crisis would be not to learn consistently from the betrayal of the II International. The victory of bourgeois nationalism over the revolutionary communist world movement would be a disaster. It is therefore the task of the Communist International in particular to do everything possible to ensure that socialist weapons are not adapted to chauvinist-nationalist weapons. This pressure of the world bourgeoisie is very real and dangerous today. It must not be yielded to. On the contrary, the international weapons must be used against the nationalist weapons. We must adhere ironically to the ideal of international proletarian arms, centrally organise the armament of these arms worldwide. When the Basel Resolution called it a crime for proletarians to shoot at proletarians, this does not mean that only the "civilised" proletarians do not shoot at "civilised" proletarians, It does not mean that only the "civilised" proletarians do not shoot at "civilised" proletarians, i.e. that the proletarians of one imperialist great power do not shoot at the proletarians of another, but it means that the entire world proletariat never points the gun at itself, but always only at the friends of the world proletariat, at the bourgeoisie and its allies and its lackeys. In other words, the proletariat of the oppressing nations does not shoot at the proletariat of the other oppressing nations, just as the proletariat of the oppressing nations does not shoot at the proletarians of the oppressed nations. And vice versa: the proletarians of the oppressed nations do not shoot at the proletariat of other oppressed nations, nor at the proletarians of the oppressing nations, but all of them, as different armies of the world proletariat, wage a common armed struggle against each individual imperialist, as well as against the totality of the world imperialists. Today, the armed struggle of the proletariat is no longer limited to the struggle against its "own" bourgeoisie, because today it is in essence and also in form an international armed struggle. The capitalists wage an international war for their profit, just as the world proletariat answers this war with the world socialist revolution. Individual solutions to revolutionary tasks are highly unlikely in the age of globalisation. They have been more or less an inseparable part of the world socialist revolution since the collapse of the Second International.

The Comintern

**Lenin had clear ideas about how the International should be restored. The death of the II International meant for him the birth of the III International.
International:**

"The International does not consist in people sitting round a table and writing a hypocritical pointed resolution who think it is genuine internationalism when German socialists justify the call of the German bourgeoisie to shoot French workers, and French socialists justify the call of the French bourgeoisie to shoot German workers - 'in the name of defence of the fatherland'!!!! The International consists in people coming together (ideologically at first, but then, in due course, organisationally) who are capable of really standing up for socialist internationalism in the present difficult period, i.e., of gathering their forces and shooting 'afterward', each against the government and ruling classes of his own 'patriot country' (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 88, German edition); [underlined by author].

The founding of the Communist International was preceded first of all by the opportunist collapse of the Second International, which made imperative a reorganisation of those genuinely revolutionary anti-war forces which defended the ideals of communism against those who took the "peaceful road" to socialism and abandoned the Marxist road of class struggle, civil war and socialist revolution to side with the imperialists as 'fatherland defenders' in order to stab the revolutionary proletariat in the back. This was a revolutionary minority which had previously engaged in an internal struggle lasting over 10 years with the majority of the II International in order to oppose the ongoing degeneration of the II International. Especially with the outbreak of the war, the treacherous and conciliatory role of the "centre" of the II International under the leadership of Kautsky also came to the open, which Lenin masterfully exposed and whereby the Bolshevik tactics of the proletarian world revolution stood out ever more clearly and distinctly from Kautskyanism. At that time, in order to blur and cover up the bankruptcy of the II International and the betrayal of its leaders, Kautsky put forward the thesis that the International was *"an instrument of peace"* (*"... it is not a tool in war, it is essentially an instrument of peace"*) (emphasized by Kautsky); [Kautsky: "Internationality and War" - Neue Zeit, 27, IX, 1914, 1st half-volume, p. 248, Eng.] and consequently ceased to be effective during the war period. Lenin quite rightly described the II. International as a "league for the international justification of national chauvinism" (Lenin, Vol. 21, p. 82, German edition). The Communist International thus emerged, among other things, from the demarcation of the international communists and in their struggle, in particular, against anti-war opportunism in international social democracy. Especially during the whole period of the war, the independence of a new, the III. International prepared itself above all ideologically. The October Revolution was victorious as a result of the first imperialist world war, socialist internationalism developed particularly strongly under the impact of this very war. It is therefore no coincidence that this historical fact is particularly emphasised here in the textbook, because the Marxist-Leninist foundations of proletarian military science, the art of waging class war on a world scale was significantly developed not least in this period. This had a strong influence not only on the foundation of the Comintern, but also on its construction in the course of the following years: the Communist International is not only the most important instrument of peace of the world proletariat, but also at the same time its most important instrument of war. The Communist International thus plays a central role not only in the class struggle against the imperialist wars, but it is indispensable in general as the leader of all the wars that the world proletariat has to fight. Without the Communist International, especially as an instrument of war of the world proletariat, a victory of world socialism, a victory of communism, is not even conceivable. The Communist International was already ideologically formed during the war. Its dissolution in the Second World War, as a result of revisionist betrayal, was tantamount to a devastating disarmament of the world proletariat, which had a decisive influence on the failure of the socialist camp that developed afterwards.

But back to the founding period. In the minutes of the 1st Congress of the Communist International, on page 147 (Hamburg, 1921), there is a declaration on the dissolution of the Zimmerwald Association, which was decided on 4 March 1919. We print it here in full:

"The Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences had significance at the time when it was important to unite all those elements of the proletariat who were prepared to protest in this or that form against imperialist murder. However, elements of the 'centre', pacifist and wavering elements, also entered the Zimmerwald union along with quite determined communist elements. These elements of the centre, as the Berne conference showed, are now uniting with the social patriots to fight against the revolutionary proletariat, and in this way are exploiting the Zimmerwald banner in the interests of reaction. At the same time, the communist current has strengthened in a whole series of countries, and the struggle with the elements of the centre, which impede the development of the social revolution, has become one of the most urgent tasks of the revolutionary proletariat. The Zimmerwald Association has outlived its usefulness. All that was truly revolutionary in the Zimmerwald Association passes into the Communist International ... (The Congress, after making this declaration, decided to consider the Zimmerwald Association liquidated and to request its Bureau to hand over its documents to the Executive Committee of the Communist International)." We have already reported in detail on the military-political significance of the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences in the chapter on "Lenin".

About the II. On the II Congress of the Communist International Lenin speaks of the world political army of the revolutionary proletariat:

"At the Congress which ended on August 7, not only the first emissaries of the proletarian revolution have already come together, but the delegates of strong, powerful organisations which are closely connected with the proletarian masses. It is the world army of the revolutionary proletariat - it is fighting for communism today, it has created its organisation at the congress which has just ended and has given itself a clear, precise, detailed programme of action" (Lenin, Vol. 31, pp. 259-260, German edition).

The time will come when the *political* world army of the revolutionary proletariat will continue its policy by military means, i.e., to overthrow the power of the world bourgeoisie with the military world army of the proletariat and immediately transform this very army into a state organ of the Soviet World Republic.

The onslaught of the world proletariat has risen sharply during the Comintern, but has not been strong enough, since the proletarians of all countries have not yet been able to establish the Bolshevik unity of their own ranks, without which the world proletarian revolution could not lead to victory. The Comintern (SH) must therefore take all measures so that the world proletariat can fulfil its historic role as the true leader of the revolution, as the leader of the working people of the whole world.

"The internationalisation of the whole revolutionary movement forces us to take the initiative" (Letter of invitation to participate in the First Congress of the Comintern (24. 1. 1919).

"5. for the purpose of safeguarding the socialist revolution, its defence against internal and external enemies, rendering assistance to the other national fractions of the fighting proletariat, etc. The complete disarmament of the bourgeoisie and its agents and the general arming of the proletariat is necessary" (Letter of invitation to participate in the First Congress of the Comintern ; 24. 1. 1919, German edition).

At the I Congress of the Comintern, Lenin said in his paper on bourgeois democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat:

"(17) The army was an apparatus for oppression not only in the monarchy; it remained such in all bourgeois republics, even the most democratic. Only Soviet power, as the permanent state organisation of the very classes oppressed by capitalism, is capable of abolishing the subordination of the army to bourgeois command and of really merging the proletariat with the army, of really carrying out the arming of the proletariat and the disarming of the bourgeoisie, because otherwise the victory of socialism is impossible.

***"Every party which wishes to belong to the Communist International is obliged to support unreservedly every Soviet Republic in its struggle against the counter-revolutionary forces. The Communist Parties must carry on vigorous propaganda among the workers so that they refuse to transport arms and ammunition for the enemies of the Soviet Republics, must legally and illegally carry on propaganda among the troops sent to strangle the workers' republics, etc."*(Guiding Principles, No. 14, +On the Conditions of Admission to the Comintern, adopted at the II Congress of the Comintern, 6. 8. 1920).**

"No army can manage in war without an experienced staff if it does not want to face defeat. Is it not clear that the proletariat cannot do without such a staff if it does not want to surrender itself skin and hair to its mortal enemies? But where is this staff? This staff can only be the revolutionary party of the proletariat. The working class without a revolutionary party - that is an army without a staff. The party is the fighting staff of the proletariat" (Stalin, "Questions of Leninism", page 88 German edition, Moscow 1947, German edition).

The Communist International is the fighting staff of the world proletariat. Only the working class, under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party, is capable of placing itself at the head of the class struggle against the exploiters, in order to bring this struggle to a conclusion and to forge the non-proletarian labouring masses into unity, re-educate them and lead them towards socialism. The international revolutionary cadres and soldiers grow from the ranks of the workers who have seized power faster and more thoroughly than under the power of capitalism.

Thus, Stalin's Soviet Red Army was not only an army of the Soviet country, but also an international army of the world proletariat, not only because foreign sections and soldiers fought in it, but above all because this army also contributed to the liberation of the proletarians of other countries and created favourable conditions for the victory of liberation armies of other countries, such as the Albanian National Liberation Army, through which the Albanian proletariat finally conquered its dictatorship and created socialist Albania.

The working class is the decisive force in the development of this earth, the leading force for the revolutionary transformation of the world. "The most important thing in Marx's teaching", Lenin has written, " is the clarification of the *world-historical role* of the proletariat as the creator of socialist society" (Lenin, Vol. 18). This world-historical role can only be fulfilled when the organised world proletariat leads the international armed struggle for the overthrow of world imperialism and wins. The new power of the world proletariat will pass through different phases of the armed struggle, will pass through certain stages in accordance with the concrete conditions of the socialist revolutions in the different countries, "but there can be no development towards the VICTORY of socialism without the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is what Marxism-Leninism teaches us, this is also what the experience of all victorious socialist revolutions shows us" (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and Revolution*, pp. 255-256, German edition).

"The proletariat cannot win its political domination, the only door to the new society, without a violent revolution. In order for the proletariat to prove sufficiently strong and victorious at the decisive moment, it is inevitable - Marx and I have maintained this position since 1847 - that it should form an independent class party separate from all other parties, in opposition to them" (MEW, vol. 28, p. 170, Russian edition).

"To *smash* the power, a temporary alliance of the insurgent workers and soldiers was enough. For it is self-evident that the strength of the Russian revolution lies in the alliance of the workers and the peasants who have put on the soldier's skirts. But in order to *preserve* the rights won and to *develop* the revolution *further* - a *temporary* alliance of workers and soldiers alone is by no means sufficient for this. For this it is necessary to make this alliance conscious and firm, lasting and stable, stable enough to be able to stand up to the provocative attacks of the counter-revolution. For the pledge of the final victory of the Russian revolution (...) lies in the consolidation of the alliance of the revolutionary worker with the revolutionary soldier. The organs of this alliance are precisely the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. The more closely these soviets are united, the more firmly they are organised, the more effective is the revolutionary power of the revolutionary people represented by them, the more real are the guarantees against counterrevolution. To consolidate these soviets, to bring soviets into being everywhere, to link them together, with the central Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies at the head as an organ of the revolutionary power of the people - this is the direction in which revolutionary Social-Democrats must work" (Stalin, Vol. 3, page 2, German edition).

It is in this direction that all Marxist-Leninists of the whole world must work today. Proletarians of all countries, close your ranks more closely in the Bolshevik Party of your country and rally round the Comintern (SH)!

Peasants! Organise yourselves in international peasant unions and rally around the revolutionary world proletariat, the leader of the world revolution!

Soldiers! Organise in your associations and join the revolutionary proletarian world army! [In 1918, 60% of the soldier-deputies were Bolsheviks!]

Workers, peasants, soldiers! Join soviets of workers' and soldiers' deputies in all countries of the world, international organs of alliance and power of the revolutionary forces of the whole world! The unification of workers, peasants and soldiers is an international task. Without solving this task - no victory of the world revolution! In this world-wide union lies the pledge of full victory over the sinister forces of this world.

"The Soviet organisation has made it possible to create an armed power of workers and peasants far more closely united than before with the toiling and exploited masses. Otherwise one of the basic conditions for the victory of socialism, the arming of the workers and the disarming of the bourgeoisie, would be impossible to realise" (Draft Programme of the RCP(B), Lenin, Vol. 29, page 92, German edition).

"What is necessary is an all-Russian organ (...) which has sufficient authority (...) to weld together capital (...) with province and, at the appropriate moment, to transform itself from a revolutionary organ of struggle of the people into an organ of revolutionary state power mobilising all the living forces of the people against counter-revolution. Such an organ can only be the All-Russian Soviet of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies. This is the first condition for the victory of the Russian revolution. (...) Immediate arming of the workers, creation of a workers' guard - that is the second condition for the victory of the revolution. (...) The army cannot remain in one place forever to protect the revolution from counter-revolution. That is why there is a need for another armed force, an army of armed workers, naturally linked to the centres of the revolutionary movement" (Stalin, Vol. 3, page 13, German edition).

This is true both for today and on an international scale. So what we need is an international workers' army, the army of the world proletariat.

"All questions (...) boil down to one, whether there should be a strictly disciplined regular army in Russia or not. Six months ago, after the disintegration of the old, tsarist army, we had a new one, a volunteer army, which was poorly organised, collectively directed and did not always obey orders. This was the period when the Entente launched its offensive. The army was composed mainly, if not exclusively, of workers. Because there was a lack of discipline in this volunteer army, because the orders were not always carried out and because there was disorganisation within the leadership of the army, we suffered defeats (...). The facts testify that a volunteer army does not stand up to criticism, that we will be unable to defend our Republic if we do not create another army, a regular army imbued with the spirit of discipline, possessing a well organised political section, an army capable and able to march against the enemy at the first order.

I must say that the elements which form the majority of our army and are not workers' elements but peasants will not fight voluntarily for socialism. A whole series of facts point to this. Several mutinies in the rear and on the fronts, as well as a series of riots on the fronts, show that the non-proletarian elements who form the majority in our army do not want to fight voluntarily for communism. Hence our task - to educate these elements in the spirit of iron discipline, so that they entrust themselves to the leadership of the proletariat not only in the rear but also on the fronts, to compel them to fight for our common socialist cause, and in the course of the war to complete the building of a truly regular army which alone is capable of defending the country. Thus the question is posed. ... Either we manage to create a strictly disciplined, regular, real workers' and peasants' army, and assert the republic, or we fail to do so, and then our cause is ruined" (Stalin, Vol. 4, page 221, German edition).

In the wake of the October Revolution and the establishment of Soviet Russia, the wave of the liberation movement also rolled in the occupied territories in the immediate vicinity. The partition between Russia and Germany fell, and the slogan of bourgeois nationalism "All power to the national bourgeoisie" was replaced by the slogan of proletarian socialism "All power to the labouring masses of the oppressed nationalities". The foreign imperialist occupiers were thrown out. In this process, the Red Army played an internationalist liberation role by supporting the strikes and uprisings, the red riflemen. At the centre of these national and social liberation struggles was the standard bearer of world revolution - Soviet Russia, which supported the workers and peasants of the oppressed peoples in the interests of world socialism. For example, the Soviet government of Latvia declared, "We call for help and expect it from the truly revolutionary proletariat throughout the world, but especially from the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic" (quoted in Stalin, Vol. 4, page 161, German edition).

"The short-lived nature of the national `governments' of the occupied territories is explained not only by their bourgeois character, alien to the workers and peasants, but above all by the fact that they are simple appendages of the occupying powers" (Stalin, Vol. 4, page 157, German edition).

First the dismemberment of Russia into separate herds of counterrevolution and then the reconquest of the old Russia through the overthrow of Soviet power, this was the tactic of the imperialists, which Soviet power thwarted by relying entirely on the mutual fraternal trust of the peoples of Russia and creating the voluntary alliance of the toilers of all independent Soviet republics, which led to the unification of the Soviet Union. This created two camps, the old camp of the imperialists and the new camp of socialism.

"Soviet Russia has never considered the Western territories as its possessions. It has always considered that these territories constitute the inalienable possession of the labouring masses of the nationalities inhabiting them, that these labouring masses have the full right to freely determine their political destiny. This, of course, does not exclude, but presupposes, that Soviet Russia will help our Estonian comrades by all means in their struggle for liberation" (Stalin, Vol. 4, page 156, German edition).

By a decree signed by Lenin, the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR recognised the independence of the Lithuanian Soviet Republic on 22 December 1918. The decision stated: "The Central Executive Committee reaffirms to the Soviet republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, created by the revolutionary struggle of the proletarian and peasant masses, that the fact of the former affiliation of these countries to the old Tsarist Empire does not impose any obligations on them. At the same time, the CEC expresses its firm conviction that only now, on the ground of the recognition of the full freedom of self-determination and the transfer of power to the working class, is being created a free, voluntary and unbreakable alliance of the toilers of all the nations inhabiting the territory of the former Russian Empire" (Stalin Vol. 4, Note No. 48, page 374, German edition).

"Of course, the other camp is not asleep either, the camp of the imperialists. Its agents are hunting through all the countries from Finland to the Caucasus, from Siberia to Turkestan, supplying the counter-revolutionaries, instigating predatory conspiracies, organising a campaign against Soviet Russia and forging chains for the peoples of the West. But is it not clear that the imperialist mob, which maintains its predatory existence through bribery and mercenary gangs, through the slavery and ignorance of the so-called `coloureds` in Africa, has already lost all moral validity in the eyes of the oppressed peoples, that it has been stripped once and for all of its former nimbus as the standard-bearer of `civilisation` and `humanity`?...From the East comes the light! The West with its imperialist cannibals has turned into a hearth of darkness and slavery. The task is to smash this hearth to the happiness and joy of the toilers of all countries" (Stalin, Vol. 4, page 159, German edition).

"The Soviet power was aware that the violent unity of Russia, maintained by the imperialist bayonets, must inevitably disintegrate with the overthrow of Russian imperialism: the Soviet power could not maintain unity by the methods of Russian imperialism without committing treason to its innermost nature. The Soviet power was aware that socialism does not need just any unity, but a fraternal unity, that such a unity can only come about as a voluntary alliance of the labouring classes of the nationalities of Russia, or not come about at all..." (Stalin, Vol. 4, page 200., German edition)

With the victory of the October Revolution, Germany was no longer the worst enemy in the First World War, the predatory war among the imperialists was no longer decisive, but the greatest danger to the whole system of world capitalism became Bolshevism. This was also the reason why the German Army Command was allowed to deploy an army of 100,000 soldiers and officers to suppress the November Revolution in Germany, as well as the "Schwarze Reichswehr". These were to save Germany from Bolshevism. Throughout the history of Bolshevism, Germany was considered the most important anti-Bolshevik bulwark. Until the end of the Cold War, Germany was the largest and most dangerous arms depot in the world, where the two superpowers stood sabre-rattling opposite each other, constantly on the alert to fight a 3rd World War and considering Germany as the first battlefield. Germans to the front - the front to Germany! The German imperialists also made good use of these contradictions for their own predatory interests.

The First World War had exposed to the proletarians of the belligerent countries the hideous boils in their socialist parties and spread their unbearable corpse-smell of the II International. The Comintern came into being as a result of the collapse of opportunism. But what happened to the Comintern during the Second World War? It dissolved before opportunism had collapsed. And more than half a century passed until in 2000, after the collapse of revisionism, the new Communist International (Stalinist-Hoxhaists) was founded, which exposed the betrayal at the VII World Congress of the Comintern and was able to continue the anti-revisionist struggle of the Comintern on correct Marxist-Leninist bases.

Here is a critical remark on the line of the VII World Congress on the question of war and peace (reference to the resolution introduced by *Togliatti*) - taken here as a quotation from the General Line of the Comintern (SH):

On the criticism of the right-wing deviationist resolution of the VII World Congress against imperialist war.

"In its attitude to the revolutionary solution of the question of imperialist war, too, the VII World Congress, with its new course, left the path of the October Revolution, which always connected all the other World Congresses as if by a red thread. So, if one takes a closer look at the resolutions of the VII World Congress on World War II - i.e., in particular the authoritative resolution of Togliatti, which was adopted by all - then one will easily notice that the thrust is no longer the revolution as Lenin had defined it in connection with the imperialist war, although Togliatti cheekily "referred" explicitly to the resolutions of the VI World Congress. Togliatti formulates very cautiously - "that the communists are striving with all their strength to make the preparation and unleashing of a new war more difficult" (Minutes of the VII World Congress, Vol. II, page 1003, German edition). For the extreme emergency, the fascist warmongers are indeed threatened with the overthrow of capitalism and civil war, and indeed with the Soviet Union, but that the imperialist war creates the conditions for the socialist revolution, for the world revolution, that we communists are expressly committed to, that it is a question of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism in order to eliminate the inevitability of imperialism, that in this way the October Revolution will finally triumph, and that we must go forward on this path marked out by Lenin. The VII World Congress has disregarded Lenin:

"The opportunists have disregarded the resolutions of the Stuttgart, Copenhagen and Basel Congresses, which committed the socialists of all countries to fight chauvinism under all circumstances, which committed the socialists to answer every war started by the bourgeoisie and the governments with intensified propaganda of civil war and social revolution. The collapse of the Second International (and here one can also point in the direction of the Third International) was a comparable character of the right-wing deviation. The collapse of the Second International (and here one can also refer to the comparable character of the right deviation of the VII World Congress towards the Third International - the ed.) is the collapse of opportunism, which was bred on the basis of the special conditions in the past (the so-called 'peaceful') historical epoch and in the last few years had come to de facto rule in the International. The opportunists have been preparing the collapse for a long time by denying the socialist revolution and replacing it with bourgeois reformism (socialist reformism - the ed.); by denying the class struggle and its necessary transformation into civil war at certain moments and preaching the collaboration of the classes, (...) instead of the proletarians of all countries having to wage a revolutionary war against the bourgeoisie of all countries..." (at the VII World Congress all under the pretext of the bourgeois thesis of the "final victory" of socialism in the Soviet Union - the ed.)

"The transformation of the present imperialist war into civil war is the only correct slogan (...) Long live the proletarian International freed from opportunism!"
(Lenin, Vol. 21, pp. 11-21, German edition).

"The war has been caused by the ruling classes, and only the revolution of the working class will put an end to it" (Lenin, *"War and Revolution"*, vol. 24, page 420, German edition). None of this in the decisions of the VII World Congress!

Dimitrov described the fear ***"that allegedly precisely the parties of the popular front and the states advocating peace lead to civil war and warlike entanglements" as "provocations of the fascists"*** (Dimitrov, vol. 3, page 49, German edition). Lenin's thesis that the communist parties must, with compelling necessity, do everything for civil war in order to be able to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat with the ending of the war, Dimitrov thus considered to be a ***"fascist provocation"*** so that the pacifists should not be deterred from communism. Exactly the opposite was written by Dimitrov in 1941 in his article ***"On the Seventieth Anniversary of the Paris Commune"***, which was the main cause of the defeat of the Commune:

"In order not to be accused of having unleashed the civil war, the Communards did not immediately launch a thoroughgoing military offensive against the reaction of Versailles" (Dimitrov, vol. 3, page 213, German edition). So everything that historically can no longer be dangerous to the bourgeoisie is correctly portrayed in Marxist terms in the Paris Commune, but when it comes to the current and acute danger of the bourgeoisie that the proletariat must resort to civil war against the imperialist war in order to force down the rule of the bourgeoisie by force of arms, then this is widely dismissed as a ***"fascist provocation"*** - how does such an attitude still differ substantially from Kautsky's? Kautsky, with his social-chauvinism, represented the renunciation of the civil war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in its own country. The VII World Congress also decided on this renunciation, albeit in a disguised form, because the Soviet Union had created ***"favourable conditions"*** to solve the problem in its own way. Both amount in essence to social-chauvinism, except that the VII World Congress pretended to take a ***"Bolshevik"*** line. A nice ***"Bolshevism"***, a bourgeois Bolshevism.

Thus the two most important cornerstones of the VII World Congress - that is, the struggle against fascism and the struggle against imperialist war - had become cracked, shaky and completely useless for communism. The Soviet Union is also certified in Togliatti's resolution as having achieved the ***"final victory of socialism"***, and thus the VII World Congress set only ***"peacemaking"*** tasks for the Soviet Union. Stalin later refuted Togliatti's erroneous view at the VII World Congress:

"Some comrades maintain that by virtue of the development of the new international relations after the Second World War, wars between capitalist countries have ceased to be inevitable. They consider that the antagonisms between the camp of socialism and the camp of capitalism are stronger than the antagonisms between the capitalist countries. (...) Consequently, the struggle of the capitalist countries for markets and the desire to drown their competition proved to be practically stronger than the antagonisms between the camp of capitalism and the camp of socialism"(Stalin, "The Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR", 1952, Foreign Language Publishing House Moscow, pp. 39, 40, 43, German edition).

That the Soviet Union must perish if the inevitability of imperialist wars is not eliminated by the world-revolutionary annihilation of imperialism, if the socialist revolution does not triumph in further countries, if a socialist camp is not built up in a revolutionary way - these far-reaching consequences are concealed by the VII World Congress, but these are the indispensable teachings of Lenin and Stalin which have been left under the table there. Thus, in Togliatti's resolution, neither the word "revolution" nor the word "socialism" appears (outside the Soviet Union) in the peace struggle to be waged by the Soviet Union! No Communist International, in the opinion of the Comintern (SH) , is allowed to answer the question of imperialist war without the question of revolution and socialism. The role of the Soviet Union (by virtue of the "*finality of the victory of its socialism*") is in fact limited in Togliatti's resolution only to the following:

***"it (the Soviet Union - the ed.) defends the lives of the workers of all countries, the lives of all the oppressed and exploited; it means the defence of the national independence of the small nations, it serves the vital interests of humanity, it protects culture against the barbarism of war"* (Togliatti's resolution "II The Role of the Soviet Union in the Struggle for Peace", Proceedings of the VII World Congress, Vol. II, page 1000, German edition).**

Is this still the Marxist-Leninist line of the Communist International when Togliatti ascribes such a task to the world centre of communism *without* defining the revolutionary, communist road that the Soviet Union *must* follow in order to fulfil this task? We hardly believe that Lenin and Stalin would ever have been satisfied with such meaningless platitudes of resolutions, where there is no mention of either the realisation of revolution or the preconditions of socialism. Stalin never doubted that a second war against the Soviet Union would lead to the complete defeat of the aggressors, to revolution in a number of countries in Europe and Asia and to the smashing of the bourgeois and landlord governments in these countries,

"Final victory of socialism over capitalism" through which "relations between the Soviet Union and the capitalist countries will enter a new phase" (ibid., page 1000). What does the VII World Congress mean by this? A Soviet social-imperialist superpower that has itself waged imperialist wars, such as in Afghanistan? Yes, what else could have come out of the resolution? After all, the VII World Congress provided the ideological foundation for this. In the resolution, Togliatti speaks of states that are supposedly "interested in maintaining peace at the given moment" through the peace policy of the Soviet Union. Since when was Hitler's fascism "interested in the preservation of peace"? Or who else was the VII World Congress referring to? During the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Treaty, the Comintern hardly spoke of the "fascist war-mongers" as it did in the resolution of the VII World Congress. Remarkably, in the writings of the revisionists precisely all documents in this period have completely *disappeared*. According to bourgeois sources [we do not have any original documents of the Comintern from this period], the arch-revisionist and Comintern member Ulbricht had called on the communists to support Hitler "against the British-French war bloc" on 9 February 1940 in the Comintern magazine "Die Welt" published in Stockholm (August Hoppe, Darium der Weltrevolution, 1967, Iimgau-Verlag, page 245, German edition). Dimitrov also directed the spearhead against the "aggressors England and France" (Dimitrov Works, vol. 3, page 166, German edition), as if Hitler's fascism had been tamed by the "final victory of socialism in the USSR", "the relationship between the Soviet Union and the capitalist countries would enter a new phase". This had disastrous consequences for the struggle goal of world revolution. This falls completely under the table and is subordinated to the defence of the Soviet Union, whereas the classics Lenin and Stalin stated that only the world revolution can save the Soviet Union. In all the documents of the VII World Congress, this important connection between the destruction of world imperialism and world revolution is nowhere emphasised as a consistently recognisable general line, precisely because the VII World Congress had abandoned this general line with its new course. One has to go to great lengths to find any quotations that could justify the opposite. Defence of the world centre can never mean dropping the weapon of world revolution - on the contrary! And this is true until the final victory of world socialism. Whether fascism or war - for a World Congress of the Communist International, it can never be a question of subordinating world revolution to momentary problems, or even of removing world revolution from the agenda and postponing it until the last day of never-never, as the VII World Congress ultimately did. Dimitrov's whole united front policy is thus tied to the idealistic postulate of the "final victory of socialism in the Soviet Union", and has thus collapsed like a house of cards. With a new united front policy, as was once decided at the VII World Congress, the world bourgeoisie believed it still held a last return ticket to capitalism in its hand, as soon as its downfall was announced by world fascism - but the return ticket has expired and been declared invalid by the Comintern (SH) . The downfall of the world bourgeoisie is inevitable, and the whole strategy and tactics of the world

proletarian revolution are based on this - and it is not ended with the VII World Congress, nor with the dissolution of the Comintern, but is the pivot of the General Line of the Comintern (SH)!" (Quote from the General Line of the Comintern (SH).

We add to this quotation from the General Line of the Comintern (SH), in conclusion, the following quotation from Lenin, which applies fully to the "Peace Resolution" of Togliatti, unanimously adopted by the VII World Congress:

"Every `peace programme` is popular fraud and hypocrisy if it is not based primarily on educating the masses about the necessity of revolution and on supporting, promoting and developing the revolutionary struggle of the masses which is beginning everywhere" (Lenin, Vol. 22, page 179). "But it is incumbent on the socialists to enlighten the masses about the inevitability of the break with those who carry on a policy of the bourgeoisie under the banner of socialism" (ibid, page 183).

And so it is the task of the Comintern (SH) to educate the masses that today's break with the decisions of the VII World Congress of the Comintern is inevitable, because with these decisions a policy of the bourgeoisie under the banner of Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union, under the banner of proletarian internationalism was carried out. In particular, it is another task of Marxist-Leninists to make a break also with those who today continue to keep the shroud of silence over the opportunism of the VII World Congress or even *openly* defend this opportunism by *cloaking* it with Marxism-Leninism. Shedding crocodile tears over the chronic infirmity of proletarian internationalism, defending the Comintern in words, but preventing everything in deeds to rebuild it, all the revisionists of the whole world are singing their dirge, and the neo-revisionists are singing the second voice in this chorus.

The end of socialism in one country began with the betrayal of the world socialist revolution. Revisionism (first as a worm extension of "left" social-democratism in the ranks of the Communist International) led to the abandonment of the world socialist revolution, led to the abandonment of socialism in one country. And the Comintern (SH) is not afraid to tell the world proletariat that one must seek and find the whole truth, that one must think through to the end the reasons for the "dissolution" of the Comintern, that the dissolution of the Comintern ushered in the present-day collapse of socialism, that with a capitulation of the Communist International is also linked the fate of socialism, indeed of every single socialist country, that the respective state of a Communist International is always of world-historical significance, that it would be nonsensical and ridiculous to try to pin the collapse of the Communist International on individual revisionist traitors or individual revisionist degenerate parties, on liquidationist ideas and actions of these or those persons, without connecting this phenomenon with the long history of emergence, growth, maturity and over-maturity of the entire international right opportunist and "left" currents, which had deep economic roots, had deep class roots. As long as the revolutionary "spirit" of the Comintern is invoked without a single word about its revolutionary weapons, its revolutionary means of struggle, about the creation of a new international *class war* instrument for the victory over the weapons and means of war of world imperialism, as long as the much-invoked "revolutionary spirit of the Comintern" will remain a hollow phrase.

Either we are really firmly convinced that the predations of the imperialists are creating a world revolutionary situation, that we are in the final phase of the imperialist epoch and that the world economic and socio-political crisis is leading to world socialist revolution. Then it is our unconditional duty to make clear to the masses the necessity of the world socialist revolution, to call for the world socialist revolution, to create the corresponding international organisations and to speak without shyness quite concretely about the different methods of violent struggle and about its "international technique". This duty does not depend on whether the socialist revolution is already strong enough or not yet, whether it breaks out under one circumstance or another or not yet . The duty of building the Comintern/ML does not depend on whether the conditions are favourable or unfavourable. If we are convinced of the cause of the world proletariat, then we cannot talk our way out of it, then we must begin to fight for this cause. But fighting for the cause of the world proletariat can only mean starting to put it into practice here and now.

Or we are not convinced that the situation is revolutionary, and then we should not mouth empty words about transforming the imperialist predatory wars into revolutions and civil wars. Then we are no better than the revisionists.

The Comintern (SH)

(military aspects under construction)

NOTE: At the time when this, our military book, was written in 2004 , there was still no military programme of the Comintern (SH). Therefore, we add to this chapter our later adopted *military programme*, as well as our "*declaration of war against all warmongers and their lackeys around the world*".

The foundation of the Comintern (SH) began with the condemnation of the decisions of the VII World Congress. The revolutionary rebirth of the Comintern was possible only through the consistent and irrevocable break with the revisionist tactics of the VII World Congress. Separation from revisionism, which made the Comintern fall into the mud, separation from those elements who wanted to prevent us from raising the banner of the Comintern again, that was the task that was set at the foundation of the Comintern (SH).

Military Programme of the Comintern (SH)

The Comintern (SH) establishes its own military programme. It is based on the foundations of Marxism-Leninism, on the foundations of the 1928 programme of the Comintern, on the foundations of this training text.

The Comintern (SH) can only fulfil its role as the champion of the international proletariat if it is guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

International Brigades in the Kosova

Stages of development of the party:

Preconditions = experiences from own party past and from the experiences of the other parties.

Experiences of the own working class (revolution) and the world proletariat

some ideas:

1st stage of the creation of the party - military discipline of a party member; application of the general principles in the military field (build up the party itself as an "almost" military organisation (quotation of Lenin: comparison of the party with a military organisation, also Stalin on this and Enver Hoxha Party itself must be built up militarily! !! not a discussion club; question of the conspiratorial character of the party_ conspiracy organisation= military- not only 1st phase, but necessary until its dissolution; Stalin party apparatus within the party (loyal guard- bodyguard- Hitler Leibstandarte- counterintelligence- protection inwards;

Task: transform the weapons of critique into the critique of weapons!!! Theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution = fighting weapon of the proletariat; ideological weapon). win the most revolutionary workers for party building, forging the vanguard (militant party actions, demo protection; protection of own comrades and the party apparatus, military tasks for the "self-sufficient" building of the party (Stalin) Enver: "We are being trained militarily, (. ...) in order to degrade our party" (speech on the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Albanian People's Army, Albania Today no. 4/ 1978, German edition). Propagation of the necessity of military tasks in all phases of the Party's development until before and after the seizure of power; RFL-Party relationship - specialisation in the preparation of this task; Party Militant Operations Department - recruitment from the basic units of the Party. Training of military tasks, physical fitness training, learning how to use weapons. Central organ articles on military questions, military tasks, propagandist attack on counterrevolution of own bourgeoisie, and on international counterrevolution; In training work: role of violence, war and peace; anti-imperialist liberation struggle, strike struggle, ideological orientation in distinction to revisionism in the militant, military field. The chapter could also deal with the role of violence in the history of the class struggle and the propagation of the final goal: abolition of the class (army), abolition of war; abolition of the violence of one person +over the other. Will the "military outlook" into the future of communism all dissolve into nothingness when the weapons are put in the museum or will the treasure of war science and war art from past times of class struggle continue to be of use? For what purpose? War technology for the peaceful construction of communism??? Illegality of military and militant operations;

2nd phase: task of the vanguard: creating links with the masses, organisations linking the party with the working class, transmission belts; building mass organisations, building the RSB organically from the apparatus created in the first party-building phase; independence yes, but not separation: creating party organisations within the RSB ? Role of political commissars; soldier of the party, soldier of the RSB - hierarchy of command???? Military organisations of the party, party work in the counter-revolutionary army ("infantile disease" of Communism-Lenin), party work in the Red Army

3rd phase Prepare masses of millions for revolution, highest phase of class struggle, overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

4th phase: conquest of power Establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, creation of regular state armies.

"Question of power is the fundamental question of every revolution" (Lenin) - "The seizure of power is only the beginning" (Stalin on the day after the victory, Stalin says: "to arm the revolution, to organise the army of the revolution to fight against the external enemies, to fight against imperialism." (Foundations of Leninism, page 45) In what does the strength of the overthrown bourgeoisie consist? = incomparably greater routine in the military (this is very important) (Stalin, page 47).

"The dictatorship of the proletariat (and its reconquest - stressed by me) is a tough struggle, bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, pedagogical and administrative, against the powers and traditions of the old society" Lenin (for example, military powers and militia traditions!!- stressed by me)

"You have", Marx told the workers, "15, 20, 50 years of civil wars and peoples' struggles to go through, not only to change conditions, but to change yourselves and to enable yourselves to rule politically" (Revelations on the Communist Trial at Cologne).

Bolsheviks without ideological, political, organisational and military weapons *are not Bolsheviks !*

5th phase intervene in world affairs; creation of a world bastion, internationalisation, role of world revolution (is already implied and laid out in phase 1- 4, i.e. In each phase every military party organisation is internationalist not only in words but also in deeds.

The leading role of the party in the military organisations has to be managed above all by the basic organisations.

The political instruction of the basic units of the Party must be closely linked to the military work.

Enver's order to Mehmet Shehu not to sacrifice the cadres senselessly Volume I, pages 248-249

On the military question, the VIII Party Congress of the RCP (B) adopted a resolution aimed at the creation of a regular Red Army imbued with the spirit of strict iron discipline. The Party Congress particularly emphasised the role of the proletarian core in the army, the role of the commissars and dr Party cells in the political education and military training of the Red Army. The Party Congress pointed out the need to exploit the old military experts and the highest achievements of bourgeois military science. The Party Congress decisively rejected a number of motions of the so-called military opposition, which at the Party Congress opposed the creation of a regular Red Army and defended remnants of partisanship in the army.



Military Program **of the world socialist revolution**

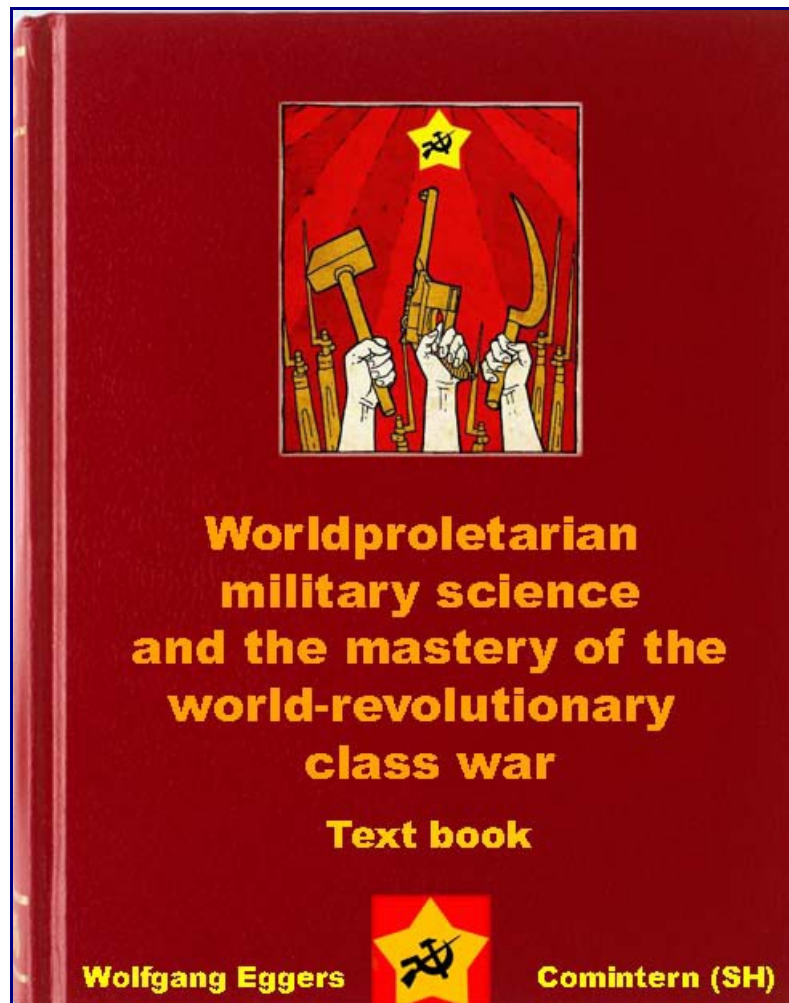
"Turn the rifles around !"

* * *



Declaration of War
against all warmongers and their lackeys
around the world.

- End Part XII -



PART XIII

Textbook

on the Marxist-Leninist foundations of

World proletarian Military Science

and on the Art of

World revolutionary Class Warfare

August 2004

written by Wolfgang Eggers



PART XIII

Chapter 5

The Red Army of the Soviet Union

(unfinished chapter)

"I believe that what the Red Army has achieved, its struggle and the story of its victory, will be of gigantic, world-wide significance for all the peoples of the East. It will show the peoples of the East that a revolutionary war waged by the oppressed peoples - however weak these peoples may be, however insurmountable the power of the European oppressors, who use all the wonders of technology and the art of war in battle, may seem - that such a war, if it is indeed able to rouse millions of toilers and exploited, holds such possibilities, such miracles that the liberation of the peoples of the East can be realised today in a fully practical way, not only from the point of view of the perspectives of the international revolution, but also from the point of view of the direct military experience which the Soviet Republic has gained in Asia, in Siberia, in the military invasion of all the great imperialist powers" (Lenin, Vol. 30, pp. 138-139, German edition).

Soviet power, Councillor's Army, Soviet army

Whoever does not want to build up the communist world order from the existing human material which world capitalism has produced, but intends to breed pure-bred "communist" elite soldiers isolated from the "mass weeds" as in a military greenhouse, is a sectarian, a phrase monger or a chatterer, but certainly not a communist:

" How can the socialist army be built up with the help of the specialists of the tsarist period?! It has been proved that we have built it precisely in this way. And if we think about the task that has fallen to us here, it is easy to see that the construction was only possible in this way. (...) The old utopian socialists had the idea that one could first educate nice, squeaky-clean and excellently trained people and then build socialism with them. We used to make fun of this, explaining that it was playfulness, a pastime for on socialism making pampered virgins, but not serious politics. We want to build socialism with the people whom capitalism has educated, corrupted and demoralised, but also steeled for struggle. There are proletarians who are so steeled that they are capable of a thousand times greater sacrifices than any army; there are millions and millions of oppressed peasants who live in ignorance and isolation from one another, but who are capable of uniting in struggle for the proletariat if the latter adopts clever tactics. And then there are specialists in science and technology, all of whom are thoroughly filled with the bourgeois world outlook, there are military specialists who have been educated in bourgeois conditions - and still well if in bourgeois and not in conditions of corvée rule, serfdom, stick regiment" (Lenin, Vol. 29, pp. 53 and 54, German edition).

Our Party Flag:



hammer, sickle and rifle:

means:

With the Rifle

armed conquest and defence of the dictatorship of the world proletariat.

With the Hammer the world proletariat smashes the chains of the old collapsing capitalist world.

Hammer and Sickle

symbolizes the alliance of workers and poor peasants of all countries

under the leadership of the world proletariat

to create commonly the red world of socialism.

.

Without negation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country = no development towards the world dictatorship of the proletariat (the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat does not prevent us, for example, from using the principle of the soviet power of workers, peasants and soldiers again on a world scale, because it will prove itself again, perhaps in a new form, but not different in principle, perhaps completely new forms will develop, we shall see).

In one hand the spade, in the other the rifle !

"To smash the power, a temporary alliance of the insurgent workers and soldiers was enough. For it goes without saying that the strength of the Russian revolution lies in the alliance of the workers and the peasants who have put on the soldier's skirts. But in order to preserve the rights won and to develop the revolution further - a temporary alliance of workers and soldiers alone is by no means sufficient for this. For this it is necessary to make this alliance conscious and firm, lasting and stable, stable enough to be able to stand up to the provocative attacks of the counter-revolution. For the pledge of the final victory of the Russian revolution (...) lies in the consolidation of the alliance of the revolutionary worker with the revolutionary soldier. The organs of this alliance are precisely the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. The more closely these soviets are united, the more firmly they are organised, the more effective is the revolutionary power of the revolutionary people represented by them, the more real are the guarantees against counterrevolution. To consolidate these soviets, to bring soviets into being everywhere, to link them together, with the central Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies at the head as an organ of the revolutionary power of the people - this is the direction in which revolutionary Social-Democrats must work" (Stalin, Vol. 3, page 2, German edition).

It is in this direction that all Marxist-Leninists of the whole world must work today. Proletarians of all countries, close your ranks more closely in the Bolshevik Party of your country and rally round the Comintern (SH)!

Peasants! Organise yourselves in international peasant unions and rally around the revolutionary world proletariat, the leader of the world revolution!

Soldiers! Organise in your associations and join the revolutionary proletarian world army! [In 1918, 60% of the soldier-deputies were Bolsheviks!]

Workers, peasants, soldiers! Join soviets of workers' and soldiers' deputies in all countries of the world, international organs of alliance and power of the revolutionary forces of the whole world! The unification of workers, peasants and soldiers is an international task. Without solving this task - no victory of the world revolution! In this world-wide union lies the pledge of full victory over the sinister forces of this world.

"The Soviet organisation has made it possible to create an armed power of workers and peasants far more closely united than before with the toiling and exploited masses. Otherwise, one of the basic conditions for the victory of socialism, the arming of the workers and the disarming of the bourgeoisie, would be impossible to realise" (Draft Programme of the RCP(B), Lenin, Vol. 29, page 92, German edition).

"What is necessary is an all-Russian organ (...) which has sufficient authority (...) to weld together capital (...) with province and, at the appropriate moment, to transform itself from a revolutionary organ of struggle of the people into an organ of revolutionary state power which mobilises all the living forces of the people against counter-revolution. Such an organ can only be the All-Russian Soviet of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies. This is the first condition for the victory of the Russian revolution. (...) Immediate arming of the workers, creation of a workers' guard - that is the second condition for the victory of the revolution. (...) The army cannot remain in one place forever to protect the revolution from counter-revolution. That is why there is a need for another armed force, an army of armed workers, naturally linked to the centres of the revolutionary movement" (Stalin, Vol. 3, page 13, German edition).

This is true both for today and on an international scale. So what we need is an international workers' army, the army of the world proletariat.

"All questions (...) boil down to one, whether or not there should be a strictly disciplined regular army in Russia. Half a year ago, after the disintegration of the old, tsarist army, we had a new one, a volunteer army, which was badly organised, collectively directed and did not always obey orders. This was the period when the Entente launched its offensive. The army was composed mainly, if not exclusively, of workers. Because there was a lack of discipline in this volunteer army, because the orders were not always carried out and because there was disorganisation within the leadership of the army, we suffered defeats (...). The facts testify that a volunteer army does not stand up to criticism, that we will be unable to defend our Republic if we do not create another army, a regular army imbued with the spirit of discipline, possessing a well organised political section, an army capable and able to march against the enemy at the first order.

I must say that the elements which form the majority of our army and are not workers' elements but peasants will not fight voluntarily for socialism. A whole series of facts point to this. Several mutinies in the rear and on the fronts, as well as a series of riots on the fronts, show that the non-proletarian elements who form the majority in our army do not want to fight voluntarily for communism. Hence our task - to educate these elements in the spirit of iron discipline, so that they entrust themselves to the leadership of the proletariat not only in the rear but also on the fronts, to compel them to fight for our common socialist cause, and in the course of the war to complete the building of a truly regular army which alone is capable of defending the country. Thus the question is posed. ... Either we manage to create a strictly disciplined, regular, real workers' and peasants' army, and assert the republic, or we fail to do so, and then our cause is ruined" (Stalin, Vol. 4, page 221, German edition).

In the wake of the October Revolution and the establishment of Soviet Russia, the wave of the liberation movement also rolled in the occupied territories in the immediate vicinity. The partition between Russia and Germany fell, and the slogan of bourgeois nationalism "All power to the national bourgeoisie" was replaced by the slogan of proletarian socialism "All power to the labouring masses of the oppressed nationalities". The foreign imperialist occupiers were thrown out. In this process, the Red Army played an internationalist liberation role by supporting the strikes and uprisings, the red riflemen. At the centre of these national and social liberation struggles was the standard bearer of world revolution - Soviet Russia, which supported the workers and peasants of the oppressed peoples in the interests of world socialism. The Soviet government of Latvia, for example, declared: "We call for help and expect it from the truly revolutionary proletariat throughout the world, but especially from the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic" (quoted in Stalin, Vol. 4, page 161, German edition).

The short-lived nature of the national `governments' of the occupied territories is explained not only by their bourgeois character, which is alien to the workers and peasants, but above all by the fact that they are simple appendages of the occupying powers" (Stalin, Vol. 4, page 157, German edition).

First the dismemberment of Russia into separate herds of counterrevolution and then the reconquest of the old Russia through the overthrow of Soviet power, this was the tactic of the imperialists, which Soviet power thwarted by relying entirely on the mutual fraternal trust of the peoples of Russia and creating the voluntary alliance of the toilers of all independent Soviet republics, which led to the unification of the Soviet Union. This created two camps, the old camp of the imperialists and the new camp of socialism.

"Soviet Russia has never considered the Western territories as its possessions. It has always considered that these territories constitute the inalienable property of the labouring masses of the nationalities inhabiting them, that these labouring masses have the full right to freely determine their political destiny. This, of course, does not exclude but presupposes that Soviet Russia will help our Estonian comrades by all means in their struggle for liberation" (Stalin, Vol. 4, page 156, German edition).

By a decree signed by Lenin, the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR recognised the independence of the Lithuanian Soviet Republic on 22 December 1918. The decision stated: "The Central Executive Committee reaffirms to the Soviet republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuanians, created by the revolutionary struggle of the proletarian and peasant masses, that the fact of the former affiliation of these countries to the old Tsarist Empire does not impose any obligations on them. At the same time, the CEC expresses its firm conviction that only now, on the ground of the recognition of the full freedom of self-determination and the transfer of power to the working class, is being created a free, voluntary and unbreakable alliance of the toilers of all the nations inhabiting the territory of the former Russian Empire" (Stalin Vol. 4, Note No. 48, page 374, German edition).

"Of course, the other camp is not asleep either, the camp of the imperialists. Its agents are hunting through all the countries from Finland to the Caucasus, from Siberia to Turkestan, supplying the counter-revolutionaries, instigating predatory conspiracies, organising a campaign against Soviet Russia and forging chains for the peoples of the West. But is it not clear that the imperialist mob, which maintains its predatory existence through bribery and mercenary gangs, through the slavery and ignorance of the so-called 'coloureds' in Africa, has already lost all moral validity in the eyes of the oppressed peoples, that it has been stripped once and for all of its former nimbus as the standard-bearer of 'civilisation' and 'humanity'?...From the East comes the light! The West with its imperialist cannibals has turned into a hearth of darkness and slavery. The task is to smash this hearth to the happiness and joy of the toilers of all countries" (Stalin, Vol. 4, page 159), German edition.

"The Soviet power was aware that the violent unity of Russia, maintained by the imperialist bayonets, must inevitably disintegrate with the overthrow of Russian imperialism: the Soviet power could not maintain unity by the methods of Russian imperialism without committing treason to its innermost nature. The Soviet power was aware that socialism does not need just any unity, but a fraternal unity, that such a unity can only come about as a voluntary alliance of the labouring classes of the nationalities of Russia, or not come about at all..." (Stalin, Vol. 4, p. 200., German edition)

At the Petrograd City Conference, Lenin wrote at the end of April 1917:

"The conference declares that as long as the majority of the people - under the condition of complete freedom of agitation and propaganda - have not yet grasped the inseparable connection between this war and the interests of the capitalists, there is only one practical means of accelerating the introduction of the massacre of peoples. This means is the fraternisation of the soldiers at the front. (...) By fraternisation we mean, first, that appeals are issued in Russian, translated into German and disseminated at the front; secondly, that with the help of translators meetings of Russian and German soldiers are organised at the front in such a way that the capitalists and the generals and officers of both countries, who belong for the most part to the capitalist class, do not dare to disturb these meetings, or even dare to attend them without the express special permission of the soldiers. In such calls and in such meetings the (...) views on war and peace must be dispelled, must be shown: if in both countries, in Germany as in Russia, the entire state power passes completely and exclusively into the hands of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, all mankind will immediately breathe a sigh of relief, for then indeed the most rapid end of the war, the most lasting, truly democratic peace between all peoples, and with it the transition of all countries to socialism, will be assured [emphasised by the author]." (Lenin, Vol. 24, pp. 152-153, German edition). "In particular, however, the Party will support the incipient mass fraternisation of the soldiers of all the belligerent countries at the front" (...) We call upon all to fraternise. (...) We do not confine ourselves to fraternisation between Russia and Germany alone" Lenin, *ibid*, page 260, German edition).

There is no other way to end a war which in its development follows its own laws, the laws of international finance capital, not even, as Lenin clearly recognised, "on demand": "It is impossible to end this war by means of the refusal of the soldiers of only one side to continue the war, by means of the simple cessation of hostilities by a single belligerent side" (Lenin, Vol. 24, p. 255, German edition). "The war cannot be ended "by wish", (...) not by decision. (...) It cannot be ended by `pushing bayonets into the earth', (...) not by `agreements', `rallies' of the proletarians of all countries, not by the `will' of the peoples, (...) resolutions, appeals, manifestos - all these phrases are nothing but empty, naive, pious wishes of petty bourgeois. (...) This is Louis Blanc politics, cloying reverie, playing at `political campaigns'" (Lenin, Vol. 24, page 51, German edition). "That war can be ended without changing the ruling classes is an anarchist idea (...) or else a nebulous pacifist idea which grasps nothing at all of the connection between politics and the oppressed class (Lenin, *ibid*, page 256, German edition), "for if the economic rule of the capitalists is not undermined, everything will remain only on paper" (*ibid*, page 258, German edition) .

With the victory of the October Revolution, Germany was no longer the worst enemy in the First World War, the predatory war among the imperialists was no longer decisive, but the greatest danger for the entire system of world capitalism became Bolshevism. This was also the reason why the German army command was allowed to deploy an army of 100,000 soldiers and officers to put down the November Revolution in Germany, as well as the "Schwarze Reichswehr". These were to save Germany from Bolshevism. Throughout the history of Bolshevism, Germany was considered the most important anti-Bolshevik bulwark. Until the end of the Cold War, Germany was the largest and most dangerous arms depot in the world, where the two superpowers stood sabre-rattling opposite each other, constantly on the alert to fight a 3rd World War and considering Germany as the first battlefield. Germans to the front - the front to Germany! The German imperialists also made good use of these contradictions for their own predatory interests.

Military organisational formations and party organisations within the revolutionary army

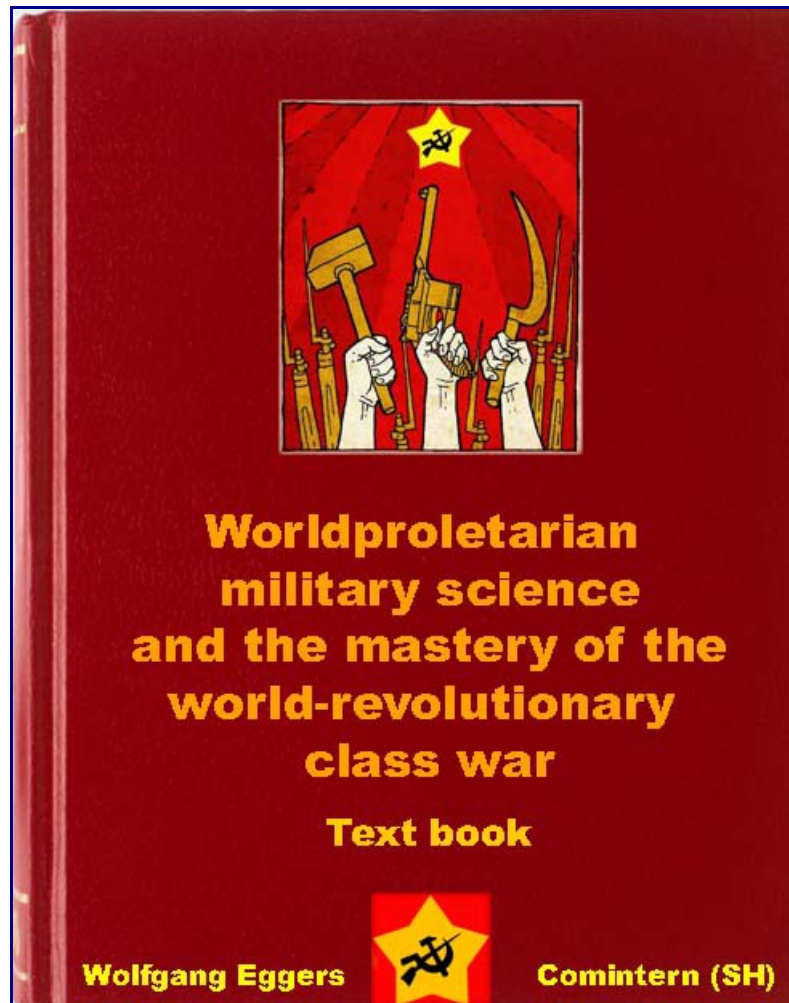
(We must take up those who have emerged directly from the battle field).

Lenin Vol. 29, page 138, German edition: "Without the armed defence of the socialist republic we could not exist. The ruling class will never cede its power to the oppressed class. The latter must rather prove by deed that it is capable not only of overthrowing the exploiters, but also of organising itself for self-defence, of using everything. We have always said: 'There are wars and wars'. We condemn imperialist war; but we did not reject war per se. Those people who tried to accuse us of militarism were mistaken. And when I had the opportunity to read the report on the Berne Conference of the Yellows, where Kautsky used the expression that among the Bolsheviks there was no socialism, but militarism, I laughed and just shook my head. Has there been even one great revolution in history that was not connected with war? Of course not! We live not only in a state, but in a system of states, and the existence of the Soviet Republic alongside the imperialist states is unthinkable in the long run. In the end, either one or the other will triumph. And until the end comes, a series of the most terrible clashes between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states is inevitable. This means that the ruling class, the proletariat, if it really wants to rule, and will rule, must prove it by its military organisation. How is the class, which has hitherto been the slaughter cattle for the commanders from among the ruling imperialist class, how is this class to produce its own commanders, how is it to solve the task of linking the enthusiasm, the new revolutionary creativity of the oppressed with the exploitation of that stock of bourgeois science and technology of militarism in its worst forms, without which it cannot master modern technology and the modern methods of warfare? (...) That meant: to build out of the oppressed class, which had been made cattle for slaughter, an army full of enthusiasm and to cause this army to exploit the most violent, the most abominable of what capitalism has left us."

Lenin: The Lessons of the Moscow Uprising Volume 11, page 162, German edition: "Not passivity must we propagate, not a simple 'wait' for the troops to 'pass over' - no, we must beat the drums and proclaim far and wide that it is necessary to attack boldly and with arms in hand, that in doing so it is necessary to destroy the military leaders and wage the most all-out struggle for the wavering troops."

- End Part XIII -

Military Course of the Comintern (SH)



PART XIV

Textbook

on the Marxist-Leninist foundations of

World proletarian Military Science

and on the Art of

World revolutionary Class Warfare

August 2004

written by Wolfgang Eggers



PART XIV

Chapter 6

The Albanian People's Army

(unfinished chapter)

"The People's Army is only a part of the armed people, as the 12th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA of July 1971 put it, but the fatherland is defended by the whole people. The (6th) Party Congress called the army the army of the people, the army of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, an army fused with the armed people, unlike the armies of the bourgeois and revisionist countries; the latter are barrack armies, a closed caste, detached from the people, above the people, against the people" (History of the PLA, Volume II, page 122, German edition).

MAD - Ministry of the Interior - NKVD- Dschersinsky !!! Counterintelligence-strategic reconnaissance: not only military information on international counterrevolution; revolutionary reconnaissance differs fundamentally from capitalist countries in class character, task and method.

Enver Hoxha: (Speech on the 35th anniversary of the foundation of the Albanian People's Army in Albania Today, No. 4 (34) / 1978)

"and a deeply revolutionary, people's army, such as our army is, is not a barrack army, not a bourgeois conventional army. Our army is of a completely different nature, it is an army that defends the dictatorship of the proletariat, defends socialism and not the bourgeoisie and its riches."

"In our army, as a political army formed and steeled in Marxist-Leninist ideology, the principle of giving command to proletarian politics is applied, which means that the ideological-political factor is superior to the military factor."

Tasks of the Party in the Army Enver Volume I, page 254 ff).

Change of organisational forms Enver Volume I, page 326

The National Army, Enver Volume II, page 48

Reserves of regular revolutionary troops, people's militias (Mao demarcation), workers' militias, people in arms, national defence Involve whole people and keep them ready to fight

Partisan struggle

Chapter 7

The Red World Army of the Communist International

**16 dialectical elements of the
proletarian, revolutionary world army
according to Lenin's dialectical method:**

- (a) the determination of the concept from itself (the thing itself is to be considered in its relations and in its development).**
- b) the contradictory in the thing itself (the other of it), the contradictory forces and tendencies in any appearance;**
- c) the union of analysis and synthesis.**

To all appearances, these are the elements of dialectics.

One can imagine these elements in a detailed way:

**What do we have to imagine under a revolutionary world army?
and what conditions must it fulfil?**

1. objectivity of consideration (not examples, not digressions, but the thing in itself).

The question of armed struggle will play a tremendous role in the struggle for future world revolutionary events. The necessity of a world proletarian army is blind only insofar as it is not yet understood as a future product of the historical development of the world proletarian class struggle.

The world proletariat cannot win its political domination, the only way to a new world order, without the violent proletarian world revolution. In order for the world proletariat to prove victorious at the appropriate moment, it needs a revolutionary world army which is distinct from all the armies of the world, which stands in opposition to them and has an independent character. In order for the proletarians of all countries to wage a revolutionary war against the bourgeoisie of all countries [and the world revolution is a revolutionary world war], the proletarians of all countries need a revolutionary world army against the counter-revolutionary world army. The mobilisation of the world revolutionary forces is opposed to the mobilisation of the international counter-revolutionary forces in (and especially immediately *after!*) the world socialist revolution. The creation of a revolutionary army of the world proletariat is objectively necessary for the military solidarity of the revolutionary peoples and an indispensable part of the organisation and defence of the world revolution. The first and most important measure of the world proletarian revolution is the creation of a disciplined world proletarian army to organise the international class war. For only through this world army is the offensive possible, and only in the offensive lies victory. This is what Marxism-Leninism teaches. The formation, training and deployment of internationalist armed combat units is a task which the Comintern/ML, as the only political force in the world today, has set for itself, which it has thus put on the agenda as the first proletarian world organisation - albeit initially as a mere idea, as a theoretical prerequisite, as an indispensable component of the strategy and tactics of the world revolution, its general line. The organisation of the armed world proletariat, which is to be tackled, takes place as a result of the sharpening of the contradictions between the world proletariat and the world bourgeoisie, the division of the classes into two military, hostile camps: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The red army of the Communist International is the expression of the consistent continuation of the revolutionary policy of the world proletariat by military means. It is an indispensable instrument for the overthrow of the world bourgeoisie, for the smashing of the world capitalist system and serves the realisation of the political power of the world proletariat over its class opponents, it finally decides with revolutionary weapons the victory of the world proletariat and the capitulation or the downfall, the elimination of the world bourgeoisie not only as a ruling class, but its death and disappearance as a class in general. Any revolutionary army, in order to be victorious, must be *internationalist*.

**2. the whole totality of the manifold relations of this thing to the others.
(Military not only against military, but instrument for turning the economic base upside down, penetrating the economic base and all areas of the superstructure).**

It would be narrow-minded and presumptuous to believe that the World Red Army is a panacea against all evil in the world. We Marxist-Leninists know that there are other and stronger powers in world history than armies.

Just as the *political class struggle* has as its aim the *economic liberation* of the world proletariat, so also the *military class struggle* has as its aim the military crushing of the international counter-revolution to achieve the *political domination* of the world proletariat, without which the real social and economic transformation of the world of capitalism into the world of socialism cannot be carried out.

The struggle of the army of the world revolution is not exhausted in merely defeating militarily and finally smashing the counter-revolutionary world army of the world bourgeoisie, but this struggle is linked to the higher aim of creating the conditions and preconditions for the elimination of the inevitability of the capitalist system of exploitation, i.e. through the establishment of the socialist world order with an economic basis to be created independently. The world revolutionary proletarian army aims its struggle at snatching from the hands of the world imperialists not only the rule over military weapons, but the rule over economic weapons, over the world productive forces, over the world means of production, i.e. the violent smashing of the world imperialist relations of production. Only through world revolutionary violence will it be possible for the proletariat to break up globalised private property, to smash the economic power of world imperialism and to gain its own world economic domination, to liberate the world from capitalist private property and to hand it over to the oppressed and exploited classes of this earth. The military liberation of the world proletariat is thus an indispensable precondition for its economic and social liberation. The world revolutionary role of the world proletarian army is therefore not exhausted in liberation and seizure of power, but ultimately serves the establishment and defence of the socialist world order, becomes an integral part of the world dictatorship of the proletariat, becomes the army of the world proletarian dictatorship, from a world army of the oppressed and exploited to an army of the liberated and ruling, it acquires a new quality. Its role is only considered fulfilled when there is not only no longer a capitalist world order, but when the danger of the restoration of any capitalist order has been banished forever, when the people of this world no longer exploit and oppress others and can no longer do so.

Without organising its armament, the world proletariat cannot defeat the imperialist army of the world bourgeoisie. Without a united, superior military strategy and tactics, the revolutionary armies in individual countries will not succeed in maintaining power in the long run. Without it, the revolutionary national liberation struggle of the peoples cannot ultimately be brought to a victorious end. Without them, the inevitability of imperialist wars cannot be eliminated. Without it, socialism cannot be built worldwide, let alone defended and asserted in individual countries in the long run. Equipped with the ideological, political and military weapon, the world proletariat will take the shortest road to communism. The international proletarian army is the only army in the world that can not only defeat all the armies of the world, but one day make any army at all superfluous, including itself. It is an army for the final abolition of the army. In a society where classes are abolished, people will no longer need weapons that once served the liberation of a class or the establishment and maintenance of its power. This proletarian world army will ensure that one day it will make itself superfluous and dissolve, because no human being will raise a weapon against another human being, a future in which weapons will only be found in the museum of human history. However, in the transitional period, in the socialist world order to be created, the maintenance of the proletarian revolutionary world army will remain necessary for a very long time, until the danger of the restoration of capitalism, of the reconquest of the power of the bourgeoisie in one country, or of the rebirth of the bourgeoisie on a world scale, of the re-establishment of world imperialism, is finally banished.

3. the development of this thing (or phenomenon) its own movement, its own life.

The globalised counterrevolution generates the globalisation of the organised, armed world proletariat. The individual red soldiers of all countries form a world army only insofar as they have to wage a common war against the army of the world bourgeoisie. The world red army does not fall from the sky, just as it remains eternally after the imperialist world army has been defeated; it develops in the international armed class struggle of the world proletariat. Today there is not yet a proletarian revolutionary world army, but through the globalisation of world imperialism, the red soldier international will eventually inevitably appear historically, it will develop a life of its own, it will become an independent force to the extent that the proletarians of all countries realise, that they must unite not only themselves, but also their arms, in order to fulfil their historic mission, which is to eliminate the old capitalist exploitative order with its counter-revolutionary military rubbish and to create the new, classless society, a world order without arms. There is no denying the truth that the world revolution is growing and strengthening precisely in the battles with the globalised counterrevolution. These international battles will produce one revolutionary army after another, all of which will unite to form the world revolutionary army and win the victory over the international counterrevolution. How else are the peoples to defend and protect themselves than with a united, international counter-army, when the robber barons of the West invade and occupy one country after another with their international highly armed armies. A single nation has no chance there - only the defence forces of all nations taken together offer the single nation the necessary protection against the imperialist superiority. Who wants to question this convincing argument? The proletarian world army cannot create something new out of nothing; it will only be successful to the extent that it knows how to exploit the actual situation correctly. It only needs a light touch to get the whole machinery of world history rolling "by itself" if it is positioned in the optimally correct trajectory. Where the class enemy is weakest, it will be easiest to conquer the power of the proletariat without having to divide it and without losing it again quickly. The intercontinental extension of the world proletariat allows it to. The intercontinental extension of the world proletariat allows it to mobilise its forces in EVERY country of the world, giving the world proletarian army a much wider scope of action than, for example, USA imperialism, whose centre is confined to a small area of the American continent. The more international the front of struggle, the more difficult it is for the counterrevolution to grab the world proletarian army and drive it into some national trap, strangle it there and force it to surrender. The world proletariat is an international class which cannot be defeated like a national state.

The world proletariat is a class which is organised all over the world and can attack, defend and retreat from any point. It can move elastically like an amoeba over the whole globe, has enormous mass reserve potential, grows faster than the forces of the enemy, can encircle and destroy the military bases of the enemy, relocate its own centre at will, does not need the enormous logistics of moving warships or transport planes over the whole globe from the place of production to the place of action, etc. It can operate at will without great expenditure of force and thus has an enormous reserve potential. It can operate at will without great expenditure of force and thus has an unassailable position of military power. Through its unlimited reserves, the honour of the final decision falls to the world proletarian army - it will be victorious over a spendthrift world bourgeoisie when it has won the hearts of the revolutionary peoples and is unconditionally supported by them. The army of the oppressing nations will be overrun by the proletarian world army, which will be joined by all the armies of the oppressed nations in an international alliance of all liberation fighters. It is the irony of history that through the solidarity of the peoples EVERY LITTLE country occupied by imperialism will be enabled to defeat and destroy ANY imperialist Goliath, even the biggest and most brutal, armed to the teeth and highly armed! "This turning into its opposite, this eventual landing at a point polar opposite to the starting point, is the naturally necessary fate of all historical movements" (MEW, Engels, Vol. 22, page 21, German edition).

4. The internally contradictory tendencies (and sides) in this thing

Starting from the law of the unevenness of the military development of the capitalist countries, the aggravation and increase of this unevenness, Marxism-Leninism develops not only the idea of the possibility of the armed reconquest of socialism in one country, but with it at the same time the possibility of the military victory of socialism on a world scale. Marx and Engels put forward the thesis, correct for the conditions of the time, that the revolution could only be victorious if it was carried out armed in several countries at the same time. Lenin, starting from Marx's teaching, discovered the law of the unevenness of the economic and political development of capitalism in the stage of imperialism and the possibility and necessity of the victory of socialism in a few or one country. History had confirmed Lenin's thesis. But the victory of the Soviet Union over fascist Germany also proved the correctness of Engels' thesis of the superior strength of the army of a country in which the "proletariat really emancipates itself". Today, however, the Lenin-Stalin thesis has also been confirmed that socialism in a country will revert to capitalism if the world revolution fails to take place, or if socialism does not expand at least into a few more countries. Today, therefore, this has given rise to the thesis that socialism can be reconquered if we - relying on the theses of the classics - understand the globalisation of the crisis of world imperialism as a precondition for the globalisation of the proletarian revolution. Alone with a mere application of the old war art of socialism in one country, we cannot achieve new results today. Only the globalisation of the world proletarian art of war, the production of new, more powerful means makes the achievement of new world revolutionary results possible. The world proletariat will make the world epoch of socialism in the history of war through internationalised, generalised combinations of all the revolutionary wars of liberation of the past, either itself invents new material means or it first discovers the correct use of new material means invented before it. The epoch-making thing in the science of civil war consists in the fact that the world proletariat, within the limits of past warfare, will transform and form the old tactics according to the new instruments. Any attempt to merely repeat the old revolutionary wars by copying them is doomed to failure from the outset. In short, our thesis today can only be: The world proletarian revolution will have to fight with modern means of war and the modern art of war against modern means of war and the modern art of war in order to liberate one country after another, beginning with the weakest imperialist link and by means of the international centralised organisation of the armed proletariat, and not to stop until the last stronghold of imperialism has been taken by storm and dragged down. The armed struggle is not over even when the world bourgeoisie has already been forced to capitulate, because it will do everything to reverse its capitulation and restore world capitalism, because the world proletariat must never forget that the bourgeoisie has great experience of war, while we are only at the beginning with our proletarian, international art of war.

The redistribution of raw materials and markets between the imperialist groups lead to military conflicts and wars among themselves and thus inevitably to their growing mutual weakening. This growing mutual weakening makes it possible to break through the imperialist front and creates favourable conditions for the reconquest of socialism in one country, for the establishment and re-establishment of socialism in several countries, for the defeat of world imperialism and thus for the victory of socialism on a world scale. Historically, the old situation of socialism as an island in a sea of bellicose imperialism will change into a new situation in which the socialist countries will form the sea, win allies and in turn encircle and strangle imperialism, dismember its hinterland through proletarian revolutions, transform the imperialist reserves, the "small peoples", into socialist reserves and thus weaken its centres. Then the centres of world imperialism will shrink to islands, to be swallowed up entirely by the sea one day. And with them, the imperialist armies, today still bristling with military superiority, will sink. The world army of the proletariat will win the inevitable victory of the world proletarian revolution.

The military weakening due to the inequality of the development of the capitalist countries in the disintegration phase of world imperialism facilitates the blasting and breakthrough of the imperialist front at its weakest point, accelerates the steady development of the armed revolutionary class struggle on a world scale. The sharpening imbalance of capitalist development in the various countries can be militarily exploited, organised and coordinated ever better by the proletarians of all countries. Contradictory tendency of the international armed revolutionary struggle in the different countries are equally decreasing. Contradictory tendencies between the international and national character of the revolutionary military struggle are finally abolished. Finally, in the course of the development of the world revolution, military centres of the new socialism will emerge alongside the military centres of imperialism, and the struggle between these two military centres will fill the history of the unfolding of the world revolution.

5. The thing (appearance etc.) as the sum # and unity of opposites

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The armed international struggle is the sum (but not only the arithmetical sum) of all armed struggles in all countries of the world. The world army is the sum (and not only the arithmetical sum) of all the armies of the proletarians of all countries. The army of the proletariat in a particular country is in itself a unified whole, an instrument for the conquest of the political power of the proletariat in that particular country. At the same time, however, the proletarian army of a country, considered on a world scale, is only one of many other armies of the world proletariat, it is only one section of the world proletarian army. The proletarian army of a country is thus an independent part of international liberation and at the same time also its opposite, an independent whole of national liberation. It thus forms a unity of opposites, is in contradiction with itself, namely to raise, maintain and finally abolish arms simultaneously in a country and internationally. The unity of contradictions between the military struggle of the proletariat on a world scale and in a single country consists in the fact that both struggles condition each other, penetrate each other and fertilise each other, both together mean victory and thus together create conditions for the abolition of arms in the international as well as national framework and thus again for the abolition of all military struggles in general. The international struggle secures the struggle in a single country and prevents the imperialist-social imperialist encirclement and the restoration of capitalism there. Through the international armed struggle, the national weapons are dismantled to the same extent as the nations dismantle themselves, first the capitalist and then the socialist ones. The preconditions and conditions for the abolition of arms on a world scale consist in the abolition of arms in the individual countries. This cannot be achieved in a single action, but needs a very long period of development, at the beginning of which we are still today. The universal theory of the simultaneous victory of the revolution in all countries, this Trotskyist scheme of development of the world revolution, was and is unacceptable. The victory of the proletarian army in one country is not only the product of the uneven development and progressive disintegration of imperialism. It is at the same time the beginning and the precondition of the struggle of the world proletarian army. The degree of maturity for the armed revolution, the character and development of the military struggle cannot be the same in all countries. They depend on the concrete historical conditions of each country, on its stage of economic and social development, on the relationship of the fighting classes to each other, on the condition and level of organisation of the proletarian arms, on the degree of military interference or presence of the foreign powers, especially the great powers and their alliances in the various countries, etc. It would be naive and a grave mistake to believe that the international world army could replace, make superfluous, the armed, socialist revolution, the national liberation movement of the individual countries by moving from country to country and liberating one after the other. This could not be expected from Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Red Army either. The world proletariat must liberate itself as a whole class with arms in hand; this task cannot be done by a leading revolutionary assault division on behalf of the proletarians of all countries. The

world revolutionary army cannot export the revolution because it matures in different conditions and at different times in each country. The world revolution cannot win in one fell swoop, not simultaneously in all the countries of the world without exception. It is a long, complicated process, a task that the proletarians and peoples of all countries can realise only through joint efforts, in united struggle, step by step, with all helping and supporting one and all helping and supporting each. This is what constitutes the strength and invincibility of proletarian internationalism, of the united army of proletarian internationalism.

But it would be equally naïve and another serious mistake to oppose the armed struggle of a single country to the international armed struggle or even to dismiss it as dispensable. The international armed struggle, as well as the armed struggle organised in one country, is indivisible. The unity and indivisibility of the armed proletariat of one country and the armed struggle of the proletarians of all countries makes possible the surest road to the victory of the military struggle of the world revolution. Precisely for this reason, the victory of the October Revolution and the victory of the Albanian People's Revolution were not ends in themselves, but means and help for the development and victory of the revolution in all countries, they served the military victory of the world revolution. To fight in one's own, in a single country, with the weapon for the victory of the proletariat means to fight for the victory of the world revolution. Conversely, international fighting units of proletarian internationalism, as nuclei of the future proletarian world army, support the victory of the armed revolution in a single country. Both are to be closely linked, nothing is to be left to chance or to run on its own. The struggle in the individual country is subordinated to the general , the whole struggle for the world revolution, serves it and thus, in the end, conversely, serves itself. The international armed struggle, for its part, is also not an end in itself, but serves the armed struggle in each individual country. The international support of the proletarian revolution of one country serves the common cause of the proletarians of all countries, that is, to forge with it the victory over capital not only in a single country but in all capitalist countries, for the proletarian revolution of a single country is precisely the part of the world revolution, is its beginning and the basis for its unfolding. The final victory of socialism in the country which is again the first to liberate itself, the first to reconquer socialism in one country, is impossible without the military efforts of the proletarians of all the other countries, or at least of several countries. Conversely, the more effective the military aid provided by this first reconquered socialist country to the proletarian armies of all the other countries, the faster and more thoroughly the international armed struggle will unfold.

6. the struggle or rather the development of these opposites, of the contradictory aspirations, etc.

Neither the world army, nor the individual sections of this world army in each country, are to be regarded as something passive, merely called upon to accept internationalist support from *outside*. They are at the same time an *internal part* of an independent, active, centralised total system of the organised revolutionary arms of the world proletariat, and at the same time an integral part of an internationally unified communist war machine. In each country, a section of the international army of the world proletariat is fighting.

The world-historical significance of the world proletarian army consists not only in the fact that it constitutes a powerful basis and lever for the development of the world revolution, that it does not only altogether accelerate and advance the cause of defeating world imperialism, but also, conversely, that it accelerates and advances the support of the individual proletarian armies in each country of the world for the defeat of capitalism.

At the beginning, the world army of international imperialist counterrevolution is faced with only one or another section of the anti-imperialist armed resistance, for example, in this or that country exploited and oppressed by imperialism. In the course of the world revolutionary process, however, the picture changes, the initially strong class opponent becomes weaker and weaker, it falls apart, its world power gradually breaks up, while from day to day the armed resistances in the world strengthen, unite and develop into a huge revolutionary international resistance alliance.

The armed power of the world proletariat is based in the metropolises on proletarian units of the cities and inter-supporting units of the peasants in the countryside, with the cities in particular being developed as fortresses and lines of fortresses being established between the cities. In the oppressed countries, the peasant guards are led by the proletarian units of the industrial centres for service in the interior. In addition, there will be the regular Red Armies, which will oppose the imperialist occupant forces where the invasion -from outside- tries to penetrate. In the whole armament plan, it is presupposed that the warring Comintern (SH) knows how to correctly assess the political conditions on an international as well as national scale, has the strategic, tactical and detailed knowledge of all weapons and has the right amount of energy, speed, determination and, above all, a free hand. "One would have to be Napoleon or have appallingly stupid enemies and appallingly good luck" (Engels, MEW, Vol. 7, page 490, German edition) if one wanted to defeat USA imperialism today without any preparation and precondition. Nor can it be assumed that revolution and invasion will automatically lead to civil war, but it will certainly make it more likely - as we can see today in Iraq. At the same time, however, it also makes it more likely that the international counterrevolution will unite even more closely than at present in order to ward off the world revolution.

Let us assume that in a certain country with a revolutionary situation, there is a revolutionary outbreak and things go armed. The situation will develop in such a way that the revolutionary forces of each country will consist of a majority of "native" forces and a more or less small number of foreign forces who live and work there, but who have connections with the revolutionary forces of their own country of origin and can provide support. There will also be forces from neighbouring countries rushing to help and volunteer fighters arriving from all over the world. There will also be support from revolutionary forces that are not directly participating in the revolutionary battlefield of this country, but can "occupy" the counter-revolutionary foreign alliance forces of this country in their own country, in another theatre of war. Also, the slogan: "Turn over the guns!" will not fail to have its effect in the counter-revolutionary units, which, after all, also have foreigners in their own ranks and are supported from abroad. Thus, the battlefield of a country is not limited to its own territory and to (geographically speaking) national forces, but in modern warfare we are dealing with an international battlefield, international fronts, international forces, reserves, equipment, etc., and so on. Here it becomes clear that there is a need for international centralisation of the leadership of the international armed class struggle, both in terms of revolution in one country and revolutions in all countries. The strategy and tactics in the warfare of the world proletariat cannot ignore this necessity. The preparations for this must be worked on feverishly, because there are many signs not only of the emergence of the revolutionary situation in one country, but also signs of the emergence of a world revolutionary situation. This understanding must first enter the minds of the revolutionary forces of each country. Today, any revolutionary armed unity of revolution of a country is doomed to failure from the very beginning if it is led with national blinders. The national barriers will therefore have to fall even faster and more comprehensively in the revolutionary ranks than is already more or less the case in the counter-revolutionary ranks. US imperialism is carrying out its world terror by trying to stop the permanent world revolution with permanent war. This world terror lawfully generates the counter-terror, which replaces the permanent war with the permanent world revolution. In the end, the defeated counter-revolutionary world army faces the victorious revolutionary world army. The world army of the bourgeoisie and the world army of the proletariat form a unity precisely in their irreconcilable, mutually exclusive opposition. The globalisation of the class contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, which in today's society is based on the globalised social character of the productive forces, of world production and of the globalised imperialist relations of production, of private-capitalist appropriation, in the course of the intensifying international armed class struggle finally transforms the ruling military power of the world bourgeoisie into the ruling military power of the world proletariat and thus creates all economic and social preconditions for a new world order.

It is about uniting the analysis and synthesis of the revolutionary conditions and preconditions of the armed struggle, which are contained and must be taken into account in the relations between the individual country and the world. It is a question of breaking down the individual parts and uniting them into a totality of all the armed revolutionary forces of the world. This must become a revolutionary world army of centralised organisation in order to achieve the quality that an army needs to beat an imperialist world army. Spontaneity, self-running, passivity - all these things can only be a stumbling block to the solution of this great task. Centralisation of command yes, but not Asian troops of the Red World Army fighting in Europe and South American troops fighting in Africa. Certainly, a Red World Army is capable of serving honourably in any place on the globe, but expediency, the scale between effort and effect and "simple common sense" must be maintained in the location of troops.

7. unification of analysis and synthesis - the breaking down into separate parts and the totality, the summation of these parts.

The free unification of the proletarian armies into a single army of the world proletariat is impossible without a more or less protracted, persistent struggle of these armies against the imperialist world army, against the capitalist armies in the individual countries, including in the revisionist countries; or against the counter-revolutionary forces of the restoration of capitalism in the newly created socialist countries.

8. The relations of each thing (phenomenon, etc.) are not only manifold, but general, universal. Every thing (phenomenon, process, etc.) is connected to EVERYTHING.

The international workers' army is not designed for eternity. It fulfils its historical mission only for the period and under the conditions in which it is necessary and indispensable. Just as it has come, it will be dissolved after fulfilling its mission. The founding opportunism is closely related to the dissolution opportunism of the revolutionary international army and must be overcome on Marxist-Leninist bases, as is the case in the struggle against the founding and dissolution opportunism of the Communist International itself, which commands the World Red Army. When old forms of organisation become unsuitable, new ones must of course be created in their place, adapted to the changed conditions. But this can never mean questioning the fundamental necessity of developing the principle of solidarity to protect the international workers' movement, and dropping or in any way weakening the principle of partisanship and democratic centralism in organising international proletarian solidarity.

9. Not only unity of opposites, but transitions of every determination, quality, peculiarity, side, characteristics into every other [into its opposite?].

Indisputably - the US army is at present (still!) vastly superior to all other armies in the world, but that does not mean that we must overestimate it because of that. After all, the dominant principle of the military policy of the world imperialists is the fear of the world proletariat. Even the best army in the world is, was and will always be subject to the laws of rise and fall, just like the social order itself that produced it. Strategically, it is ultimately a doomed army, but tactically, in its present fighting capacity, it is the most dangerous, strongest army in the world, which is why, despite signs of decay, it must not be underestimated under any circumstances. Nothing falls unless it is brought down - and this never happens with the greatest sacrifices. The imperialist US army has no good reputation in the world, except perhaps that of its tradition. The American army today is anything but an army that once helped defeat the fascism of German imperialism. Even if today it dresses itself up in front of the whole world, it justifies nothing else than the continuation of its international raids. After all, since the Second World War, it has been the army that has most callously broken world peace and waged the most predatory and cruel wars not against tyrants but against many peoples throughout the world - truly not a model for the "most superior and best-equipped army in the world" and truly not a credit to the "protection and defence of world peace", of "civilised" humanity, "democracy", "freedom", "fight against terror" and other lofty propaganda of lies - but an army of fortune for its civilian parasites, the war profiteers, Wall Street and the whole international finance capital, and - in the course of the intensification of the capitalist world crisis - the bearer of hope, the last lifeline for maintaining the wealth and power of world imperialism. That this rotting of an army demoralises and disintegrates the troops, destroys their morale, makes them feel abused and raped by the rich for whom they take the rap, all this cannot be surprising. In no army in the world is there more embezzlement, more corruption, more contempt for superiors and above all for the government, its Minister of War, etc., in no army are there more breaches of service and decay of discipline as in the US army. The soldiers come back not with their heads held high but with their heads bowed - not only from Vietnam. And so the world crisis, the whole rotten system of the Yanks has also plunged their world imperialist army into the biggest crisis in its history. The Yankee army has dug its grave, so to speak, with its atrocities, creates its rivals and conquerors. Above all, however, it has itself drawn world-wide resistance to itself and thus to all the other imperialist armies of the world, to all the "allied" auxiliaries from the most diverse countries of the world, which it is trying to force under its supreme command (unforgettable are the pictures of horror from the Iraqi military prison, which shook the world, not only the pictures themselves, but their trivialisation by the US government!) Lenin described the nature of an international counter-revolutionary army as an active military interference of foreign powers in the internal affairs of a country, as an international army to defeat the revolutionary liberation struggle of the peoples, as an army that tries to support, prevent and destroy the influence of revolutionary military forces, the revolution for example in a country. Such an

army, despite the bravery of its soldiers, cannot win a war, will be defeated by the enemy and eventually perish, replaced by a better and more superior one. And what could that be but a newly emerging Red Army in the United States of America, making its contribution to the world revolution and regaining its tradition with honour. Either this army turns its guns around overthrows capitalism or it will go down with it - with its own weapons! There is no other perspective. No imperialist army, no matter how many international auxiliary troops it commands, is capable of resisting the attack of the peoples of the world in arms. The uprising of the peoples of the world will be either the cause or the consequence of the victory over the US imperialist world army. In any case, the approaching collapse of the American imperialist world army is a signal for the approaching world revolution.

One must not confuse spatial distances on the globe and military isolation of the international fighting units in the individual countries with each other. Firstly, the armed revolutionary units in the countries of the imperialist war leaders will not leave their weapons idly silent and secondly, the armed forces in the world revolutionary centres will not calmly watch the activities of the imperialist war leaders in whatever area of the world they act against the armed revolutionary forces, not even in the most remote area. In order to harm the imperialist war robbers, it is not at all necessary to be spatially connected with the world revolutionary centres. For this purpose, in support of the centre, it is sufficient to hit the counter-revolutionary armies at the most vulnerable points of their own territory, so that they feel the danger and understand the whole reality of militant proletarian internationalism. Retaliatory strikes are not only fought on the same theatre of war. This is true for both the revolutionary and the revolutionary armies. As the American continent with the imperialist US centre is situated between the Asian and European continents, it will be heckled by the revolutions of Asia and Europe in that both revolutionary areas will be concentrically united by the exploding powder keg of the Near/Middle East. Whoever controls the oil fields also controls the world. US imperialism will then lose its influence on the African continent and its bastions in Central and South America and finally stand isolated without any hinterland and be ripe for revolution at home, which will contribute to its overthrow. The locational disadvantages of US imperialism in waging international counterrevolutionary wars of conquest can be exploited by the revolutionary forces by attacking the military bases on the surrounding continents, especially in Europe and Asia. While US imperialism has locational advantages of outward defence in that it is relatively difficult to transport masses of troops across the oceans, this can be offset with modern weaponry with long range reach. The world revolution is in a position to blow up the table of the world imperialist high command, or better, to exploit it for itself. Every decision that is taken there against the world revolution is a decision that ultimately benefits the world revolution. What we see before us is the long and complicated but coming process of reversal and transition, transformation from the imperialist-social imperialist encirclement to the world revolutionary , socialist encirclement.

10-infinite process of opening up new sides, relations, etc.

Another peculiarity of the international revolutionary army is its composition from the most diverse nationalities. This strengthens the fighting power, because it creates a great internationalist solidarity, that all fight together, united in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. Here, in the struggle, the juxtaposition of nationalities develops into a causal union, even a fusion. The nationality problem is completely different with the imperialist troops of the international counterrevolution. Here, the tendency is favoured for certain nationalities not to fight against other nationalities that are dependent on or in sympathy with each other; furthermore, the tendency for troops of certain nationalities to defect or to side with the insurgents without a fight, or to The tendency for certain nationalities to defect, or to side with the insurgents without a fight, or to refuse to fight the revolution; and above all, the tendency to resent being degraded to auxiliaries and to resist pulling the coals out of the fire for a foreign superpower and being slaughtered for its profits on the front line for nothing, while the American troops are better supplied and save their asses when the going gets tough.

11.

We are dealing with an idea of a revolutionary world army, we are collecting information, we are looking around in the world and we are at the beginning of the theory of a revolutionary world army. It is clear that this idea must be deepened and worked out more thoroughly into a theory scientifically before we approach the systematic implementation in practice. Only with the first bullet that the international army will have fired will we then be able to penetrate more deeply into its essence by means of the experiences made, by means of an infinite process of deepening the knowledge of the proletarian world revolution. Since we can foresee the development, we know that it will also spontaneously come to an internationalisation and unification of the forces of national and social liberation - that is, completely without our intervention. But it is precisely the task of internationalist communists to link the spontaneously developing armed struggle with Marxist-Leninist theory in order to accelerate its process of development, to give it socialist direction and strength, to free it from the false ideas of spontaneism, etc., to centralise and organise it, to open up and involve new, allied forces, all this in order to achieve the goal of the proletarian world revolution more quickly.

12. From juxtaposition to causality and from one form of interrelation and interdependence to another, deeper, more general one.

The military sections of the world proletariat in the liberated and not yet liberated areas of the world are causally related. The military departments in the liberated areas must carry out the maximum of what is feasible in the liberated areas for the military development, support, ignition of the revolution in the not yet liberated areas. The military sections of the world proletariat in the liberated areas, opposing the entire rest of the capitalist world, must draw the armed forces of the exploited and oppressed classes in the countries of this capitalist world to their side, actively support their uprising against the capitalists - by force of arms if necessary. A bridge must be built between the armies of the world proletarian revolution and the armies of the anti-imperialist movement, thus creating an all-embracing military ring around the wildly flailing but moribund world imperialism.

13. the repetition of certain traits, characteristics, etc. of a lower stage in a higher one

Soviet army will have to develop from the lower to the higher stage. It is not only internationalist in character, but also in type, an international army which will first find imitation in all the countries of the world. Certain features and characteristics of the Soviet army are still valid in all countries of the world without exception. The era of the Soviets also marked the beginning of the era of the Soviet Army, which first emerged in Russia and will soon leave its mark on the whole world and eventually give rise to the Soviet World Army. The Soviet Army was and will again be the armed lever of the revolutionary movement of the whole world, the army of the world proletariat. The basis for the development of the world revolution is the Soviet power with its Soviet army. Without this basis, one cannot build a proletarian army of the world revolution.

The international Red Army soldier proudly calls himself a soldier of the world revolution. He knows that he is not fighting for the profits of the capitalists all over the world, but for the liberation of the world from capitalism. He knows this and goes boldly into battle with his eyes open.... No less important is the formation of an international tribe of red officers, former soldiers who have received their international baptism of fire in a series of battles. These red officers form the main binding agent of our revolutionary world army, welding it together into a homogeneous disciplined organism. But the strength of the international red army is not exhausted in its own qualities. An army - and certainly not an international army - can exist without a solid hinterland. For a stable world front, it is necessary for the army to receive regular replacements, ammunition and provisions from the rear. A great role in this respect is played by the administrative functionaries to be trained in the rear, mainly from advanced workers who work conscientiously and tirelessly in the field of mobilisation and supply. All this will transform our world army into a respectable force capable of breaking down any resistance of the international enemy.

14. Apparent return to the old (negation of negation)

Do we need a red Soviet army of Lenin and Stalin again and do we need an anti-fascist national liberation army like that of comrade Enver Hoxha? Certainly we need one as well as the other, do we need such an army in all countries of the world, but is the sum of these national armies alone sufficient to sweep world imperialism off the globe for good? Above all, we need revolutionary proletarian armies in all countries of the world that are networked with each other and have a common, united, centralist leadership and can operate in a globalised way. This is the crux of the matter. Without negation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country = no development towards the world dictatorship of the proletariat. The overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat does not prevent us, for example, from using again the principle of the soviet power of workers, peasants and soldiers on a world scale, because it will prove itself again, perhaps in a new form, but not different in principle, perhaps completely new forms will develop, we shall see.

The new proletarian world army arises from the negation of the old proletarian army of the October revolution and the anti-fascist, national liberation army of the Albanian people's revolution, thus develops from the lower to the higher, whereby the historical revolutionary armies basically represent the nucleus, for the army of the future, the world revolutionary army. We Marxist-Leninists, therefore, do not regard these armies as "defunct" armies of "failed" socialism "in one country", but in essence as internationalist armies on the first, national stage of development. The dialectical negation through which this new army comes into being thus necessarily and unconditionally includes the preservation, the conservation of the revolutionary characteristics of the old revolutionary armies. In the process of the development of world socialism, the old army of socialism "in one country" is thus abolished, but at the same time remains contained as a revolutionary element. Therefore, it is not a question of minimising the importance of the old revolutionary armies of Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union and of Albania at the time of Comrade Enver Hoxha and considering them "obsolete", but of using the most important elements of these heroic, victorious armies for the construction, struggle and victory of the new army of world revolution. Without any vacillation, without any eclecticism, the armies of Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha are related to our new world army to be created. We Marxist-Leninists defend the armies of Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha by reconstructing them, by endowing them with their old best qualities, by raising them to a higher level in order to fit them into today's world situation in such a way that we succeed in bringing down world imperialism, even though it temporarily succeeded in transforming our revolutionary, proletarian armies back into its counter-revolutionary, bourgeois armies. We have to create such a new quality of revolutionary army through which it cannot be remodelled by the world bourgeoisie and it is not only about the sum of national divisions, but about a real internationally directed and operating army, not the army of this or that Bolshevik party, but the common army of the Bolshevik parties in all countries of the world, the army of the Communist International (Stalinist-Hoxhaists. Stalin's red Soviet army was well on the way to developing international quality, but with the dissolution of the Comintern and at the latest with the death of comrade Stalin, this development of a world revolutionary army, a united army of socialist countries, an army of the socialist camp, etc. was destroyed by the revisionists.

"The characteristic peculiarity of this aid on the part of the victorious country", said Stalin, "consists not only in the fact that it accelerates the victory of the proletarians in the other countries, but also in the fact that, by facilitating the victory, it at the same time ensures the final victory of socialism in the first victorious country" (Stalin, Vol. 6, page 357, *"The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists"*, German edition).

The substantive side, the different tasks to be fulfilled by the world revolutionary army, is also opposed to the different forms of this army. This is not without a complicated process of transformation, which is constantly changing under the changing conditions of struggle. Certain forms at the beginning (e.g. volunteer character) are discarded at a certain stage of development (regular army, for example). The transformation of the content of the tasks also goes hand in hand with this (e.g. before and after the international seizure of power of the world proletariat or change from the struggle in one country to the struggle in several countries, etc. etc.).). At each stage, the right conditions have to be fulfilled and the right decisions have to be taken in order to transform the content and form of the world proletarian army. This also presupposes the exact knowledge of these whole development processes of the enemy, in order to be able to influence and weaken also their armies in our sense.

15. struggle of the content with the form and vice versa. Throwing off the form, transforming the content.

The content of all revolutionary armies in the history of the workers' movement has always been the armed conquest of the power of the proletarians of all countries, the dictatorship of the proletariat for the emancipation of the world proletariat. In terms of form, in the Paris Commune it was the proletariat of the city that took up arms. In Russia, there was the Red Army as an army of the workers and peasants of socialism in one country. In Albania, the Albanian Liberation Army was able to rely on the Soviet Army during the Second World War to build socialism in its turn - even in times when the Soviet Union was not yet revisionist, with the Albanian Army continuing to defend socialism victoriously when the Soviet Union was revisionist degenerated. Since the revisionist degeneration of Albanian socialism, a world without socialism has emerged again, so new forms of armed struggle have to be developed in order to win in the international civil war under the leadership of the world proletariat in alliance with the revolutionary peoples against the globalised powers of world imperialism with the USA imperialists at the head. The decisive factor will be to what extent the world revolution succeeds in centralising all the globalised forces of the proletariat in order to paralyse, neutralise, demoralise and finally disarm the qualitatively and quantitatively superior international counterrevolution at the moment of its greatest weakness, its disruption by internal contradictions of the leadership, in the final stage of its process of decomposition. The question of centralisation of all revolutionary forces of the world, internationalisation of revolutionary arms will become decisive for victory or defeat. Any imperialist coalition army, thrown together, is not as manoeuvrable and operational as a united, unified international army, if only in terms of recruiting forces, reserves, masses, etc. As far as this is concerned. The international army of the proletariat is in fact potentially available in every country, whereas the forces of counterrevolution would have to transport comparable masses over thousands of kilometres. We have great potential reserves of masses as defensive means and mobility of defensive means. Our international mobility is made possible by the masses of the people all over the world and our mobility will increase with every moment that we succeed in mobilising and centralising these masses. But not only the mobility of the individual World Red Army man, but also that of the revolutionary masses themselves presupposes the level of class consciousness of the entire world proletariat. The moral fragility and vulnerability of the imperialist armies is linked to the rotten, parasitic and dying character of the imperialism they serve. Only through the globalisation of world imperialism can the world revolutionary army be set in motion. As far as international mobility is concerned, it is therefore in every respect a characteristic of the international proletariat. But mobility is not only a necessary complement to the massiveness of the centralised armies of all revolutionary peoples, it also replaces them one day when the imperialist armies are defeated. The basis of world revolutionary warfare is international production and communication. Modern, world revolutionary warfare presupposes the emancipation of the world proletariat and with it the emancipation of the peasant; it is the military expression of this emancipation. The emancipation of the world proletariat will produce its own,

new method of warfare, whereby the initial world revolutionary warfare is far removed from the warfare of the truly emancipated world proletariat. The complete elimination of class differences on an international scale presupposes the globalisation of all existing means of production. But precisely this presupposes a new kind of warfare as well. The Pentagon cannot be eliminated by a miracle, nor can it be eliminated by a bomb. Today's world revolutionary war science must be as necessary a product of the new social conditions as the war science of socialism in the Soviet Union created by Stalin and the war science of socialism in Albania created by Enver Hoxha. "But just as in the proletarian revolution for industry it is not a question of abolishing steam engines, but of increasing them, so for warfare it is not a question of diminishing massiveness and mobility, but of increasing them" (Engels, MEW, Vol. 7, page 481, German edition). The prerequisite for world revolutionary warfare are globalised productive forces, just as in the past the productive forces were always, by law, prerequisites in the perfection of warfare. The globalisation of the productive forces increases the forces of the world proletariat, which is why its subjugation by military means becomes more and more difficult from day to day and finally impossible. The power of the new warfare to be generated by the abolition of classes must consist in calling all the peoples of the world to arms in a gigantic sum, which will be completely impossible without the globalised revolutionisation of the world productive forces. Only a gigantic scale of production will release enough mass to be free to take up arms. This cannot be achieved without an international division of labour. The proletarian world army must be more robust, more skilful and more intelligent, not only in its mass and equipment, but also in its mobility, than anything present society can offer. All these conditions are not yet available today, they can only be created after long years. But potentially the world proletariat has already grown into a great army today, so that it will also be able to cope with the future tasks of its warfare. With the globalised warfare of world imperialism, international civil war will also break out more quickly than is still expected today, into which the world proletariat cannot yet throw its full contingents. But the whole thing will expand step by step, just as the atrocities of international counterrevolution will increase from stage to stage. The great wars of the world proletariat are yet to come.

The modern warfare of the proletariat is therefore not possible as limited guerrilla warfare in a sparsely populated, remote area, and the Maoist people's war tactics are also completely unsuitable for this. The proletariat must operate within the imperialist armies as well as in the metropolises, must render useless the far-flung supply and resupply routes of the imperialist troops, must operate partisan-like in its own hinterland, while the revolutionary peoples coordinate their wars of liberation with it. And to a certain extent even merge under a centralised supreme command. The peoples and the proletarians of each country can use the home advantage to their advantage over foreign imperialist occupation forces when they fight hand in hand with each other. There are innumerable advantages that the best equipped counter-revolutionary imperialist army can never have.

Certainly, the highly technical counter-revolutionary forces are better equipped at the beginning, but in the course of the international civil war our forces would increase, so in the long run our forces would be the superior forces after all. At least the chances of superior strategy and tactics would, on the whole, be on both sides, both on the side of the international counter-revolution and on the side of the world revolution, which would have more weight on the counter-revolutionary side at the beginning of the international civil war, but in the course of the war this weight would shift in favour of the world revolution. The world revolution will give rise to new means of war and new warfare which will one day make the present international counter-revolutionary army of USA imperialism fade away and appear impotent, because international civil warfare is the product of the world proletarian revolution. Its precondition is the social and political emancipation of the workers and peasants of the whole world. The liberation of both classes from the imperialist fetters is necessary to raise the world proletarian army. The imperialist armies themselves provide us with the necessary material for this in the form of weapons, ammunition, food, to train and raise the necessary officers and soldiers for our army.

Old forms of the Red Army of a single socialist country have been historically discarded, new, internationalised, centralised forms of struggle will take the place of the old ones, the arming of socialism in one country will be transformed into the arming of international proletarian socialism. Decomposition and disintegration of the centralised counterrevolution on the one hand, centralisation and unification of the world revolutionary forces on the other. The outcome of the armed struggle of these two world poles will decide the fate of humanity. If we do not succeed in the centralisation of our international socialist arms at the first attempt, there will be the counter-revolution save and the blackest world reaction until the second attempt, until our defeats are turned into victory, but with each defeat a more thorough and secure ground is created for the emancipation of the world proletariat.

Lenin stressed "that centralism is necessary for the successful struggle (...) against the international [emphasised by the author] bourgeoisie, which is becoming ever more closely united" (Lenin, Vol. 6, page 461, German edition).

16) Transition of quantity into quality and vice versa/reversed. ((15 and 16 are examples of 9))

leapfrog development: The October coup already completed the qualitative leap from a black to a red army in a relatively short period of time. World overthrow by a red world army as a qualitative leap takes "a few" years longer. The leap changes cannot take place globally as quickly as in a single country. There are many steps backwards in the building of the red world army before it can develop its full power and leap forward. Before socialism could expand worldwide, "socialism in one country" was even turned back into capitalism, the socialist army was turned into a capitalist army. But in any case, the army of socialism in one country is a leap in the development towards the army of world socialism. The contradiction in the development of the world revolutionary army is the unity of its existence and non-existence, is the essence of the leap of its development from the army of "socialism in one country" to the world army of socialism.

In the struggle between the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary armies, a shift, a transition of the armies of imperialism to the side of the world revolution is maturing. This will be decisive for the defeat of the world imperialist armies. Therefore, the Comintern (SH) must devote itself to revolutionary work, especially in the imperialist armies, it must fight in the enemy camp against the strangulation of the world revolution. "It is an evident fact that the disorganisation of the armies and the complete dissolution of discipline have been both the condition and the result of every hitherto victorious revolution" (Engels, MEW, Vol. 27, page 353, German edition). This applies most of all to the proletarian world revolution.

(?) 17. what basic preconditions are necessary for the world Bolshevik characteristics of the army of the Comintern (SH) ?

What lessons do we draw from comrade Stalin's 12 Bolshevisation theses for its construction and development?

1. It is necessary that the army of the world proletariat considers itself as an armed political form of the class union of the world proletariat, led by the highest form of the class union of the world proletariat, the Communist International (Stalinist-Hoxhaists).

2. It is necessary that the army of the world revolution, especially its leading cadres, take full possession of the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism (*not only in the military field*) and inseparably link military practice with Marxist-Leninist ideology.

3. It is necessary for the world revolutionary army to adopt the military slogans and orders not out of blind obedience or on the basis of memorised formulas from historical or local traditions, but out of revolutionary class consciousness and political conviction as a result of careful analyses of the concrete conditions of struggle and the balance of forces between the fighting forces of the armed movement on an *international scale as well as* in the individual countries. The experience of the armed struggle from all countries must be generalised and this generalisation must be applied concretely to the given military situation.

4. it is necessary for the international Soviet army to verify the correctness of its military slogans and orders *in the fire of the revolutionary struggle of the masses*.

5. It is necessary that the entire combat activity of the international Red Army, especially when anti-proletarian military traditions have not yet been overcome, be converted to a new, revolutionary way, calculated that every combat action be carried out in the consciousness and spirit of the world revolution.

6. It is necessary that the world socialist army in its Marxist-Leninist mass line understands how to combine the highest firmness of principles (not to be confused with sectarianism!) with a maximum of solidarity and contact with the masses (not to be confused with post-trab politics!).), because without these conditions it is impossible for the world red army not only to teach the masses but also to learn from them, not only to train the masses militarily and recruit armed fighters and raise them to the level of the world revolutionary army, but also to listen to the voice of the masses and recognise their most burning needs.

7. It is necessary for the world proletarian army to know how to combine in its disciplined struggle an irreconcilable revolutionary attitude (not to be confused with revolutionary adventurism and putschism!) with a maximum of elasticity and manoeuvrability (not to be confused with *military opportunism and capitulation!*).), since without this condition it is impossible for the army to master all forms of struggle and organisation, to combine the tactical military tasks of the day with the fundamental, strategic interests of the world proletariat, to unite the national liberation struggle with the world socialist revolution, to master the open struggle with the reconnaissance struggle, the offensive with the defensive, the rear-guarded attack with the orderly retreat, and to lead the army's struggle coherently, resolutely and vigilantly both externally and internally. "The art of Bolshevik policy does not at all consist in firing indiscriminately from all guns on all fronts, without taking into account the conditions of time and place, without taking into account the readiness of the masses to support this or that step of the leadership. The art of Bolshevik policy consists in skilfully choosing the time and place and taking into account all circumstances in order to concentrate fire at the front where the greatest results can be obtained most rapidly" (Stalin, Vol. 11, page 46, German edition).

8. It is necessary that the World Bolshevik Army should not conceal its mistakes, that it should not fear criticism, that it should know how to improve its cadres by means of their own mistakes and to educate them in a politico-ideologically correct manner.

9. it is necessary that the highest form of military, international class organisation should know how to include in its leading staff the best elements of progressive militants who possess sufficient heroism and devotion to be true representatives of the aspirations of the militant world proletariat and who have sufficient fighting experience to become real leaders of the world proletarian army, capable of applying the tactics and strategy of contentious Marxism-Leninism.

10. It is necessary for the international proletarian army to systematically improve the social composition of all its fighting units from the bottom to the top and purge itself of disintegrating opportunist elements, having as its goal the achievement of maximum unity and unity of thought and action.

11. It is necessary that the Bolshevik Army of the Communist International develop an iron proletarian discipline based on the ideological unity of proletarian internationalism, the clarity and aims of the world revolutionary movement, the unity of practical action and the conscious attitude of each individual Red world soldier to the tasks of the whole army.

12. It is necessary that the world red army systematically and firmly organises the implementation of its own orders and directives, because without these conditions there is a danger that they will come to nothing, which would only lead to undermining the confidence of the world proletarian masses and all oppressed and exploited classes in their own army.

13. It is necessary for everyone to serve in the world proletarian army from the ground up. "Academic education" is not an officer's patent with a right to a corresponding post in the army. There are only posts of trust, which must first be acquired in the struggle itself - that is, not merely through oratorical talent and theoretical knowledge, but familiarity with the conditions of armed struggle and acclimatisation to the army through personal reliability, fitness of character and finally willing incorporation into the ranks of the combatants - in short, the intellectuals have much more to learn from the workers than the latter from them. The leadership of a proletarian world army can, of course, only be guaranteed by the leadership of the world proletariat, and that means the subordination of all other classes to the command of the working class. "Everyone who has even a little experience in the international movement knows that in the case of a split, he who has caused it or seems to have caused it is always wrong in the eyes of the workers" (Engels, MEW, Vol. 22, page 72, German edition).

14. It is necessary to master the art of international civil war, to do our utmost to prove that we have also learned something in the revolutionary army, that among the new troops who are not accustomed to war, the length of service in the Red World Army determines their general fitness for war and their ability to take the offensive. Every person who is fit for arms and who is capable of military service should be called upon internationally in equal measure for revolutionary military service and political training in the army - if possible already in connection with military training during youth education ["In the present complicated state of warfare, a transition to the militia system is not even conceivable without military preliminary training of the youth" MEW, Engels, Vol. 22, page 383, German edition)]. -, whereby the typical military drill of the bourgeois armies, the "goose-step parades, tinsel" etc. etc., i.e. every militaristic, hollow pomp, every traditional antiquity, every military feteschism are completely superfluous and must be abolished. The counterpart of paradedrill, the so-called soldier drudgery and harassment of superiors must also be abolished once and for all. We are opponents of barracks communism. ["There is so much talk about the decisive value of moral factors in war. And what else do you do in peace but almost systematically destroy them?" (ibid, page 395)]. One should also be suspicious of the "authorities" with so-called military "expert judgement". At any rate, this was the experience always made by all ordinary revolutionary soldiers. Engels derided the artificial egg dances "preferring to sacrifice the appallingly tasteless epaulettes, which are held all the more sacred for that, on the altar of the fatherland rather than the epaulettes themselves" (MEW, Vol. 22, page 381, German edition).

15. It is necessary that the international technical revolution of all branches of arms keep pace with the revolutionisation of their international bearers, the overcoming of conservative superstitions within the army.

16. It is necessary that everything be done with a speed which alone ensures success. Any action may already be too late through delay, dithering and wavering, and all the more easily be crushed by the enemy. Every delay and elimination of measures which could have carried the world revolution forward is a betrayal of the revolution which must be severely punished.

17. It is necessary, after the victory or already after a partial victory, to take measures for the masses that will make their lives easier through liberation and that will make them join the militants.

Without these and similar conditions, the Bolshevisation of the army of the world revolution is an empty sound.

Pledge of Allegiance
of the World Red Army Soldier:

As a Red Army soldier of the world revolution, I take this oath of allegiance and solemnly swear to be at all times an internationalist, honest, brave, disciplined, vigilant soldier, to strictly guard military secrets, to carry out without contradiction all military service orders and orders of the commanders, commissars and superiors of the Communist International.

I swear to conscientiously learn the peoples' art of war, to guard the property of the army as well as that of all peoples with all my strength, and to be loyal to the world proletariat and the peoples of this world until my last breath.

I am always ready, on the orders of the Communist International, to stand up in defence of the homeland of all peoples and, as a soldier of the World Red Army, I swear to defend it bravely, prudently, with honour and dignity, without sparing my blood or even my life, for the achievement of final victory over world imperialism.

However, if I maliciously break this solemn oath of mine, may I meet the severe punishment of the Communist International, the general hatred and contempt of the labourers of the whole world.

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The Red Army of each Section of the Comintern (SH) is part of the global Red Army of the Comintern (SH).

Other forms of armed organisation

The communist militia system

Proletarian militias

During the 1905 uprising, Lenin described the workers' militia as the "single, firm bulwark of the revolution" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 435, German edition).

"We (...) need a military organisation of agents" (Lenin, Vol. 5, page 536, German edition).

"Only a communistically instituted and educated society can come very close to the militia system, and even then never quite attainable" (Engels to Marx 1868, MEW, Vol. 32, page 21, German edition).

"As far as the militia is concerned, we would say: we are not for a bourgeois militia, but for a proletarian militia. Therefore, not a man and not a penny not only for the standing army, but also for the bourgeois militia even in such countries as the United States, Switzerland, Norway, etc., all the more so because even in the freest republican states we see the progressive alienation of the militia, especially since 1907 and 1911, and its prostitution into military units against the strikes. We can demand: Election of officers by the enlisted men, abolition of all military justice (...), further the right of each, say, hundred inhabitants of the state to form free associations for learning the war trade (...). Only in this way could the proletariat learn everything military really for itself and not for its slave masters, which is absolutely in its interest" (Lenin, Vol. 23, page 81, German edition).

"Introduction of the militia system (...) - that is, after the replacement of the standing army by due general arming of the people. Only this measure, which does not go beyond the framework of bourgeois society, is capable of democratising the army and seriously advancing the cause of peace even by one step" (Lenin, Works, Vol. 19, page 67, German edition).

Chapter 8

The Marxist-Leninist Struggle against

military opportunism

Any deviation from the Marxist-Leninist military theory that classes under capitalism must use, must lawfully use, violent means, armed forms of struggle and military forms of organisation to advance their interests, any denial of the militant character of the class struggle, especially the armed, proletarian class struggle,

just as conversely

as any deviation which reduces the proletarian class struggle to its militant character or fetishises military policy,

that is, any conception which contradicts the dialectical relationship of all forms of struggle, that is, of all armed and non-armed forms of struggle, and their variously combined application according to the changing conditions in the class struggle,

leads - as the whole of historical experience teaches - to the bourgeois degeneration of every armed socialist movement - and consequently also inevitably and lawfully to its military defeat.

The Marxist stands on the ground of class struggle and not of social peace.

Dialectical materialism guards against revisionism, against right, "left" and centrist actions

Plekhanov's opportunism on the question of insurrection:

"One should not have taken up arms."

The "theory" of spontaneity is the theory of opportunism, the theory of worshipping the spontaneity of the armed workers' movement, the theory of actually denying the leading role of the vanguard of the working class, the party of the working class. Any struggle of the working class is ultimately doomed to failure if it is not led by the vanguard of the working class. Spontaneism leads the troops sooner or later straight into the arms of the enemy. Opportunism in the field of spontaneity always follows the line of "least resistance", of doubting military actions, of dithering and vacillating, etc., etc., of rejecting disciplined, planned and conscious action, of preferring to face one's own mistakes. Opportunism does not want the party to go ahead in the military actions of the proletariat, because it rejects this as a domination, an imposition of someone else's will, and so on. Rejects. The theory of spontaneity is the theory of the diminution of the role of the conscious element in the army and in any fighting unit, is post-trab politics.

The opportunists tend to overestimate the forces of the enemy and to underestimate their own forces and can thus cause great damage in terms of demoralisation in the revolutionary force, which is usually inferior to the ostentatious enemy in many respects and lacks many things....

Against right-wing military opportunism

Engels characterised in brief the reactionary attitude of the petty bourgeoisie towards armed struggle :

"The petty bourgeoisie, had it depended on it, would hardly have left the legal ground of legal, peaceful and virtuous struggle and taken up the musket and the cobblestone instead of the so-called weapons of the spirit. The history of all political movements since 1830 in Germany, as in France and England, shows us this class always boastful, high-minded, and in places even extreme in phrase, as long as it sees no danger; timid, reticent, and deliberate as soon as the movement it stimulates is taken up by other classes and taken seriously; betraying the whole movement for the sake of its petty-bourgeois existence as soon as it comes to a struggle with arms in hand - and finally, as a result of its indecisiveness, always preferentially bruised and abused as soon as the reactionary party has won" (MEW, Vol. 7, page 112, German edition).

He accused the leaders of parametarism of pretending to achieve by parliamentary methods what can only be achieved by revolutionary methods, by force of arms. Marx and Engels sharply criticised bourgeois parliamentarism and at the same time explained the tactics of revolutionary parliamentarians, whose most important task is the organic connection of parliamentary activity with the extra-parliamentary struggle of the masses.

Dialectical materialism guards against revisionism, rightist, "leftist" and centrist actions.

What is military rightist opportunism? Is there a revisionist people's war ???????

The spontaneist war of liberation turns against the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, turns against raising the armed struggle of the masses to the level of proletarian class consciousness, turns against the fighting staff of the Bolshevik Party. The spontaneist People's War Theory is for the Marxist-Leninists not to "hinder" the movement, not to "indoctrinate" it, for the People's War Movement to go its own way, with the Bolshevik Party trotting along behind. This military policy of trotting after is the basis of every kind of opportunism in all military questions which the proletariat has to solve. The spontaneous armed struggle, the theory of worshipping the spontaneity of the armed struggle, is a theory of the actual denial of the leading role of the vanguard of the working class. Only the armed struggle led by a Bolshevik party can defeat capitalism. The elimination of the inevitability of imperialist wars is only possible through the Bolshevik World Party and its sections.

The social imperialists waged wars of conquest under the guise of liberating oppressed peoples

Revisionism and the "peaceful road" to socialism

"There can be no peaceful development towards socialism" (Lenin, Vol. 29, page 352, German edition).

The recognition of the necessity to lead the class struggle to the dictatorship of the proletariat is the cornerstone of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the transformation of capitalist society into a socialist society. Marxism-Leninism is incompatible with the opportunist idea that the transition from capitalism to socialism could be realised peacefully, by capitalism growing into socialism, by a parliamentary vote or by persuasion among the capitalist exploiters, their participation in socialism, etc. No vote, no parliament, no pleading and begging is capable of convincing the bourgeoisie that it would be better for them and for all of us to voluntarily surrender their power and peacefully cede capital. Lenin taught that socialism could not be realised without class struggle, that the exploiters would not leave the stage without resistance, that the recognition of armed class struggle was the only correct programme of the Marxist-Leninist Party. But if it were possible to pass peacefully into socialism, then we would not need to wage an armed struggle, we would not need a dictatorship of the proletariat, we would not need Marxism-Leninism, but the imperialists would sooner pass through the eye of a needle than voluntarily return their capitalist private property, which they have sucked out of the blood of the peoples with their greedy vampire teeth, to the peoples so that they can live in freedom and prosperity. Peace, joy, pancakes - this is the sweet-smelling stuff from which the bourgeoisie has brewed its revisionist drink for the proletariat to anaesthetise its consciousness. Revisionism is supposed to save capitalism, is supposed to do it a disservice, but it is not for nothing that it is said that "a bear in service is worse than an enemy". Harmonisation of class antagonisms is utterly impossible within the framework of capitalism - hence the Marxist-Leninist theory of armed class struggle. "Can you oust the capitalists and destroy the roots of capitalism without bitter class struggle? No, you cannot" (Stalin, Vol. 12, page 29, German edition). Can the proletariat determine weapons by democratic majority vote, can soldier councils be elected from the ranks of soldiers to legally bring their weapons under their own control, can it prevent the use of weapons for imperialist war without bitter class struggle, can capitalism, its armies, its apparatus of power be disarmed peacefully? No, you can't, these are lies of the revisionists to stifle and sabotage the armed class struggle of the proletariat.

Throw overboard the rusty arsenal of revisionism and forge new types of weapons. Without preparing the ideological struggle against neo-revisionism, one cannot go to war against world imperialism.

The victory of the revisionists in the socialist countries Soviet Union and in Albania meant a victory of world imperialism. The victory of the world reaction over socialism hindered the international social development, infallibly removed the moment when the workers could continue their socialist victory march or to regain their power, hindered the development process of the world revolution.

It is an archopportunist point of view that the "peace" struggle outwards also serves the peace struggle inwards, the "social peace", which means nothing else than the subordination of the world proletariat to the world bourgeoisie, the appeasement of the world proletariat, the continued existence of world capitalism - i.e. peace struggle to avoid international civil war, instead of exploiting the peace struggle to accelerate the downfall of capitalism. The world proletariat subordinates the peace slogan to the slogan of international civil war, because peace in capitalism means only respite between wars, while civil war serves to eliminate the inevitability of wars. The proletarian peace slogan must therefore be inextricably linked to the proletarian civil war slogan if it is not to be sacrificed to opportunism.

The opportunists do not approve of armed insurrection and condemn it as a special form of militarism and war.

Lenin taught "that militarism can never and under no circumstances be overcome and abolished in any other way than by the victorious struggle of one part of the people's army against the other. It is not enough to curse militarism, to curse it, to `reject' it, to prove its harmfulness with the critique of arguments, it is foolish to refuse service peacefully - it is necessary to keep alive the revolutionary consciousness of the proletariat, not only in general, but also to prepare its best elements in concrete terms to place themselves at the head of the revolutionary army at the moment of the highest ferment in the people" (Lenin, Works, Vol. 23, page 254, German edition).

The First International was already sharply and resolutely opposed to the chauvinism that was to be infiltrated into the international workers' movement. National liberalism had its basis in the wavering petty bourgeoisie.

Bourgeois and Socialist Pacifism (Lenin Vol. 23)

Military lessons against revisionism from the Great Patriotic War and Comrade Stalin.

(????!!!!) Struggle against revisionism in the Great Patriotic War; Role of the Soviet revisionist generalship; Revisionist=Bulganin: 30 years of the Soviet Army, New World No. 4/1948; Patriotic War and revisionism - betrayal of Stalin ; Role of the revisionists' military struggle for the restoration of capital - Zhukov, Khrushchev etc. and Ramiz Alia (Ramiz Alia deposes Mehmet Shehu to militarily secure the restoration of capitalism in Albania?

after the death of Stalin: Albania's withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact - struggle against the military alliance of the Soviet revisionists

The military side of social imperialism *externally* and social fascism *internally*

Yugoslav revisionism on the military question

Soviet revisionism on the military question

Warsaw Pact - withdrawal of PLA - justification - 1968 Czechoslovakia, 17 June 1953, (Hungary 1956??), Poland Lech Walesa- strike abuse by Polish secret service!)

Restoration of capitalism - restoration of the capitalist army; transformation of the revolutionary army into a counter-revolutionary army;

It is part of the capitalists' art of war to putrefy their enemy from within in order to weaken his defensive power and thus disarm the working class from within.

We Marxist-Leninists fight against the revisionist armies, against the social-fascist and social-imperialist military organisations of the revisionists. However, in this struggle against them, we never forget their historically revolutionary or progressive role in the struggle against capitalism and imperialism. But the present revisionist military organisations have betrayed and degenerated the revolutionary struggle from which they emerged and for the purpose of which they were founded. We defend the glorious tradition, but not the betrayal of the glorious tradition. With us, the megalomania of the revisionist generals and marshals who boast about the past and speculate politically with it does not bear fruit. The revisionist armies are neither anti-imperialist nor progressive in any way; they are counter-revolutionary and fascist, and without exception instruments of world imperialism. They are not guided by Marxism-Leninism, socialist patriotism or proletarian internationalism, but their traitor ideology serves only the enemies of the working class and the peoples. The revisionists hide their reactionary and aggressive intentions behind Marxist-Leninist phrases in order to deceive the masses and sacrifice them as cannon fodder for their striving for power and to justify their bloodshed.

It is the revisionist betrayal that favours and encourages the capitalists and imperialists all over the world, above all the US imperialists, to take military action against the revolutionary movement of the working class and to violently suppress and repress the national anti-imperialist liberation struggles of the peoples by force of arms, by counter-revolutionary wars of intervention, by military coups, by military occupation. The revisionists make sure that the working class and the peoples capitulate to the attacks of capitalism and imperialism and let themselves be subjugated without resistance. The revisionist leaders are writhing in the pincers of insoluble contradictions and they are forced to fight their way out with military adventures. But at the same time, they unleash the armed resistance struggle as seen very clearly in Afghanistan. The Afghan people finally triumphed over the social-imperialist Soviet occupiers and drove them out of the country. The military path of the social-fascists and social-imperialists leads to ruin, because the peoples will never bow to the military pressure of the revisionists and repel any aggression with revolutionary weapons. Insurmountable obstacles stand in the way of the revisionists, which will lead them from defeat to defeat until their complete liquidation.

The military operations of the revisionists are justified with "defence against US imperialism", but they only serve to maintain the rule of the revisionists or to reconquer it by force of arms. Military adventures and armed aggression of the fascist type were, are and remain the characteristic features of the revisionists. There is no difference in principle between imperialism and social imperialism, between fascism and social fascism. All these systems exert military pressure and strive for world domination by force of arms.

We Marxist-Leninists are firmly convinced that the workers living in the revisionist or once revisionist countries will never forget their glorious revolutionary past and will always keep it alive in their hearts. The ideas of Marxism-Leninism, which once guided the revolutionary fighters with gun in hand, are indelible, no matter how much pressure the revisionists exert or how much they pretend about the "continuation of the revolutionary tradition". The question is: either, under the leadership of the revisionists, betray the working class, the peoples and massacre them bloodily "in the name of revolution, in the name of socialism", or thwart the revisionist plans and actually go the way of revolution and the reconquest of socialism through the smashing of the revisionist regime and the crushing of their social-fascist and social-imperialist instruments of rule. There is no other way to get rid of the revisionist plague than with the gun in hand.

Military lessons from the betrayal of the Albanian revisionists

The crushing of the enemy group led by B. Balluku in the Albanian defence question until the turn of the year 1978.

"In this context, the Party fought every trace of a narrow-minded understanding about defence which seeks to reduce the latter merely to military exercises and other military questions, an understanding which the traitors B. Balluku and consorts had nurtured for their hostile aims. It became even clearer to everyone: the better the economic plans are fulfilled, the healthier the socialist order is, the stronger the dictatorship of the proletariat, the more consolidated the party-people unity is, the better equipped the people are from the political, ideological, cultural-educational and technical point of view, the stronger is the national defence. (...) The organic interweaving of the military tasks with the economic, political, ideological-social and cultural tasks as components of a single matter was served by the further consolidation of the links and cooperation between the Party organisations in the terrain and the Party organisations in the army, between the organs of power, the enterprises, the agricultural cooperatives on the one hand and the commands of the units and formations on the other.

As a result of the Party's unified leadership of defence issues and everyone's constant concern for defence, a number of problems, such as training, fortification, equipping with modern war technology, combat readiness of all branches of the armed forces and all defence structures, as well as of the entire armed people, have been better solved: thus, unprecedented successes have been achieved. This progress confirms the correctness of the decisions and measures taken by the Party for the continuous consolidation and revolutionisation of the armed forces and the preparation for defence as a whole" (1st Report of the Politburo, presented at the 5th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA, 26 June 1978, Central Party Archives)." [taken from "History of the PLA - Volume II pages 275 - 279, German edition].

"This was a blow against the phenomena of weakening of the leading role of the Party in the army, a blow against all the military cadres afflicted by the disease of bureaucratism and technocratism, who were striving to push aside the basic organisations and Party committees, to turn them into tools of the commands and staffs (History of the PLA Volume II, page 123, German edition).

The Weakening of the Defence Force of Socialist Albania by the Chinese Revisionists

Role of the Chinese revisionists in the army - see Enver Hoxha - Reflections in China!)

If the present revisionist-social-fascist countries were really socialist, the rule of world imperialism could not have developed to where it has developed today. It would not have been able to spread its black, reactionary shroud, under which we Marxist-Leninists must wage our struggle today, over the whole world without the revisionists, who have thus not only transformed themselves into social fascists, but are stirrup holders of world fascism, just as the German Social Democracy was then stirrup holders of German fascism. If a real socialist camp had emerged from Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union, then many other countries would have had a better chance today to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and to build socialism. However, this path was blocked by the fact that a revisionist camp began to develop with the dissolution of the Comintern, because the Marxist-Leninists who could have turned the tide were still too weak and in the minority at that time. If Mao had been a real Marxist-Leninist, we might today have socialism along the lines of Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union, a world revolutionary situation with a strong socialist hinterland. Brave Red Albania did not have this hinterland, all the more astonishing and admirable its heroic steadfastness over decades.

ENVER HOXHA: Reflections on China Volume II

"In the early years there was no sign of a solid and sound organisation of the Chinese army after the example of Stalin's army. Even though it had been organised into large detachments in the national liberation struggle, a partisan war, these did not always bear the characteristics of partisan detachments, for there were tendencies towards a bourgeois capitalist army. This was because Mao Zedong's army had been joined by whole detachments of the Kuomintang and the 'warlords'. And so, along with them, reactionary views entered the Chinese National Liberation Army, because at the head of these Kuomintang and 'warlord' detachments were Kuomintang commanders and senior officers, drilled in fighting against the people and against communism. In this army, which had emerged from the war, there were also the old views of the 'warlords'. These views also permeated, so to speak, the high cadres who had led the great liberation struggle and were even members of the Chinese Communist Party. We were to see this later when some of the main military leaders became dissenters and tried to seize power, to overthrow one and the other. This meant that the old views of the 'warlords' or the views of the high military cadres of a bourgeois capitalist army existed among them" (Enver Hoxha, "Reflections on China", Vol. 2, pp. 790-791, German edition).

"Mao Zedong, on the other hand, regarded the uprising as a purely military action and was not in favour of an interaction between the urban working class and the army" (Enver Hoxha, "Reflections on China", Vol. 2, page 782, German edition).

"Pseudo-socialist China is submitting to the conditions of American imperialism. With the policy it is pursuing, with its strategy and tactics, it has set itself against the revolution and against the national liberation struggle of the peoples.... China will not only not give any material help to the national liberation struggle of the peoples, but also no political support. This is a stand of submission to the main objective of American imperialism" (Enver Hoxha, "Reflections on China", Volume 2, page 762, German edition).

"China entered anti-socialist waters, and thus its ideology, strategy and tactics became even more clearly defined: Friendship and alliance with the United States of America, which China wants to benefit from in terms of... .. armaments" (Enver Hoxha, "Reflections on China", Volume 2, page 749, German edition 1979).

"Just as Vietnam was burning under the bombs of Nixon's B-52 planes, the very Nixon who travelled to Peking, was greeted there by Mao Zedong and Chou En-lai and held familiar talks with them" (ibid., page 748).

"The Politburo, the Politburo Standing Committee and the Central Committee of the Party are overwhelmingly made up of military men. So China is now led by military men" (ibid, page 592).

"Mao Zedong led the national liberation struggle of the Chinese people on the basis of (...) essentially (...) non-Marxist principles" (ibid., page 394).

"There was the Party, but the army was so all-powerful that it can be said that it was not the Party that commanded them, but they commanded the Party. All these outstanding and brave commanders called themselves communists, but their understanding of communism was determined by the unclear, wavering views and orientations of their party" (ibid, page 213).

"In China, as in our country, the peasantry indeed played a great role in the national liberation struggle, but in China, unlike in our country, it was not led by the ideology of the working class. In our country, the working class was not numerically dominant, it was very small, but its ideology was big. This means that our party was organised on a Leninist basis and put the working class in a hegemonic position. In China, on the other hand, although the Communist Party was founded, the prevailing view was that 'the village encircles the cities'. This was bound to lead to weak organisational cohesion in the Party" (ibid, page 213).

"Fidel Castro tones: 'The army is the party'. The modern revisionists do not say this openly, but the fact is that in China the army commands the party, which was 'dissolved' by Mao Zedong during the Cultural Revolution. During this revolution, the army was and remained the only 'pillar' of the regime: there was no party, no trade unions, no working class in power. That is how it was, that is a fact. But why was it like that? It is quite clear: the cause was the non-Marxist-Leninist world view" (ibid. pp. 202-203).

Enver Hoxha wrote in his political diary on the 26th anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of China, when the whole Albanian Politburo and government were invited to dinner at the Chinese ambassador's house:

"In further conversation, I then went into some key problems of the international situation and the aggressive role of the two superpowers. He (the Chinese ambassador) interrupted me and emphasised their slogan of fighting the Soviet Union. He did not mention the United States of America by name, he only said: 'We have to expose the others.' I replied: 'Expose them, but also fight them, because exposure alone leaves them quite unmoved if we do not fight them.'

Thereupon the Chinese ambassador arrived with the formula: 'Chairman Mao teaches that we must prepare for war, stockpile grain.'

I answered him: 'Mao is right, the preparations for war require bread, but they also require modern weapons. We have the same line and we know that man plays the main role in war, but we cannot do without weapons either. Our enemies have armed themselves to the teeth with ultra-modern weapons. (...) But first and foremost, they will turn these weapons against us, which is why we, China and Albania, must also arm ourselves with modern weapons as soon as possible. There is only one way for Albania to get weapons: from our great ally, Mao's China. If this road is barred to us, socialist Albania will fight in encirclement' " (ibid., pp. 161-162, German edition).

"If one stands on firm revolutionary positions, one can both better exploit the contradictions among the enemies and, in the first place, weaken the most dangerous ones, without forgetting those who may be weakened for a moment but who can also regain their strength. If we look at the events and situations from revolutionary positions, it is clear that we do not have a cyclical factor as a support, but a very powerful and constant potential in the struggle against capital - the proletariat of every country, the world proletariat in general, as well as the peoples who want freedom and revolution. You have to make the revolution by fighting both the United States of America and the Soviet Union" (ibid, pp 125-126, German edition).

These great deadly crises are being prepared for this rotten, sinking world by the strikes, the protests, etc., by the revolution that is seething everywhere, by the liberation struggle of the peoples in all its forms and stages in which it is developing throughout the world. This is the basis of our struggle against imperialism and social imperialism, these are the decisive weapons that we must use to defeat them. In the sense of this great aim, we have to build our strategy and tactics of struggle in a correct way. And it is on these principles, not on fantasies, on adventures or opportunist conceptions, that we must base ourselves when it comes to deepening the contradictions between the enemies" (ibid., page 8 - Volume II, German edition).

Against the "leftist" military opportunism

(incomplete)

Right military opportunism preaches the renunciation of revolutionary violence and its organisation by the proletariat.

"Left" opportunism preaches the limitation of the proletarian struggle to revolutionary violence, the limitation to a general staff of officers without an army.

Instead of organising the proletariat, the conspirators strive to artificially accelerate revolutionary development and "make an impromptu revolution without the conditions of revolution. The only condition of revolution for them is the sufficient organisation of their conspiracy. They are the alchemists of revolution..." (Vol. 7, MEW, page 273, German edition).

What is military dogmatism?

- Guevarism

Weapons rust if they are not used; ilitarist slogans are not worth a damn if they are not reinforced by action

- Bakunism

In his writing "Statehood and Anarchy" Bakunin spoke out against the Marxist theory of the proletarian state: "Ask yourself, if the proletariat will be the ruling class, then over whom will it rule? That is, there will remain another proletariat which will be subject to this new rule, this new state" (quoted in Marx, Conspectus, vol. 18, p. 630). And Marx remarked on this: "This means that as long as the other classes, especially the capitalist class, still exist, as long as the proletariat fights with them (for with its governmental power its enemies and the old organisation of society have not yet disappeared), it must use violent means, therefore means of government; if it is itself still a class, and if the economic conditions on which the class struggle is based and the existence of the classes have not yet disappeared, they must be forcibly removed or transformed, their process of transformation forcibly accelerated" (ibid., page 630, German edition).

The radical socialist world revolution is linked to certain historical conditions of the economic development of world capitalism; the latter are its preconditions. Its process of development is therefore only possible step by step in the world where, with world capitalist production, the share of the world industrial proletariat occupies at least a significant position among the masses of the peoples. And in order for it to have any chance of victory, the world proletarian revolution must do something for the liberation of the peasants, without which it is only an empty phrase. For Bakunin, however, "not the economic conditions" but "the will (...) is the basis of his social revolution" (MEW, ibid. page 634, German edition). Marx criticised that one must not take one's own mere will for the driving wheel of the revolution instead of the really given conditions. It was Karl Marx who liberated the doctrine of socialist revolution from Bakunin's phrase and the International from the anarchists at the Hague Congress. "Since 1867 the anarchists have tried, by the most infamous means, to seize the leadership of the International; the main obstacle in their way was Marx" (MEW, Vol. 19, Engels: "On the Death of Karl Marx", page 345, German edition).

We Marxist-Leninists are proletarian centralists, especially as regards our armed struggle on both a national and international scale. "Only people filled with petty-bourgeois `superstition` in the state can consider the destruction of the bourgeois state machinery to be the destruction of centralism!" (Lenin, "State and Revolution"; Vol. 25, page 442, German edition). Bakunism means disarmament of the working class before the bourgeoisie, the subjection of the working class to the bourgeoisie, anti-authoritarianism, political nihilism of the world proletariat. The Bakunists in Spain in 1873 were "against participation in a revolution which did not have as its aim the immediate full liberation of the working class, against any participation in a revolutionary government" (Lenin, Works, Vol. 8, page 475, German edition). Engels, on the other hand, had correctly noted that in Spain at that time, the working class, which carried out victorious workers' uprisings, could, from the conditions there, lead the struggle for the republic in Spain and not yet the struggle for the socialist revolution - especially because of the economically backward conditions. Engels reproached the Bakunists for leaving the political and military leadership to the bourgeois republicans and not the workers to take the initiative. "As a true Jacobin of Social Democracy, Engels not only appreciated the importance of action from above, he not only considered participation in a revolutionary government together with the republican bourgeoisie permissible, but also demanded such participation as well as the energetic military initiative of the revolutionary power. Engels considered himself thereby obliged to give practically guiding military advice" (Lenin, *ibid.*, page 477, German edition). The Engel's lessons of the Spanish Revolution and the mistakes of the Bakunists were summarised by Lenin as follows:

"1. the principled limitation of the revolution to pressure from below and the renunciation of pressure also from above is anarchism.

2. whoever does not understand the new tasks in the epoch of revolution, the tasks of action from above, whoever does not understand how to define the conditions and the programme of such action, has no idea of the tasks of the proletariat in any democratic revolution.

3. the principle that it is inadmissible for social democracy to participate in a provisional revolutionary government together with the bourgeoisie, that any such participation is a betrayal of the working class, is a principle of anarchism.

4. every `serious revolutionary situation' confronts the party of the proletariat with the task of the purposeful direction of the insurrection, the organisation of the revolution, the centralisation of all revolutionary forces, the bold military offensive, the most energetic use of the revolutionary power of government" (Lenin, Vol. 8, page 480, German edition).

In the General Council's circular *"The Alleged Split in the International"*, Marx and Engels exposed Bakunism as sectarianism, as petty-bourgeois influence in the mass proletarian movement. The Bakunists fought Marx and Engels and the General Council of the First International because of its function of central leadership, without which the necessary unity and commonality of action carried out by the sections in the individual countries could not be guaranteed. The realisation of the Bakunists' demands to reduce the functions of the General Council to the role of a simple bureau of correspondence and statistics would have meant the renunciation by the proletariat of the creation of its own disciplined, unified and monolithic organisation, would have meant the liquidation of the fighting staff of the world proletariat. Engels blamed the "Council of Bakunists, who had constructed a whole secret apparatus of conspiracy to make the International subservient to themselves" (MEW, Vol. 22, page 67, German edition). He coined the terms "barrack communism", or "barrack socialism" for Bakunism - socialist International in words, but in deeds its disorganisation; anti-authoritarianism in words, but in deeds absolute authoritarianism, as with the Jesuits in the Catholic Church, to drive the workers like a flock of sheep to the scaffold. The struggle that Marx and Engels waged against Bakunism was basically the beginning of the struggle for the principles of the World Communist Party. Now there have been anarchists who accuse us Marxist-Leninists of using the armed struggle only to replace an old state with a new one, instead of *"fire and flame against every state"*. This is a slogan of the anarchists. The anarchists, like us Marxist-Leninists, use arms, but we need the Red Army of the proletarian state, whose order the anarchists reject. We are enemies of anarchism and are waging a real struggle against this enemy.

- Guevarism

- Blanquism

Lenin proved "that Blanquism means seizure of power by a minority." (Lenin Vol. 24, page 31, German edition).

Blanquists were followers of the French revolutionary Blanqui (1805-1881). The classics of Marxism-Leninism saw Blanqui as an outstanding revolutionary and fighter for socialism, but at the same time criticised the conspiratorial methods of his activity. In the introduction to Marx's *The Civil War in France*, Engels wrote of the actions and omissions of the Blanquists: "And in both cases the irony of history - as usual when doctrinaires come to the helm - willed that the one as well as the other should do the opposite of what their doctrine of guilt prescribed" (Engels, MEW, Vol. 22, page 196, German edition). "Educated in the school of conspiracy, held together by the strict discipline appropriate to it, they proceeded from the view that a comparatively small number of determined, well-organised men were capable, in a given favourable moment, not only of seizing the helm of the state, but also of asserting it by the display of great, ruthless energy until they succeeded in dragging the masses of the people into the revolution and grouping them around the leading small band. This required above all the strictest, dictatorial centralisation of all violence in the hands of the new revolutionary government. And what did the Commune do, the majority of which consisted of these same Blanquists? In all its proclamations to the French of the province, it called on them to a free federation of all French communes with Paris, to a national organisation which, for the first time, was really to be created by the nation itself. It was precisely the oppressive power of the hitherto centralised government, army, political police, bureaucracy, which Napoleon had created in 1798 and which every new government since then had taken over as a welcome tool and exploited against its opponents, precisely this power was to fall everywhere, as it had already fallen in Paris" (See MEW, Vol. 22, Berlin, p. 197, German edition). The bourgeoisie has often called us Marxist-Leninists "Blanquists" for our revolutionary stance and fought us as "revolutionaries and rebels", while always praising the opportunist elements in our ranks as "prudent", "reasonable" and as "realos".

"Among the most malicious and probably most widespread distortions of Marxism by the ruling 'socialist' parties is the opportunist lie that the preparation of the insurrection, in general the consideration of the insurrection as an art, is 'blanquism'. (...) To be successful, the insurrection must not be based on a conspiracy, not on a party, *it must be based on the most advanced class*. This to the first. *The insurrection must be based on the revolutionary upsurge of the people*. This to the second. *The insurrection must be based on such a turning point in the history of the rising revolution, where the activity of the foremost ranks of the people is greatest, where the fluctuations in the ranks of the enemies and in the ranks of the weak, half, undecided friends of the revolution are strongest*. This, thirdly. It is precisely by these three conditions that Marxism differs from Blanquism in its treatment of the question of insurrection. But once these conditions are given, the refusal to consider the insurrection as an art is treason to Marxism and treason to the revolution" (Lenin Vol. 26, pp. 4 - 5, German edition).

Terrorism, putschism and adventurism

"Russian terror was and remains a specific intelligentsia method of struggle. No matter how much we may be told how important terror is, not in place of but in connection with the popular movement, the facts irrefutably prove that individual political murders have nothing in common with the violent actions of a popular revolution. *In capitalist society a mass movement is only possible as a proletarian class movement* [emphasised by the author]. (...) It is no wonder that among the revolutionary intellectuals it is precisely those who do not believe in the viability and strength of the proletariat and the proletarian class struggle who are enthusiastic about terror (for a long or short time)" (Lenin, Vol. 8, page 7, German edition).

Lenin Vol. 8, page 568, German edition - "*Revolutionary Army and Revolutionary Government*": "No Social-Democrat who is even halfway acquainted with history, who has studied under the great connoisseur of this matter, Engels, ever doubts the paramount importance of military knowledge, the tremendous importance of military technique and military organisation as a tool of which the masses and classes of the people avail themselves for the solution of the great historical conflicts. Social Democracy has never indulged in playing military conspiracy, it has never put military questions in the foreground as long as the conditions of a civil war that had begun were not given."

By (...) clamouring against the use of violence from the left at a time when the most unlawful, the most abject use of violence from the right is raging, the gentlemen cadets have shown before all eyes what position the `united' occupy in the sharpened revolutionary struggle. If the revolutionary people are victorious (October 1917), the 'uniformitarian' crawls out of his mouse hole, throws himself into a pose, darts his tongue and shouts like mad: that was a 'glorious' political strike. If the counter-revolution is victorious, the 'unifier' begins to shower the defeated with hypocritical exhortations and lectures. A victorious strike was `glorious`. Losing strikes were criminal, wild, senseless, anarchic. A defeated revolt was a folly, an outburst of blind forces, a brattishness, a stupidity. In short, the political conscience and the political mind of the `conciliator' consist in waffling before the one who is momentarily stronger, in standing in the way of those who are fighting, in hindering sometimes one side, sometimes the other, in taking the sharpness out of the struggle and in blunting the revolutionary consciousness of the people who are waging a fierce struggle for freedom" (Quote from Lenin Vol. 31, page 339, German edition).

Against the sectarian project of importing and exporting revolutions by international legions

Engels opposed the import and export of revolutions in his polemic against Left sectarianism, "*On the History of the League of Communists*", writing as follows:

"In Paris at that time the mania of revolutionary legions prevailed. Spaniards, Italians, Belgians, Dutch, Poles, Germans joined together in bands to liberate their respective fatherlands. The German legion was led by Herwegh, Bornstedt, Börnstein. Since immediately after the revolution all foreign workers were not only unemployed but also harassed by the punks, these legions became very popular. The new government saw in them a means of getting rid of the foreign workers and granted them l'étape du soldat, i.e., marching quarters and a marching allowance of 50 cents a day up to the border, where the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lamartine, who was always moved to tears, found an opportunity to betray them to their respective governments. We resolutely oppose this revolutionary game. To bring an invasion into the midst of the ferment of Germany at that time, which was to import the revolution forcibly from outside, meant to trip up the revolution in Germany itself, to strengthen the governments and to deliver the legionaries themselves - Lamartine vouched for this - defenceless into the hands of the German troops. When the revolution was victorious in Vienna and Berlin, the legion became all the more futile; but once it had been started, it continued. We founded a German Communist Club in which we advised the workers to stay away from the Legion, but to return home individually and work for the movement there ("In this way we brought three or four hundred workers back to Germany" (Engels, Vol. 8, p. 588, German edition)).

[A commentary on this is urgently needed to distinguish it from the Red World Army.]

Against the hidden, disguised, centrist military opportunism.

What is military centrism ?

Military Trotskyism

[Trotsky or Lenin = founder of the Red Army ?! Stalin's military criticism on Trotsky]

The VIII Party Congress of the RCP(B) sharply criticised the errors and shortcomings that had appeared in the work of the Revolutionary War Council of the Republic and, in particular, in the activity of its Chairman Trotsky.

Trotsky declared on 20 September (3 October) 1917 (!!) at the Petrograd Soviet session that only the Soviet Congress could decide the question of power, thus sabotaging the preparation of the armed insurrection. Trotsky betrayed to the enemy the date of the October uprising set by the CC of the Bolshevik Party.

"The vital question is naturally intertwined with the military question. To be able to promote the cause, I need military powers. I have already written about this, but have received no reply. Very well. Then I will myself, without formalities, depose those army commanders and commissioners who are wrecking the cause. That is what the cause commands me to do, and the absence of a little paper from Trotsky will not, of course, prevent me from doing so"
(Stalin's Letter to Lenin, 10 July 1918, Vol. 4, page 105, German edition).

Trotsky's counterrevolution in Kronstadt, against people who had taken part in the storming of the Winter Palace.

The danger of dissolving among the armed masses is opposed to the danger of detaching oneself and the arms from the masses.

*** * ***

Here are some quotations from Trotsky's writing: *"In Defence of the Party"* (defence of the party as the scene of civil war by factions among which he was a partisan!!! mind you) 1 December 1906

Trotsky built up opposites "antitheses", into which he did not forcibly drive a bulky wedge, but skilfully created, launched fine invisible cracks, which arise through the conflicting forces in the party, if one forces their pressure on each other at the weakest points - and which can then no longer be steered in one direction through splitting without falling apart (which would indeed allow the formation of a new party from the provoked split-off, which would mean that the access would have to start from scratch again and everything would have been for nothing, so to speak, i.e. maintaining the organism, but controlling its development through counterproductive influencing - [that is also Mao's trick!], so to speak, 'on its own' for the purpose of nesting there as a parasite and creating living space for the petty bourgeoisie by sucking off the nectar of the proletariat, which flows most strongly in the proletarian party, like a busy bee of the petty bourgeoisie. That is why this Trotskyist bee is so showered with gratitude on the part of the left petty bourgeoisie. Trotsky himself tells us this trick:

***"The gaps that remain open between party and class are used by the bourgeois politicians to stick their noses in and, if the gap is wide enough, their hands too"* (page 243). Trotsky traced these gaps within the party and thus provided ammunition on a silver platter for the bourgeois politicians. This constitutes his grave betrayal of the working class and its party!**

Economism-Politicism(!); democratism - centralism; worship of spontaneity - Jacobinism: Opportunism - Anarcho-Blanquism; Red Army in the national framework - Red Army in the international framework; Red Army - Militia system; Workers in the Red Army - Peasants in the Red Army; the same approach in the Red Army as in the Party (factionalism to create rifts, for the purpose of splitting, weakening and liquidation; (from the outside by means of weakening from the inside; combined with the method from the inside for the purpose of weakening from the outside, always in a proportion where it is easiest and deepest to capitulate - without capitulating = bringing the content to death while maintaining the form ; preserving the revolutionary face!) This tactic succeeds only to the extent that one succeeds in penetrating into the material of Marxism-Leninism and its organisations by merging with it to a certain extent, indeed by being "more" than 100% Bolshevik - and that was Trotsky - a traitor in the guise of the over-hundred-percent communist!!! typically petty-bourgeois in words, but chickening out in deeds and, when it comes down to it, fucking up at the front and attacking and fighting those, Stalin, who then laboriously pull the proletarian cart out of the mud again, as the "enemy of the proletariat and its party". But the stronger the dictatorship of the proletariat became, the more difficult it was for the petty bourgeoisie to change anything about it. Only in the situation of the forces of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat neutralised to a certain extent can a petty-bourgeois position be successfully operated as a leading juggler; in any other situation it cannot. At that moment, it was only possible for the petty bourgeoisie to ensure the weakening of the stronger in the ranks of the stronger and to strengthen the weaker of the two contending classes in the underground, so as not to be thrown out of the stronger party for treason, for in so doing the petty bourgeoisie would deprive itself again of its possibilities of the civil war of the factions. Trotsky did not want an arithmetical sum of Bolsheviks and Mensheviks in the party (since they could freely develop against each other and the Bolsheviks could defeat the Mensheviks, which Trotsky wanted to avoid), "but a living organically grown whole" (in order to create a fortress against the Bolsheviks), because they would have to fight not against the Mensheviks but against the "organically grown whole", which is much more difficult, because one could brand the revolutionary comrades as sectarians and enemies of "unity". This is also true of Hari Kumar [Alliance Canada] with his united front of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement, which he wants to merge into an organic whole of revolutionaries and revisionists AGAINST the revolutionaries, using the same method as Trotsky.

Trotsky compares the civil war of the factions in the party with the partisan struggle:

Trotsky, as a higher authority above the two party factions, Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, saw himself obliged to (page 228) "analyse the slogans (...) issued by one faction or the other. (...) However slight the degree of disagreement, we can always mentally extend their lines to infinity and say to our adversary: look here, you have deviated from the direction of Social-Democratic policy; if you pursue this road still further, you will inevitably come to Blanquism or to opportunism, to anarchism or to liberalism, etc., etc.". Such a theoretical operation will not only be methodologically correct but also practically useful. It raises the partisan struggle with false steps to the rank of a principled struggle with false methods; thus facilitating victory. This is the way to show how, for example, the one-sided [!!] struggle to form and preserve a centralised organisation [what Blanquism!!! - author's note], a struggle which ignores a whole series of deep needs of the movement [petty-bourgeois needs!!!], in its logical development (Bolshevism leads to what is supposed to be opportunism when it relies unilaterally on the principle of centralism and passes over the needs of the petty bourgeoisie in a Blanquist manner - author's note] leads to the introduction of Blanquist methods into the party of the proletariat, or how the one-sided preoccupation with maintaining the unity of the 'national' revolution forces the disregard of the inner class mechanism of this revolution [i.e., when the proletariat does not rap the knuckles of the bourgeoisie, when the bourgeoisie wants to get at the petty bourgeoisie - author's note] and leads our tactics on the road of opportunism and liberalism. (...) If we elevated any errors, deviations or prejudices to the level of principles [i.e., if we did not start a principled struggle - author's note], made this principle the basis of tactics in their entirety [i.e., for God's sake, not a principled overall tactic!!!] and made these principles the basis of tactics in their entirety [i.e., for God's sake, not a principled overall tactic!!! - author's note] and freed these tactics from the influence of Marxist ideas [are there different ideas of Marxism? Is one idea alone Blanquism or is the essential idea of Marxism that it is the product of a civil war of ideas fought by factions in the party? - Author's note], then we got a Blanquist or an opportunist tactic [i.e., "one-sided" Bolshevism as the cause of Blanquism and opportunism - just as you like; so comrades, make mistakes all you want, but don't subject them to principled criticism, because with principled tactics you will get your knickers in a twist and open the floodgates to Blanquism or opportunism - Author's note].

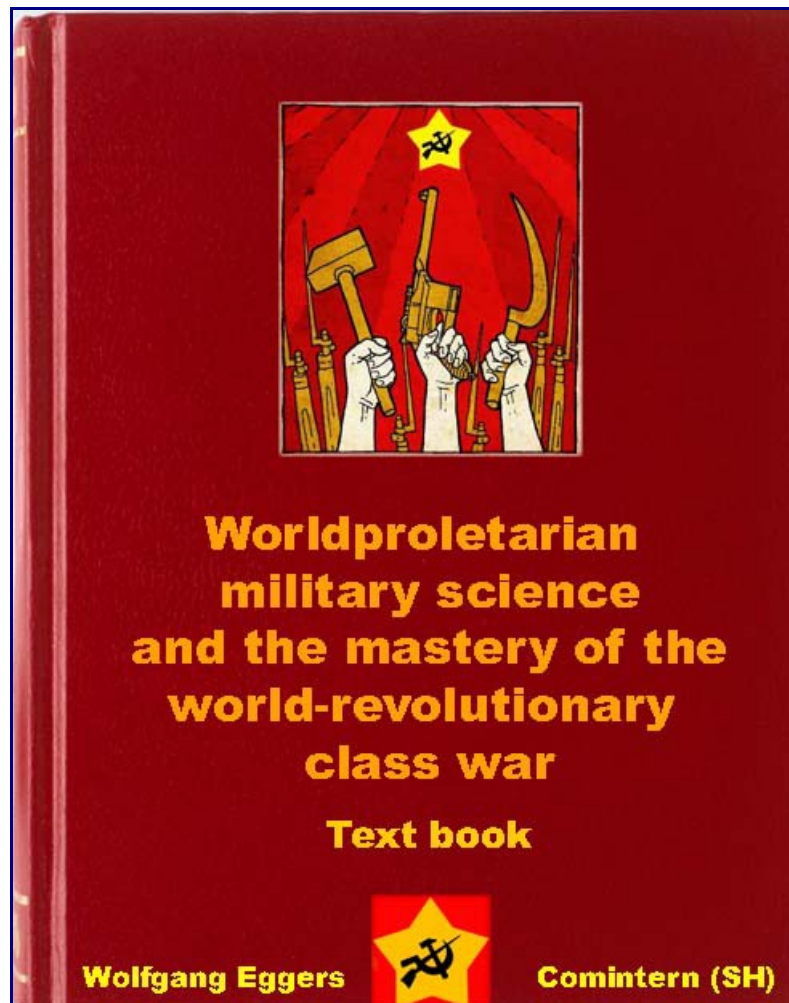
The red thread of the socialist revolution in the struggle of contradictions, similar to Mao: "in a word: the formation of the workers' party does not take place on the basis of conclusions drawn according to plan from theoretical premises of the programme (i.e. Lenin's military programme in the dustbin with it!), BUT (here again the absolutisation of the opposition!) on the path of the 'civil war' of the factions (interesting: civil war of the factions as an ideological, political and practical line of Trotsky!!!).

Struggle of two lines to control a too strong monolithism- which in turn is painted on the wall as encrustation and petrification as the devil: If the dictatorship of the proletariat creates for itself a too weak petty bourgeoisie or even eradicates it, then this would be a damage to the proletariat itself; Trotsky wanted to save the proletariat (in reality the petty bourgeoisie) from this "danger" and so, logically, he turned to the strongest bourgeoisie for help when the proletariat (the "evil" Stalin) took no notice of Trotsky's warnings- With Trotsky, the left petty bourgeoisie took revenge on the proletariat with Stalin, with the aid of the anti-Bolshevik counterrevolution of international capital and its vanguard, German fascism.

Fighting a Bolshevik line = disastrous for the petty bourgeoisie, therefore to be fought. Use the communist party as a field of struggle, so that already there the outwardly decided actions can be controlled by the petty bourgeoisie; proletariat is misused in the class struggle to pull the coals out of the fire for the petty bourgeoisie and save its ass. If no faction within the party is able to absorb the other, "this (Trotsky) proves that none of them fully expresses the needs of the working class movement" (and what does not fully express the interests of the working class movement cannot be fully implemented by the working class and the petty bourgeoisie gets off lightly ! And this is precisely the political-ideological line of Trotsky!!! The petty bourgeoisie, with Troptzki at the helm, organised a partisan struggle against Bolshevism within the Bolshevik Party!!!!

Trotsky sought the middle way of these two extremes = centrism (resolution of the contradiction between democracy and centralism - instead of democratic centralism, "democratic centralism um named as a term for a centrism that was directed against both democratism and centralism, whereby Marxism-Leninism was not judged as democratic centralism but as bureaucratic centralism.centrism as vacillating between Bolshevism and Menshevism and thus as paving the way for opportunism. From this also to explain that in ALL currents the counter-current was favoured, from the unification of which Trotsky believed to find the power to transform the counter-current into the main current and to activate the main current again as a counter-current like Mao, let a thousand flowers bloom so that neither the bourgeoisie nor the proletariat can win, but always remain in balance. Only in this way is it possible for the petty bourgeoisie to assert itself and not to perish, neutralising the Marxist-Leninists and the revisionists in order to strengthen petty bourgeois revolutionarism. From this, the role of Trotskyist ideas about the Red Army can also be deduced. It was to be a military instrument of the revolting petty bourgeoisie to assert itself against both the power of the bourgeoisie and the power of the proletariat. In the Red Army, bourgeois and proletarian elements were to be neutralised and, in the case of imbalance, were to be set against each other in such a way as to make a rapprochement to equilibrium possible again. The existence of the petty bourgeoisie is only possible through the balance of power between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, because both destroy and wear down the petty bourgeoisie. This is also how Mao worked with his Red Army (influence of Trotskyism from the Comintern? See Enver's revelations in Reflections on China II). Can also be applied to the military theory of the petty bourgeoisie: Distinction from/criticism of both revolutionism, Bakunism, etc. and right opportunism not from the military standpoint of the proletariat, but from the petty-bourgeois standpoint.

- End Part XIV -



PART XV

Textbook

on the Marxist-Leninist foundations of

World proletarian Military Science

and on the Art of

World revolutionary Class Warfare

August 2004

written by Wolfgang Eggers



PART XV

Appendix

[last Chapter]

unedited REST and attached

Material collection

Armament, military equipment, military technology, weapons technology, weapons procurement

"With the invention of a new instrument of war, the firearm, the whole internal organisation of the army necessarily changed, the relations within which individuals can form an army and act as an army changed, the relationship of different armies to each other also changed" (MEW, Vol. 6, pp. 407-408, German edition).

It is a historical experience, which is also confirmed precisely in the present, that the organisation of all types of armies has lagged far behind technical modernisation and that they are correspondingly more cumbersome and less manoeuvrable than revolutionary armies, which, on the other hand, lag far behind the technical potential of the imperialist armies.

Despite all the technical equipment, the soldier is the decisive force that determines victory.

It is not only important to win against the enemy at the front, but also to heroically provide for supplies, transport, procurement of the necessary materials, repairs, building up reserves, etc. and to secure them militarily. This can be decisive for the war.

First the slogan: "Everything for the front!"; then the slogan: "Everything for the removal of the war ruins and economic reconstruction!"

"The main question in the reconstruction of the national economy is the fuel question. All imperialist wars were fought for fuel. All the ploys of the Entente amounted to robbing us of fuel" (Stalin, Vol. 4, page 263, German edition).

Military, ideological and political training and education ("red-lighting"[political officers]surrender, desertion), military, "iron" discipline.

Man is always the decisive factor that decides the outcome of the battle, regardless of the development of weapons. This is a fundamental principle for the whole military structure of the internationalist fighting units. From this it can be deduced that working with the people, educating and steeling them, raising their internationalist consciousness, serving the peoples, the Comintern (SH) faithfully, is a constant task of the Bolshevik Parties, the Comintern (SH), all communists and cadres in the great world army.

"In every war, victory depends in the last instance on the fighting spirit of the masses who shed their blood on the battlefield. The conviction that war is just and the insight into the necessity of sacrificing life for the good of our brothers raise the fighting spirit of the soldiers and cause them to overcome unheard-of difficulties" (Lenin, Vol. 31, page 125, German edition).

"The more workers are trained in arms, the better" (Friedrich Engels: The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party, from: Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin; On German History, page 827, Berlin 1954, German edition).

Military discipline is the highest form of party discipline.

In Lenin's sense, "we must create such a force, such a discipline, a comradely discipline, a soviet discipline, a proletarian discipline, which not only physically crushes the counter-revolutionaries from the bourgeoisie, but also completely seizes them, subordinates them and forces them to move in our paths, to serve our cause. (...) What is needed here, in addition to violence and after violence has triumphed, is the organisation, discipline and moral weight of the victorious proletariat (...)" (Lenin Vol. 29, pp. 56 and 57, German edition).

Stalin pointed out "... that one cannot defeat the enemy without having learned to hate him with all one's soul" (Stalin, "On the Great Patriotic War" of the Soviet Union (SWA-Verlag-Berlin, 1945, page 43, German edition).

When the soldier speaks of hatred, one must not disregard the character of his hatred. One thing is the hatred that springs from narrow egoistic class interests and the imperialist predatory guerrilla, that is, the mercenary incited against the communist and revolutionary and the revolutionary masses of the people, who kills without conscience in order to serve the profit of capitalism. Something quite different is the hatred of the proletarian soldier for the exploiters and oppressors, for the enemies of communism. This is a hatred on behalf of all those who have given their blood in the liberation struggle. This hatred is an important driving force of revolutionary heroism and serves not only the world proletariat but also the whole of humanity. It is a deeply humanist hatred that presupposes love for the working class and labourers.

Socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism = the source and force of the invincibility of the socialist-military structure and the training and education of the soldiers.

Even if the world proletariat should remain without bread, it will remain faithful to its principles of proletarian internationalism until death, will never violate them and will never betray them. Adherence to proletarian internationalism prohibits the world proletariat from pragmatic, opportunist, cyclical politics such as those practised by the revisionists. The world proletariat, even in the greatest world crisis, will not run after the bread basket of the capitalists and will not sell its interests to the highest bidder, either openly or through secret diplomacy. The unification of the proletarians of all countries will only come about in an honest, in a proletarian way. They are ready and willing to help each other to shake off all the revisionist filth of the world bourgeoisie. Neither carrots nor sticks can stop the proletarians all over the world from the world revolution. The world proletariat will act with united ranks in its great and difficult struggle for world revolution. However, the unity of its ranks can only be achieved if the Marxist-Leninist doctrine is faithfully followed and applied. The Communist International (Stalinist-Hoxhaists) will follow this path. It has placed above itself nothing but Marxism-Leninism and will do nothing else. Just as the Comintern in the past helped the communist parties in solidarity to assist the proletarians of each country in their struggle for liberation, supported them to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and build socialism, so today the Marxist-Leninist parties will support the struggle of the Communist International (Stalinist-Hoxhaists) for world revolution, for world communism.

What characterises the revolutionary soldier ? Pavlenko: "The Simple Soviet Soldier" (*"New World"* No. 4/1948 page 20ff., German)

The main means of military education is ideological work ; ML = the basis of the education of the red soldiers

Our communist ideology, the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, is a powerful weapon of revolutionary uprisings and revolutionary wars; ideologically convinced soldiers, possessing unsurpassable moral and military qualities, withstand any test of war and achieve victory over the class enemy.

Combat readiness, "always keep your powder dry!"

KPD programme: military knowledge and its dissemination among the masses

Propagation of the fighting tradition

Enver Hoxha, speech on the 35th anniversary of the foundation of the Albanian People's Army ; Albania Today, No. 4 /1978, German edition):

"We are trained militarily to defend the fatherland, to defend freedom and independence, to defend the victories of socialism, to defend our party. That is the highest goal of our army."

"These enemies are not hypothetical, they are alive, they are on their feet, they are aggressors. They can attack us with weapons, they can also carry out diversion against us, they can make attempts for us to rot from within. Then the task is for us to resist them both in the case of armed attack and in the case of attempts to diversion and decomposition from within. But how can we resist? We will resist by the means I have listed, be politically educated, be ideologically educated and equally be militarily educated and be strong, always on our feet and be vigilant."

"History of the Party of Labour of Albania", Volume II:

"Within the framework of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, the (6th) Party Congress also dealt with the great question of the defence of the fatherland.

With regard to defence, the Marxist-Leninist idea of arming, readiness and military training of the entire people was developed further. Guided by Lenin's mandate to make "every citizen a soldier and every soldier a citizen", the Party Congress gave the directive that all labourers should work, learn and train for defence at the same time. This meant the implementation of the instructions that comrade Enver Hoxha had given to the Ministry of People's Defence in 1970 for the transition to the system of free military schools. (...)

Phenomena such as arrogance, arrogance, megalomania, distance from the soldiers, the Party Congress stressed, are alien to the People's Army. This was a criticism of officers in whose behaviour such phenomena, which ran counter to the line of the party and the revolutionary character of the army, could be observed.

The military training of the army and the whole people was aimed at preparing the people for the people's war on the basis of the Theses of the Defence Council on the People's Art of War (pages 122-123, German edition).

Karl Marx mentioned "the great confusion of nationalities" as "a serious evil (...) This naturally entails a great deal of confusion, difficulties in understanding even between officer and soldier" (MEW, Vol. 11, page 436, German edition). Today, English is not a problem for most soldiers and thus communication is no longer as difficult as in the times Marx described. It is also known from the Spanish Civil War that the various volunteer units were partly divided into nationality units in which the mother tongue was spoken and there were interpreters.

The imperialist armies under the American supreme command are also recruited from deployed units of different nationalities in which the mother tongue is used for communication and English is used for communication with the supreme command.

Military strategy and tactics (military plan, preparation of the uprising, implementation of the socialist revolution).

Enver: Imperialism and Revolution: Important Questions of Revolutionary Strategy and Tactics, starting on page 256, German edition

Lenin's military programme

The military plan is only the beginning of the military work. It is important that the revolutionary military organisations rely on discipline, high professional skills and rich experience and act as fighters of the implementation of the plans

"No defensive is more effective than the active, the offensively conducted" (Engels, MEW, Vol. 13, page 265, German edition).

One must not expect the enemy attack in a position which allows the enemy to push into it and so separate and divide one's own troops that their unification becomes impossible.

One must not be hesitant and thus leave the initiative to the enemy, for example, to encircle, close in and finally strangle us. Turning Point

One must be vigilant when using one's reserves in support. The enemy can wait for them, intercept them and destroy them, because he knows that in a hopeless situation danger can only come from advancing units.

The question of the coup d'état (?) / Marx: Cabinet wars (?)

Coup d'état is a means of counterrevolution, see Sachregister MEW, page 831!, German edition

And subject index in Lenin Works, page 623.

Lenin, Vol. 22, page 363, German edition

Karl Marx, MEW, Vol. 33, page 164, German edition: "But however the war ends, it has trained the French proletariat in arms, and that is the best guarantee of the future" (Letter to Ludwig Kugelmann, 13 December 1870)

War of liberation and imperialist war

support in words anti-imperialist liberation struggle, but criticise it and defame it as "pro-imperialist", "sectarian", etc.

my article on the creation of the German soviet army

The Marxist-Leninist doctrine

on

War and Peace

and the slogan of world Bolshevism:

"Turn the guns international and turn them into internationalist guns!"

If the soldiers refuse to march against the revolution of the workers, then conditions can be created for militarism to collapse without (?) the use of force!

Imperialist wars, civil wars of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, national-colonial uprisings and wars, wars of the proletarian states against imperialist encirclement, wars for the reconquest of socialism, the interweaving of all these wars - this forms the main content of the whole period of the world proletarian revolution which began with the October Revolution.

The present wars in the world, the expansion of these wars of the imperialist great powers with the US imperialists at the head prove that they are less and less successful in realising and expanding their robbery interests only by economic, ideological and diplomatic means, that the imperialist contradictions have sharpened in the course of the world crisis, that they can no longer be solved by international agreements and "reforms", that these are disregarded and broken.

Lenin already described the imperialist war as an extremely deep crisis of world imperialism and pointed to the acceleration of world revolutionary development, the intensification of contradictions, their coming to light and the collapse of everything that is rotten, etc. that this has set in motion. These are the progressive, beneficial features inherent in EVERY crisis and that is why we Marxist-Leninists exploit this development for our world revolutionary cause. With the independence of the actions of the world proletariat, their internationalist war against imperialist war is developing:

"The Marxists have never forgotten", said Lenin, "that violence will inevitably be a concomitant of the collapse of capitalism in its entirety and the emergence of socialist society. And this violence will encompass a world-historical epoch, a whole era of the most diverse wars - imperialist wars, internal civil wars, the interweaving of these and those wars, national wars, wars of liberation of the nationalities trampled underfoot by the imperialists, by the various groupings of imperialist states which inevitably enter into alliances in the epoch of the vast state-capitalist and military trusts and syndicates of this or that. This epoch is an epoch of violent collapses, violent military decisions of mass character, an epoch of crises. It has begun, we see that quite clearly; this is only the beginning" (Lenin, Complete Works, vol. 22, pp. 350f, Russian edition).

"While the national wars of the 18th and 19th centuries marked the beginning of capitalism, the imperialist wars point to its end. (...) The struggle is for the division of what is left. This is the last historical task of capitalism. (...) It is impossible to make the transition from capitalism to socialism *without blowing up the national framework*, just as it was impossible to make the transition from feudalism to capitalism without the national ideas" (Lenin, Vol. 36, pp. 278, 279 and 282, paper on the theme "The Proletariat and the War", German edition).

What did Lenin mean by blowing up the national framework? He certainly had in mind at that time the demolition of the national-bourgeois framework. But what lessons do we draw from the national framework of the socialist states, which could not transform itself into an international framework and thus(?) failed?! But this (?) means that world socialism can only be achieved when the national framework of the socialist country is transformed into the framework of a socialist camp and this in turn into the international framework of socialism. Only with the attainment of the international socialist framework, will the national socialist framework be defensible (????? daring and think again carefully so as not to become Trotskyist!!!!).

Stalin: "The interference of foreign countries and the occupation policy of the `outer` imperialists only aggravate the revolutionary crisis, draw new peoples into the struggle and widen the theatre of revolutionary clashes with imperialism" (Stalin, Vol. 4, "The World Significance of the October Revolution, page 144, German edition).

The moribund imperialism is clinging to the last resort, to the UNO, and is trying to save the situation by uniting the robbers of all countries into a single confederation under the leadership of US imperialism. But his efforts will be in vain, because the present conditions and time are working against him, they are working for the return of socialism. The waves of the world socialist revolution will grow inexorably and crash against the fortresses of imperialism. Their roar is echoing in the countries of the oppressed peoples, especially in the Near and Middle East. The ground is beginning to burn under imperialism's feet. World imperialism is doomed to inevitable ruin.

"The enemy disintegrates from within, and by no means will the external enemy be able to hold on for long either" (Lenin, Vol. 29, page 71, German edition).

"It was precisely the army that (...) transformed the `movement' into an insurrection" (Engels, MEW, vol. 7, page 133, German edition).

As long as we have not finally overthrown world capitalism, we will not perish by having paid the tribute of the temporary loss of socialism in the Soviet Union and Albania. The precious fruits of socialism have been snatched by the social-imperialists and imperialists, but the socialist riches created by the proletariat have been used up or passed into the hands of other imperialist robbers. The victorious robber takes away the loot from the defeated robber. This is what will happen to all imperialist robbers who are in their deepest crisis in world history with their debts. During this time, we will build our international Red Army and lead the world proletarian movement to victory. With the crisis and decomposition of world imperialism, its imperialist armies are also going into crisis, decomposing in equal measure.

Open intervention and disguised intervention

Just as the bourgeois rule in times of its crisis has to strip off parliamentarism as a democratic cloak and replace it with the open fascist dictatorship, imperialism is also forced to abandon its cloaked intervention, its diplomatic artifices, in times of crisis and replace them with undisguised interventions. The policy of open intervention, however, creates indignation among the workers in the imperialist countries and stirs up the resistance of the revolutionary peoples against the occupying powers, disintegrates their armies.

Lenin: Call to the Soldiers of All Warring Countries (Pravda No. 37 May 1917)

Lenin: Socialism and War (July-August 1915)

Under the Banner of Leninism, 1934, page 273

Our internationalist military struggle must have the aim of weakening the imperialists and their alliances by fomenting the aggravations and contradictions between them and within their states, especially their military alliances in their so-called "war on terrorism", weakening their ties with the allies and fighting to weaken their influence in the countries and peoples not bound by military pacts. We must either make these countries rise up against the imperialists so that they become a serious obstacle to their aggressions, or at least neutralise them.... Therefore, parallel to our military actions against the imperialists at home, we must also develop military activities in the international arena, for example, against the imperialist military bases from which they launch their interventions - especially where the imperialist chain links are weakest. We must prevent the imperialists from exploiting, oppressing and waging predatory wars in peace and quiet all over the world. We must give revolutionary, internationalist help to the revolutionary forces in the world. We must attack the imperialists, we must send them packing, they will not turn tail voluntarily. And attack and sabotage the imperialists wherever we can and with all means. These military tasks must be based on solid Marxist-Leninist analyses and not slip into adventurism or capitulation.

We are looking at the world today in its most serious capitalist crisis and thus directly in a phase of the maturing of the world revolution. What does this mean for us Marxist-Leninists? It means not only that we must sharpen our revolutionary weapons, but also that we must use them, that we must not only prepare ourselves to lead the world revolt, but actually put it into practice. This must be based on a firm theoretical foundation, therefore this foundation must be created beforehand, this cannot be done "on the side", i.e. only during the struggle. What we need is not only a general line, but also a concrete strategy and tactics in all fields of the world revolutionary class struggle, including the military field.

We have often believed in the omnipotence of the world imperialists, but not only once we had to convince ourselves that the imperialists are even more powerless than the workers and peasants of a weak country, if they know how to unite their forces and resist the capitalists....

Not strike and boycott the imperialist war, but create an illegal fighting staff of the Comintern (SH) to organise the formation of revolutionary cells in the armies, their preparation for carrying out the world revolution.

Lenin Vol. 31, page 323, German edition:

"For us, borders are not so important, even if we lose on the borders in the sense of a small area of land. More important for us than a piece of land is to preserve the lives of ten thousand workers and peasants and to secure the possibility of peaceful construction."

Engels wrote: "No Alsace-Lorraine question can arise between a socialist France and a socialist Germany; the case is settled in the twinkling of an eye" (Engels, MEW, Vol. 22, page 253, German edition).

"No socialist, of whatever nationality, can desire the warlike triumph [of any bourgeois government or bourgeois alliance - author's note]. And that is why socialists in all countries are for peace. But if war nevertheless comes, then only one thing is certain: this war (...) must either bring the immediate victory of socialism or else overturn the old order of things from head to foot in such a way and leave such a heap of ruins that the old capitalist society would become more impossible than ever and that the social revolution would indeed (...) be postponed, but would then also have to triumph, after all the more rapid and thorough a course" (Engels, MEW, Vol. 22, page 256, German edition).

What is the characteristic feature of the world dictatorship of the imperialist bourgeoisie today? In the first place, in the fact that such a dictatorship is the world domination of a belligerent and exploiting minority over the exploited majority of the entire world population. Secondly, that the world dictatorship of the imperialist bourgeoisie is a secret, veiled dictatorship, hidden behind the scenes, behind international world organisations such as the UN, etc., to mislead the masses. And finally in that the world dictatorship of the imperialist bourgeoisie is a dictatorship based on the use of violence and terror against the masses all over the world. Deception of the "civilised, democratic world", aided by violence - this is the alpha and omega of the world dictatorship of the imperialist bourgeoisie. "Everywhere, in all the belligerent states, the policy of the offensive in the atmosphere of imperialist war has given rise to the necessity of suspending liberties, of imposing a state of war, of introducing 'iron discipline', because where there is a maximum of liberty, it is unthinkable to drive the masses with impunity into the slaughter instigated by the international robbers" (Stalin, Vol. 3, page 331, German edition). Today, without world fascist methods, the imperialists cannot wage their predatory wars anywhere, because the peoples are putting up armed resistance, making revolution, which the international counterrevolution is trying to wipe out. By supporting the revolutions of the peoples in solidarity, we also protect the world revolution against the international counter-revolution.

"Each of the two capitalist coalitions, which had been at loggerheads with each other during the war, count on beating the opponent and gaining world domination" (Stalin)

Ernst Aust: "For the Fatherland?" - Peace struggle

Political demagogy generally likes to work with false definitions. Often they also deliberately avoid the precise definition of military terms. For example, the imperialists often speak of aggression, but avoid defining the term. Thus, at the UN meetings, they bitterly resisted the definition of aggression for obvious reasons.

Militarism

In bourgeois historiography and in various bourgeois dictionaries, militarism is dismissed as a kind of predominance and overemphasis of military sentiments and a strong military influence on politics. There is also talk of unilateral decisions on political questions by military instead of state policy considerations and also of the predominance of military traits in the basic political attitude of a state or statesman. With this kind of trivialising definition, the term militarism is robbed of its actual class-political roots and social-economic basis, which today is world imperialism. We can and must speak today of world militarism, of rotting, parasitic and dying world militarism, which means nothing else for the world proletariat to wage an internationally organised anti-militarist class struggle.

How did Lenin define militarism?

"Modern militarism is a result of capitalism. In its two forms it constitutes a `living phenomenon` of capitalism: as a military force used by the capitalist states in their external clashes (`outward militarism`...) and as a weapon in the hands of the ruling classes to suppress all (economic and political) movements of the proletariat (`inward militarism`)" [Lenin].

Karl Liebknecht described militarism as the sum and extract of "all the peace-disturbing tendencies of capitalism".

"Today the imperialist - and other - bourgeoisie militarises not only the whole people, but also the youth. Tomorrow, it will militarise women, for my sake. We answer: all the better! Only ever faster forward - the faster, the nearer is the armed insurrection against capitalism" (Lenin, Works Vol. 23, p. 77, German edition).

Anti-militarism

- propagandist tasks of the party within the counter-revolutionary army

"The moment the soldier comes to his senses and begins to realise that he is being hunted to his death or crippled solely for the sake of the interests of the bourgeoisie, decomposition must necessarily take hold among the masses"
(Lenin, Vol. 28, page 69, German edition).

The opportunists do not approve of armed insurrection and condemn it as a special form of militarism and war

Lenin taught "that militarism can never and under no circumstances be overcome and abolished in any other way than by the victorious struggle of one part of the people's army against the other part. It is not enough to curse militarism, to curse it, to `reject' it, to prove its harmfulness with the critique of arguments, it is foolish to refuse service peacefully - it is necessary to keep alive the revolutionary consciousness of the proletariat, not only in general, but also to prepare its best elements in concrete terms to place themselves at the head of the revolutionary army at the moment of the highest ferment in the people" (Lenin, Works, Vol. 23, page 254, German edition).

War and anti-war propaganda as Bolshevik tactics

Enver Hoxha, Imperialism and Revolution, page 275 et seq., German edition

The II. International denied the class struggle and its necessary conversion into civil war, preached class reconciliation under the flag of patriotism and the defence of the fatherland of bourgeois chauvinism, and ignored the Communist Party Manifesto, namely that the workers have no fatherland, "by confining themselves to a bourgeois-sentimental standpoint in the struggle against militarism, instead of recognising that the proletarians of all countries must wage a revolutionary war against the bourgeoisie of all countries" (Lenin, Vol. 36, p. 268, "Theses on War", English. Edition). All bourgeois-revisionist anti-militarism must be opposed by proletarian anti-militarism, not only theoretically but also and above all practically. The slogan of the Comintern (SH) is firstly, all-round anti-militarist propaganda for world revolution among the counter-revolutionary troops and in the theatres of war, and secondly, for the imperative not to turn the guns against the peoples, not against one's own brothers, not against the wage-slaves of other countries, but to turn the guns around, to turn them against imperialist reaction in all countries, above all against USA imperialism. It is absolutely necessary to organise, for such propaganda in all languages, illegal cells and groups in the armies of all nations, especially in the multinational formations directly in the theatre of war under the command of the American high command. Only then will the Marxist-Leninists fulfil their duty by fighting transnationally and internationalistically not only against the chauvinist frenzy of the bourgeoisie in their own country, but also at the same time against the globalised high commanders.

Conscious of Marx's words "that the workers have no fatherland" (MEW, Vol. 4, page 479, German edition), the world proletariat must not participate in the defence of the capitalist world order within the framework of the bourgeois great powers and states, but it must create the new framework for the socialist republics, for the socialist world republic. The so-called "war against terrorism" must be transformed into the decisive warlike clash of the world proletariat with the world bourgeoisie. The slogan of the revolutionary world proletariat is to fight for its own interests, and today this is precisely the international civil war against world imperialism with US imperialism at its head.

"There are fools who whine about red militarism; these are political crooks who pretend to believe in this nonsense and throw around such accusations to the right and left, using their advocacy to invent false arguments and pull the wool over the eyes of the masses. Both the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries cry: 'Look, instead of socialism they give you red militarism!'. Indeed, what a 'terrible' crime! The imperialists of the whole world have rushed upon the Russian Republic to strangle it, and we began to build an army which, for the first time in history, knows what it is fighting for and what it is sacrificing for, which is successfully resisting an enemy stronger in numbers, bringing the world revolution closer with every month of resistance on a scale never seen before - and this is condemned as red militarism! (...) The revolution is subjected to the most serious tests by action, in struggle, in fire. If you are oppressed and exploited and think of throwing off the power of the exploiters, if you have made up your mind to carry to the end the cause of their defeat, then you must know that you will have to face the onslaught of the exploiters of the whole world; and if you are ready to meet this onslaught and to make new sacrifices in order to stand in the struggle, then you are a revolutionary; otherwise you will be crushed." (Lenin, Vol. 29, pp. 51 and 52, German edition).

"In the 'civilised' countries it is customary to speak of terror and atrocities of the Bolsheviks. (...) Is it not clear, then, that only imperialist cannibals, rotten to the core and having lost all trace of morality, have need of nightly acts of murder and robbery against defenceless political functionaries of the opposing camp?" (Stalin vol. 4, page 225, German edition).

Restoration of capitalism and social-imperialist superpower = restoration of the counter-revolutionary army and the transformation of the People's Army into a social-imperialist army.

Abolition of the standing army

November Revolution 1919

(Enver on the ml and the crisis of world capitalism, English)

Tasks of the party against militarism

Lenin described the "standing army" as a parasite of bourgeois society, a "parasitic organism". He stressed that the course of events compels the revolution "to concentrate all the forces of destruction against the state power, compels it to make its task not the improvement of the state machinery but its destruction, its annihilation ("*State and Revolution*")".

Tasks of the party in the bourgeois army; decomposition; "*Turn over the guns!*"

Karl Liebknecht, in his speech in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies on 16.3. 1916, directly called on "those in the trenches" to "lower their arms and turn against the common enemy", for which he was deprived of his word.

Exploitation of the enemy's arsenal and war material; Independent manufacture of weapons, illegal storage of weapons;

- Compulsory military service under capitalism/socialism; What is the difference between anti-militarism (Karl Liebknecht) and pacifism ?

What is social-fascist pacifism ?

(see article of the Comintern 1934)

Nationalism and cosmopolitanism

two sides of the same coin

In the past, the soldier died in the name of nationalism, in the name of the fatherland, today in the name of cosmopolitanism, in the name of the whole civilised world - always for the same goal: for the profit of the rich. Behind the globalised weapons of imperialism lies the imperialist ideology of cosmopolitanism, the global, ideological torture chamber of the present. Whereas in the 1st and 2nd World Wars, wars of predation were waged between the great powers with predominantly nationalist ideology, today international finance capital is waging globalised wars predominantly in the name of cosmopolitanism. In the course of the 2. In the course of the Second World War, there was a so-called "anti-Hitler coalition" between the Soviet Union and the Allies in the joint struggle against German imperialism, whereby the Red Army in the Great Patriotic War defended not only its own fatherland but also the interests of socialism and world revolution as well as the anti-imperialist liberation struggle of the oppressed and dependent peoples, while the Allies endeavoured to strengthen their hegemonic power by trying to weaken Germany and the Soviet Union mutually, which basically means eliminating an imperialist rival with the help of the only socialist country. Whether this would have succeeded without the Soviet Union is not the issue here, but rather that it was primarily the American weapons equipped with the ideology of cosmopolitanism already in World War II to defend and further expand the world supremacy of the USA. The so-called "Cold War" was initially a cosmopolitan war against socialism and later, when the Soviet Union turned into a social-imperialist country, a cosmopolitan war against the second superpower with the help of the UN, which was turned into a weapon of the American monopolies - so also in the Korean War and all subsequent wars waged by American imperialism up to the present war against Iraq. In all these wars, cosmopolitanism emerged as the most suitable ideological camouflage for the expansionist world domination of American monopolies and international finance capital.

The ideology of cosmopolitanism expresses the imperialist bourgeoisie's aspiration for world domination, for the exploitation and enslavement of peoples, for the destruction of their national independence up to their physical annihilation. This ideology justifies the predatory wars and annexations, the enslavement and massacre of peoples in the name of profit. Cosmopolitan cannibal morality defines strength as the ability to impose the will of capital by force on the whole world, to dictate to and extract concessions from the weak in this world. Where the ultimate form of imperialist conflict is war, the struggle to defend world capital becomes a struggle to defend its military world power. The ideology of cosmopolitanism is characteristic of rotting, dying capitalism and currently serves as a justification for the so-called "war on terrorism", which aims not to save but to destroy civilisation. "From a liberator of nations in the time of wrestling with feudalism, capitalism of the imperialist epoch has become the greatest oppressor of nations" (Lenin, "Socialism and War", Dietz Verlag Berlin 1952, page 8, German edition). The bourgeois defenders of the fatherland have become cosmopolitan traitors to the fatherland. In the epoch of the globalised rule of the monopolies, the intensification of capitalist antagonisms brings the imperialist robbers and their bought ideological lackeys more and more often the idea of a world-wide campaign for the "defence of civilisation", which means nothing else than to put down militarily the anti-imperialist liberation struggle of the oppressed classes and peoples. Lenin had already shown that the imperialists in their unification efforts, that international finance capital "places the protection of its confederation of capitalists of all countries against the toilers higher than the interests of the fatherland, the people and everything else..." (Lenin, Works, Vol. 23, page 5, German edition).

Today, international finance capital is waging globalised predatory wars, the capitalist nations have to bow to the dictates of the Yankee cutthroats in the name of their globalised new world order, they extortionately appropriate soldiers from all over the world and put them in the uniform of their personal auxiliaries to sacrifice them as world soldiers for the American super/world state. In this case, cosmopolitanism appears as the most suitable ideological camouflage for the betrayal committed by the bourgeoisie of the other capitalist countries for the love of American imperialism against the national interests. Cosmopolitanism thus takes two forms: 1. in the USA, it is linked to the reactionary American great power chauvinism ("America first") and 2. in the other capitalist countries, it adopts the chauvinist attitude of the servile preaching of the "unification" of the whole world under the leadership of American capital for the struggle against the oppressed and dependent peoples and for the common struggle against communism. Here one must also recall the revisionist lackeys of cosmopolitanism. It was Tito, for example, who grovellingly submitted to the will of the American imperialists for a handful of dollars and camouflaged his aggressive lust for power over Yugoslavia's neighbouring countries with the flag of cosmopolitanism. Nothing but American cosmopolitanism was behind the Titoist ideology of the so-called "non-aligned countries". This example clearly shows that bourgeois nationalism and cosmopolitanism are two sides of the same ideology of betrayal of the fatherland, of betrayal of the basic national interests of every people. Thus, the combination of bourgeois nationalism and cosmopolitanism served the revisionists not only to restore capitalism, but now afterwards to extinguish the socialist consciousness of the former soldiers of the socialist countries in order to kill off any thought of reconquering socialism. But if the socialist consciousness proves to be tenacious and ineradicable, the revisionists will do their utmost to prevent the reconquest of socialism by reconquering revisionism in power and to give cosmopolitanism a "socialist" face in order to prevent the downfall of world imperialism after all. Revisionists and Trotskyists always acted together as traitors to the national interests in their countries by selling out national independence to American imperialism. This has not changed until today. Already during the First World War, Lenin irrefutably proved the absolute untenability of the assertion of Kautsky and consorts of the Second International that a permanent alliance of imperialists was possible. This is also preached today by the copycats of the old Kautskyites, ignoring the aggravation of the inequality of the disintegration of the capitalist countries. Cosmopolitanism cannot eliminate the contradictions in the imperialist camp. On the contrary, with this ideology, the weakening of the imperialist camp accelerates, its alliances and groupings disintegrate in the fierce competitive war in the world market, it disintegrates the brains of the soldiers and makes them unable to fight. Cosmopolitanism is therefore not only the ideology of imperialist predatory wars, the ideology of world capital's striving for domination, but also the ideology of its disintegration and downfall. The soldier today has to decide whether he wants to serve cosmopolitanism or the internationalist struggle against cosmopolitanism. Either the globalised

soldier surrenders to international capital to the death or he takes up the weapon of world proletarian revolution and national liberation from the imperialist yoke. The internationalist soldier respects the national culture of each nation as his own and fights against the national nihilism preached by the cosmopolitanism of an imperialist superpower, so that each nation goes to the slaughter itself like a flock of sheep. The internationalist soldier does not fight for the subjugation of nations to world powers, but for the liberation of nations from the rule of world powers. If a soldier is not aware of whom he is fighting for and against, if he has forgotten to fight for the homeland of all nations as well as for the homeland of his own people, then he will go miserably to the dogs as a homeless cosmopolitan, if not in one foreign country, then in another. At some point they all get it if they don't turn their rifle against cosmopolitanism. Only in this way can the soldier today defend the self-determination of peoples and their equal rights.

To deceive the soldier, the cosmopolitans call their nationalist-cosmopolitan ideology "internationalism". They put the sign of equality between internationalism and cosmopolitanism. But cosmopolitan ideology is imperialist internationalism which is irreconcilable and hostile to proletarian internationalism. Proletarian internationalism will triumph over imperialist internationalism and solve the national question in the sense of socialism, whereas imperialist internationalism does not solve the national question but has buried it. True internationalism is military, proletarian internationalism against the militarist internationalism of capital. An internationalist soldier is one who is ready to defend the world proletariat without reservation and without conditions, because the world proletariat is the leader of the revolutionary world movement and one can neither defend nor advance this revolutionary movement without defending the world proletariat. The proletarian internationalist soldier absolutely rejects war in defence of bourgeois nationalism, which is the ideological justification of counterrevolutionary national and social oppression and goes side by side with cosmopolitan counterrevolution. The treacherous revisionist cliques that had embarked on the path of bourgeois nationalism and cosmopolitanism ended up in social fascism and became the tool of American imperialism to which they bartered the interests of the peoples. It is cosmopolitanism with which the USA ideologically commands the international counterrevolution against the proletarian world revolution. Therefore, the internationalist soldier will not be able to defeat the USA imperialists and their lackeys without disabling their ideological weapon, cosmopolitanism.

*Tasks of the party in the bourgeois army; decomposition; "Turn over the rifles!" ;
exploitation of the arsenal and war material of the enemy; independent production
of weapons, illegal storage of weapons;*

- THE END -

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